A Grammar of Munya

by

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Abstract

This is a reference grammar of Munya, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the western part of Sichuan province in China. The data that this thesis draws from were collected during a one-year immersion fieldwork and are analyzed within the framework of Basic Linguistic Theory. This study covers the core aspects of the language, including phonetics and phonology, morphology, word classes, grammatical categories, clause structures, and discourse and pragmatics.

Munya has a fairly large phoneme inventory, with forty consonants and thirteen vowels. The language has a binary tonal contrast, a high tone and a low tone, and the two tones constitute a range of patterns. Morphological processes in Munya include cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. The language has a wide variety of vowel harmonies. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are open word classes and there are in addition eight closed classes. The major syntactic function of nouns is to function as arguments. They can take numeral classifiers and plural markers. The major syntactic function of verbs is to act as predicates. Most verbs can be morphologically analyzed as consisting of a root and a directional prefix. There are altogether seven directional prefixes in Munya. Verbs show person-number inflection and derivations of causative and pluractionality. The predominant person-number inflectional paradigm is first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person non-singular. Adjectives can modify nouns and function as predicates, and tend to be inherently reduplicated. There are ten cases in Munya. Core syntactic functions can be marked by the ergative case *i*, the absolutive case (in zero form), the genitive case *ɣɛ*, the dative case *le* and the experiential case *ɣɛ*. The patterns of alignment are different for different types of verbs. For control verbs, the pattern is basically ergative-absolutive, and for non-control verbs,

the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative. There are three aspects, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect. There are also three evidential markers, which are the direct evidential, the indirect evidential and the reported evidential. There are two egophorics in Munya. *ŋo* can only be used in context of first or second person subject and control predicate. *nyi* can occur with all persons and all types of predicates. Copula verbs in Munya can denote IDENTITY, LOCATION, EXISTENCE, and POSSESSION. The senses of LOCATION, EXISTENCE and POSSESSION can be expressed with one copula. Munya has multiple copula verbs of existence, the choice of which is determined by the semantics of the Copula Determining Referent (CDR), which can be realized as copula subject or copula complement. Some copulas have extended functions. When attached to copulas, the directional prefix *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker' can mark perfectiveness. Polar interrogatives and negations are expressed with prefixes on verbs or auxiliaries. Imperatives can be categorized into second-person imperative clauses and first person imperative clauses, and the former can be further classified into immediate imperative, future imperative and polite imperative. Munya has relative clauses and complement clauses, and the two types of structures are closely related to nominalization. Munya has indirect, direct, and semi-direct speech reports. In semi-direct speech report, the subject in the matrix clause and the embedded clause are coreferential, and the subject in the embedded clause needs to shift to the reflexive form. Meanwhile, the verb or auxiliary in the embedded clause inflects for the person-number of the subject before it is shifted. The narrative genre of Munya discourse features prevalent bridging constructions, including recapitulative linkage and summary linkage. In the first type of linkage, a dependent clause is used to recapitulate in verbatim or in close paraphrase the preceding clause, and in the second type, a clause containing a demonstrative anaphorically summarizes the content of a discourse unit, typically a paragraph. At the end of the thesis there is an appendix of a long story and a vocabulary of around 2,800 words.

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List of Abbreviations

1/2NONSG first person and second person non-singular

1 first person

2 second person

3 third person

ABS absolutive

ADV adverbial

ALL allative

AP all participants

AS directional prefix for away from the speaker

ASSC.PL associative plural

CFP clause final particle

CLF:BIRD classifier for bird

CLF:BOWL classifier for bowl

CLF:DAY classifier for day

CLF:DROP classifier for drop of liquid

CLF:FAMILY classifier for family

CLF:FULL classifier for a full container of

CLF:GENR general classifier

CLF:KIND classifier for kind

CLF:LONG classifier for long objects

CLF:MAN classifier for human

CLF:MEAL classifier for meal

CLF:MONTH classifier for month

CLF:PERFORMANCE classifier for performance

CLF:PLACE classifier for place

CLF:PLANT classifier for plant

CLF:THIN classifier for thin objects and birds

CLF:WORDS classifier for words

CLF:YEAR classifier for year

COLL.PL collective associative plural

COM comitative

COMP complementizer

COP copula

COP:ABSTRACT copula requiring an abstract CDR

COP:ANIMATE copula requiring an animate CDR

COP:CONTAIN copula requiring the CDR to be contained

COP:HONO copula of honorific style

COP:INANIMATE copula requiring an inanimate CDR

COP:MOVE copula requiring the CDR to be movable

COP:UPRIGHT copula requiring an upright CDR

COPULA:NEG negative copula

D.M discourse marker

DAT dative

DEF definite

DEM demonstrative

DIR directional prefix

DIST distal

DOWN directional prefix for downward

DS directional prefix for downstream

DU dual

EGO egophoricity

ERG ergative

EVID:DIRECT direct evidential marker

EVID:REP reported evidential marker

EXCL exclusive

EXP experiencer case

FOC focus

GEN genitive

IMP imperative

IMPF imperfective

IN directional prefix for inward

INCL inclusive

INDF indefinite

INS instrumental

INTRG interrogative

INTSF intensifier

LK linker

LOG logophoric

MIR mirativity

NEG negative

NMLZ nominalizer

NONS directional prefix with non-specific direction

NONSG non-singular

OBL oblique

PAR particle

PFV perfective

PL plural

PLA.PL place associative plural

PLUR pluractional

PN proper noun

POSS possessive

PROG progressive

PROH prohibitive

REFL reflexive

REL relative

REQ request

SAP speech act participants

SC standard of comparison

SG singular

SIM.PL similative plural

SRI speech report introducer

STA stative aspect

TOP topic

TS directional prefix for towards the speaker

UP directional prefix for upward

US directional prefix for upstream

VCLF verbal action classifier

VCLF.HIT verbal action classifier for hit

VCLF:THROW verbal action classifier for throwing

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter provides some background information on Munya, with the aim of positioning the language within its linguistic, physical and socio-cultural context. It begins by introducing the dialects, the various names and the vitality of this language (Section 1.1). The genetic groups to which this language belongs are then discussed (Section 1.2). The history of the language and its speakers will also be touched upon, though currently there is no consensus on this issue (Section 1.3). Then the physical environment, religion, lifestyle and architecture of the western Munya area will be introduced (Sections 1.4 – 1.7). The eastern Munya area is covered only briefly, due to a lack of first hand information (Section 1.8) The next section reviews previous studies and introduces the present study (Section 1.9), and the final section provides a typological overview of the language and outlines the structure of the whole grammar (Section 1.10).

1.1 Dialects, Names and Vitality of the Language

Munya is spoken in the western part of Sichuan Province in China. The language is traditionally believed to consist of an eastern dialect and a western dialect, which are separated by Mount Gongga (B. F. Huang 1985; H. K. Sun 1983). Based on my own fieldwork, I found that the western dialect can be further divided into a northern dialect and a southern dialect. Although the two western dialects are mutually intelligible, there are prominent differences between them in phonology, lexicon and grammar. The distribution of the language and its dialects are shown in Figure 1.1

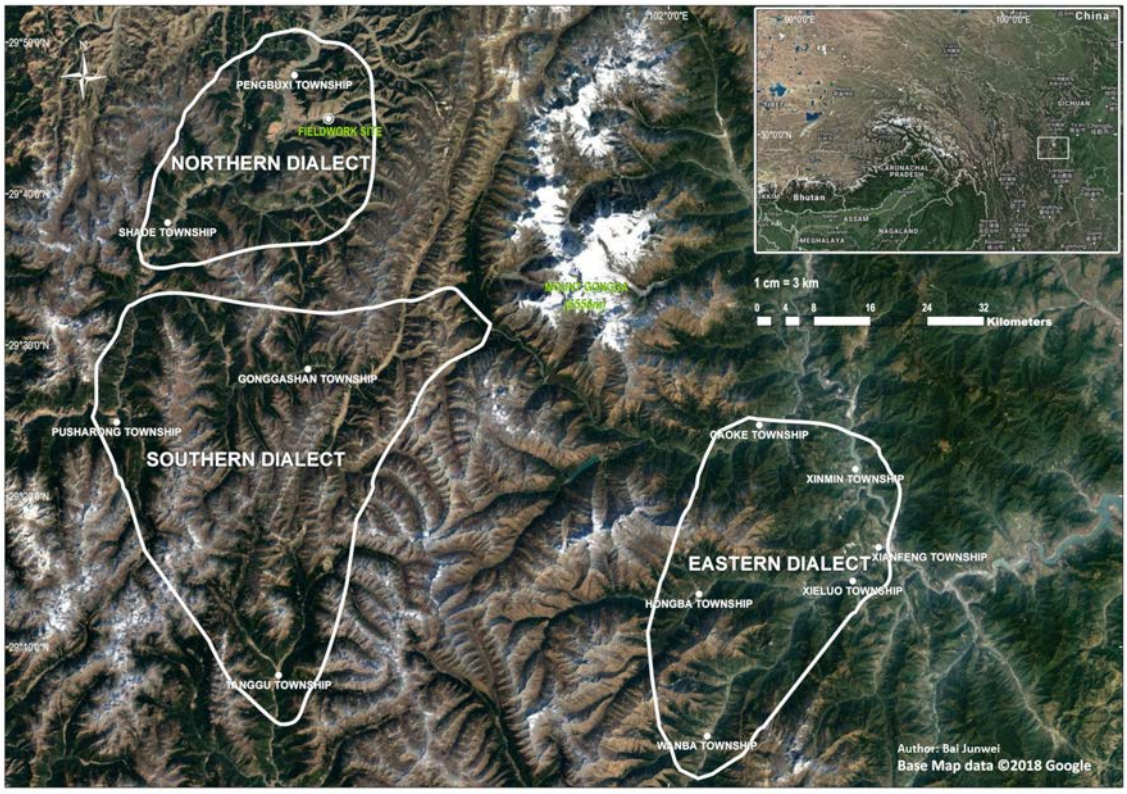

Figure 1.1: The Distribution Munya Dialects

The names of this language are very similar. The autonym is [məɲɛ] in my fieldwork location (I was told that it can be pronounced as [məɲɐ] or [miɲɐ] in some other places); the Chinese name is 木雅, which is spelled as *mù yǎ* in Pinyin. There are several variants of its English name. The name *Muya*, based on Pinyin, appears to be the most commonly used. One also occasionally encounters *Minyak* or *Minyag*, which is based on the transliteration of the Tibetan name མི་ཉག. In her PhD thesis, Y. Gao (2015) refers to the language as *Menya*. The pioneering researcher on this language, Ikeda Takumi, prefers to call this language *Mu-nya* in several of his publications (Ikeda 2002, 2006b, 2008). I follow his practice in this study, except that I choose to omit the hyphen.This is because 'Munya' is neither biased towards Chinese Pinyin nor Tibetan transliteration, and the nasal sound takes into account the native pronunciation. In the Munya language, *məɲɛ* can refer to the area where Munya people traditionally live, the group of people who identify themselves as Munya, and the language that these people speak. When referring to Munya people, *məɲɛ* can be optionally qualified by *-u* 'people', which is typically suffixed to a place name. When referring to the language that Munya people speak, one needs to say *məɲɛ su*, in

which *su* means 'language'.

Munya people identify themselves as Tibetans. This is also officially recognized, so that Munya people are also called Munya Tibetans in China. Aside from Munya, Munya speakers in and around the area of my fieldwork can also speak Tibetan and Chinese (both Mandarin and the Sichuan Dialect), but their command of the two languages varies considerably. Almost all of them can speak Tibetan fluently. The Tibetan spoken at that area is a sub-dialect of Khams Tibetan and is called 'Minyag Rabgang Tibetan' (Suzuki 2009). Since this dialect is also spoken in nearby regions, Munya people generally switch to Tibetan when they visit those areas. The Tibetan taught in local school, however, is standard Khams Tibetan. Nowadays under the ever-increasing influence of Chinese culture, more and more people can speak Chinese. The elder generation can only speak the Sichuan dialect of Chinese while the younger generation can speak Mandarin. Mandarin is also taught in school as a major subject, and I found that school kids speak both Mandarin and Munya to each other even when they are not in school.

The language is spoken by a diminishing number of people. According to the information provided by some native speakers, Munya used to be spoken in a much wider area than it is nowadays. People in the town to the north of the area of my fieldwork, Jiǎgēnbà (甲根坝), for example, used to speak Munya thirty years ago, but nowadays they only speak Tibetan. Munya did not have any orthography and was never written down before. The language is not taught in school, nor do native speakers think there is any need to do so, as young children can learn Munya from their parents. In Munya-speaking families, the language is still actively spoken.

The exact number of Munya speakers cannot be given at the moment, due to a lack of data for parts of the eastern dialect area. The statistics given in Table 1.1 is my best estimate of the current number of Munya speakers. The figures for the speakers of northern and southern dialects come from the National Bureau of Statistics of China, gathered during the Sixth National Population Census carried out in 2010.

The location of my fieldwork is in the Jiāngdé (江德) village Péngbùxī (朋布西) Township, which is at the north end of the western dialect area (see Map 1.1). The people there all speak Munya as their first language. I also visited most of the towns in the south—I was in Shādé (沙德) several times, and went to Gònggāshān (贡嘎山) and Pǔshāróng (普沙绒)

Table 1.1: Statistics of Munya Speakers

Dialectal area	Township	Number of speakers	Sum
Northern dialect	Péngbùxī	2, 942	6, 480
	Shādé	3, 538	
Southern dialect	Gònggāshān	2, 981	7, 260
	Pǔshāróng	2, 370	
	Tānggǔ	1, 909	
Eastern dialect	see Figure 1.1		2, 500
Total			16, 240

once. In these three towns Munya is actively spoken. I did not have the opportunity to visit Tānggǔ (汤古), the southernmost town of the western dialect area. However, based on the report of Ikeda (2006b), who used to go there, we can be sure that Munya is also spoken at that place. While previous studies claim that Munya is spoken in Zhùsāng (祝桑), a town to the northwest of Péngbùxī, nobody ever did fieldwork there. On the contrary, during my fieldwork I was told that people in Zhùsāng no longer speak Munya anymore. Therefore the population number of Zhùsāng is not included in the statistics. My general impression is that all residents in the townships listed in the table speak Munya, thus the number of Munya speakers would be roughly equal to the number of inhabitants of these towns.

The situation in the eastern dialect area is more obscure, as there is virtually no report on the linguistic situation. Liu (1985) claims that the total number of eastern Munya speakers is about 2,500, but he did not mention how this number was calculated. Two decades later, J. Li (2006) conducted an ethnological study in a Munya community in the Xièluó (蟹螺) Township of Shímián (石棉) County. The number of Munya households that J. Li (2006: 23–24) gives is calculated to be between 450 and 510. Earlier in the thesis, J. Li (2006: 8) mentions that each family has about five members. Thus the total number of Munya speakers in Shímián County is roughly between 2,250 and 2,550. However, we have no information on the situations of Hóngbà (洪坝) and Wānbà (湾坝), two townships in Jiǔlóng (九龙) County which are also reported to have Munya speakers. Although the population of the two townships is available (1,025 for Wānbà and 5,888 for Hóngbà), we do not know how many of them are Munya speakers. In Table 1.1 I use the number provided by Liu (1985), noting that the actual number of speakers could be larger than

this. With all these caveats given, the total number of Munya speakers is estimated to be around 16,240.

1.2 Genetic Affiliation: Tibeto-Burman and Qiangic

Munya belongs to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language group. There are controversies concerning the phylogeny of both Qiangic languages and Tibeto-Burman languages, though the debates centering around the latter are considerably greater than those around the former. In what follows the two language groups and related controversies will be briefly introduced.

1.2.1 Tibeto-Burman

Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in a large area of Asia, ranging from southwest China to north-east India, and from countries near the Himalayas such as Nepal and Bhutan to those in Southeast Asia. Due to various reasons, such as the notorious difficulty in distinguishing language from dialect, a paucity of data, and a lack of consensus on names of many languages, it is hard to pinpoint the exact number of languages within this family. In two recent works, Matisoff (2015) estimates the number to be between 250 and 300 while Genetti (2016) discusses 257 'varieties', a term which is neutral to the distinction between language and dialect.

Within this family, a broad consensus exists on each subgroup as a genetic unit, thus we have well-established branches such as Bodish, Kiranti and Lolo-Burmese.[1] However, there are considerable debates on the phylogeny of this language family. Carrying on the tradition initiated by F.-K. Li (1973) (the work was first published in 1937), many Chinese linguists view Tibeto-Burman as a sub-group of the larger Indo-Tibetan language family (according to F.-K. Li (1973), also known as Tibeto-Chinese, Sino-Tibetan, or Sinitic in a wider sense), which, aside from Tibeto-Burman, encompasses Chinese languages, Miao-Yao and Kam-Tai.

[1] Some branches are controversial. See the review of Matisoff (2000) on George van Driem's *Sino-Bodic* branch and DeLancey (2010)'s critique on the *Rung* branch proposed by Graham Thurgood and Randy LaPolla (e.g. LaPolla 2003).

The more popular view is to postulate a Sino-Tibetan super-group, and argue that it bifurcates into a Tibeto-Burman group and a Sinitic group (Benedict 1972; Matisoff 2003, 2015; Thurgood 2017, i.a.). While it is agreed that the Sinitic group consists of all Chinese dialects/languages, there are divergent ideas on the specific branches under the Tibeto-Burman group and how they are related to each other. For example, Benedict (1972: 4–5) recognizes seven primary divisions, and puts Kachin at the 'cross-roads' with many northern languages and southern languages both lexically and morphologically. Bradley (1997: 2–3) proposes four branches, which are North-eastern India, Western, South-eastern and North-eastern. The most recent classification given in Matisoff (2015: xxxii) consists of Northeastern Indian Areal Group, Baic, Nungish, Tujia, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese-Naxi, Karenic, and Tangut-Qiang.

This classificatory paradigm has been challenged by van Driem (2005, 2007, 2014). He argues that the Sino-Tibetan model stems from the racist view prevalent in the 19th century, which, though now vanished, has left its typological prejudices. He thus suggests to replace the name of this group with the neutral geographical term 'Trans-Himalayan', as most languages of this family distribute along the great Himalayan range. More importantly, he points out that although the Sino-Tibetan phylogenetic model has gained wide acceptance, no empirical evidence, be it bundle of isoglosses or set of shared innovations, has been adduced to support it. In view of this, he puts forward a *fallen leaves model*, with each fallen leaf representing a subgroup of the Trans-Himalayan tree. While admitting that a family tree can be ascertained by historical linguistic methods, he remains agnostic about higher-order sub-grouping at the present stage.

Very recently, there is a growing interest in identifying the origin and time-depth of the Sino-Tibetan language family, with the help of Bayesian phylogenetic methods developed in evolutionary biology (M. Zhang et al. 2019; Sagart et al. 2019). The results of the two studies are largely consistent. The findings of M. Zhang et al. (2019) support the Sino-Tibetan model, and show that the divergence between Proto-Chinese and Proto-Tibeto-Burman occurred between 4,200–7,800 years BP, with an average value of approximately 5,900 years BP. Their analyses also identified the *Urheimat* of Proto-Sino-Tibetan, which is at the upper and middle Yellow River plains, the place where two Neolithic cultures—the *Yangshao* culture and the *Majiayao* culture—were discovered.

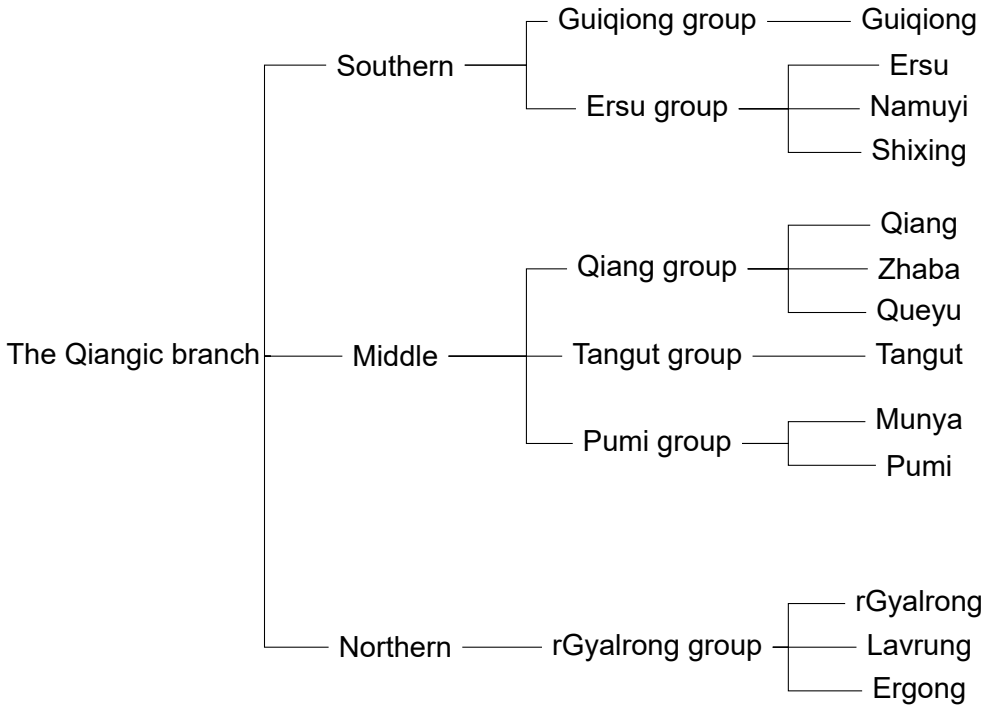

Figure 1.2: The Phylogeny of Qiangic Languages

1.2.2 Qiangic

There has been comparatively less controversy with regard to Qiangic branch as a genetic unit. The proposal to set up a Qiangic branch under the Tibeto-Burman family was first made by Sun Hongkai in 1962 (H. K. Sun 2016: 5), and expounded in many of his subsequent writings, notably H. K. Sun (1983) and H. K. Sun (2016). The validity of this branch is generally accepted (but see Chirkova 2012 for a different view). In a recent study, H. K. Sun (2016: 1–4) includes 13 languages, most of which have dialects in this branch. These languages, together with their genetic groupings, are given in Figure 1.2 (based on H. K. Sun 2016: 4).

There are three levels in this phylogeny. In the first level, the languages are divided into three sub-branches based on their geographical distribution, which are the Southern sub-branch, the Middle sub-branch and the Northern sub-branch. Each sub-branch further contains one to three groups, and each group consists of one to three languages (For a different classification of the rGyalrongic group, see J. T.-S. Sun 2000). Munya and Pumi form the Pumi group, which is one of the three groups of the middle branch.

The linguistic profile of Qiangic languages is addressed in H. K. Sun (2016: 9–15),

and is briefly summarized. Generally they have similar phonological structure, consonant clusters, a large set of consonants and vowels, vowel harmony, lost consonant codas, and tones developed at different stages. In terms of lexicon and morphology, Qiangic languages are strongly synthetic, with a large set of identifiable cognates. There are numerous inherently reduplicated words, and word-borrowing is very common. In terms of grammar, typical grammatical means in Qiangic languages include suffixation, internal modification and reduplication. Nouns generally have plural and diminutive forms. Pronouns have different case forms. First person dual and plural have inclusive and exclusive forms. Most languages have person-number inflection. Verbs take directional prefixes. Many languages have the reciprocal category, multiple existential verbs and a wide range of case markers. Adjectives tend to be verb-like.

Speakers of Qiangic languages share certain commonalities in culture, such as white-stone worship and expertise in construction and embroidery (H. K. Sun 2016: 17–18). The shared features among these languages and the resemblance in the culture of their speakers are the major bases for setting up the Qiangic branch.

1.3 History and Mystery

The origin and history of Munya people is to a large extent still a mystery, with much debates continuing. The controversies mainly center around the connections between Xīxià (西夏) (also known as Western Xia or Tangut) and Munya, the former being a country that existed in northwest China in AD 1038 to 1227.

The reason why scholars link Tangut with Munya is that Tangut is historically also referred to as 'Munya'. In Chinese historical records, Tangut is also commonly called *mǐ yào (弭药)*. Other names include *miǎn yào (缅药)*, *mǔ nà (母纳)*, *mì nà kè (密纳克)*, etc. In Tibetan historical records, the country is referred to as *mi-nyag*, *mi-nag* or *me-nyag* (Mu 2013). Even Tangut people use this name to refer to themselves. Based on the reconstruction by Kepping (2001), the corresponding Tangut pronunciation is **mi-niaɯ* or **mi-nia*. Although the orthography for this name varies in different historical records, scholars generally believe that they refer to the same historical entity. What scholars do not agree on, however, is the relationship between the extinct Tangut empire and modern

day Munya people.

Deng (1945, as cited in Wu [1963] 2012: 121–122) believes that Munya people are the survivors of the Tangut people, who fled to the Munya area after Tangut was destroyed by Mongols. His major piece of evidence is a legend among the Munya people about a Munya king called *xī wú jiǎ ěr bù (*西吴甲尔布*)*, who used to be a king in the north before his reign in the Munya area. He argues that *jiǎ ěr bù (*甲尔布*)* is the Tibetan word for 'king' (which is རྒྱལ་པོ rgyal po in Tibetan and *dʑopu* in Munya), and that *xī wú (*西吴*)* is the ancient pronunciation of *xī xià*. Thus *xī wú jiǎ ěr bù* actually means 'the king of Tangut'. Nowadays there is still a village in the Munya area by the name of *sè wù róng (*色务绒*)* (called *siwurõ* in Munya), which is said to be the place where the king's palace was located.[2] Other evidence provided by him includes the high fortresses in that area and the clothing style of Munya people. Deng's view is backed by Wu ([1963] 2012: 122–123), who presents even more evidence from aspects of ethnicity, language, and place names.

A different view holds that the Munya people of today consist of the native Munya people, who have been living in the Munya area since ancient times, and the descendants of Tangut, who migrated here after their country was conquered (F. W. Li 1981; Shangguan 1994). But F. W. Li (1981) believes that the modern day Munya people are the descendants of Tangut, while native Munya people live in Dàofú (道孚), a county to the north of Munya area and where a rGyalrongic language is spoken.

There is also a third view, which argues that while Munya people and Tangut people could be distantly related, Tangut people never went to the Munya area. The Munya people are indigenous and have been living there since ancient times (Gelek 1988). H. K. Sun (1983) arrives at a similar conclusion based on linguistic evidence, by comparing Munya with Tangut. He identified some cognates between the two languages, and found some similarities in phonological and grammatical structure between them as well. Neverthe-

[2] During my short sejour at this village in August 2018, I tried to get someone to tell me this story, but was told that only a few old people still knew it, and I was unable to make any recording. As time goes by, the legend becomes more and more distorted. Nowadays some Munya people pronounce the name of this king as [sixu], in which *si* means 'day' and *xu* means night, thereby wrongly interpreting it as meaning 'the king of day and night'. Lu and Nie (1996) point out that Deng's analysis is misguided, as he needs to resort to a phonological rule in Old Chinese to get a correspondence between *wú (*吴*)* and *xià (*夏*)*, which is highly unlikely due to the time gap of a millennium. According to Lu and Nie (1996), there is indeed a name that corresponds to *xī wú (*西吴*)* in Tangut, which is *se ho*, and is rendered variously as *se hvu*, *si vu*, *se vu* or *si hu* in Tibetan literature. They believe that *se* is a cognate of *xì (*细*)* in Chinese, which means 'thin', and *hu* means 'king'. Thus *si hu* means 'young king' in Tangut. They even demonstrate that this 'young king' is Lǐ Yuánhào (李元昊), the first king of the Tangut empire.

less, he pointed out that the distance between Munya and Tangut is roughly equivalent to that between Munya and other Qiangic languages, thus the Munya people are unlikely to be the descendants of Tangut people. Similar comparative work was also done by Lin (1996, as cited in Ikeda 2006b) and Ikeda (2006b). According to Ikeda, Lin could not identify a firm relationship between the two languages, and Ikeda concludes that the two languages 'do not share too many apparent cognates, so that I do not think Mu-nya is a direct descendant language of Tangut'. Thus from the linguistic point of view Munya people are unlikely to be the survivors of Tangut people, for if that were the case, one would expect that the two languages are more closely related.

To conclude, while researchers generally agree that there is a connection between the people of Tangut and Munya people, the exact nature of this connection remains an unresolved issue.

1.4 Physical Environment

In this and the next three sections, the physical and socio-cultural situations of western Munya are introduced. Unless otherwise specified, 'Munya' refers specifically to the western Munya in these sections. The culture of the eastern Munya area will be discussed separately, in Section 1.8.

Munya people live in several townships of Kāngdìng (康定, དར་རྩེ་མདོ་, dar rtse mdo) County, which is the capital of Garzê Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (甘孜藏族自治州) of Sichuan Province. The southernmost Munya-speaking town, Tānggǔ, belongs to Jiǔlóng (九龙) county. These townships are shown in Figure 1.3 below.

This area is located at the eastern periphery of Tibet, and belongs to what is historically called the Kham (ཁམས་ khams) region, which is one of the three Tibetan regions (the other two being Ü-Tsang and Amdo). The Munya region is generally 3,000 meters above sea level (my fieldwork location is about 3,400 MASL), and features high mountains and deep valleys. Figure 1.3 shows that three of the five towns—Péngbùxī, Shādé, and Pǔshāróng, are located alongside the north-to-south flowing Lìqiū River (立丘河, aka Lìqǔ River, 立曲河), which is a tributary to the Yǎlóng River (雅砻江) in the west. The villages of the Gònggāshān township are dispersed along a river called Yùlóngxī (玉龙溪), a tributary to

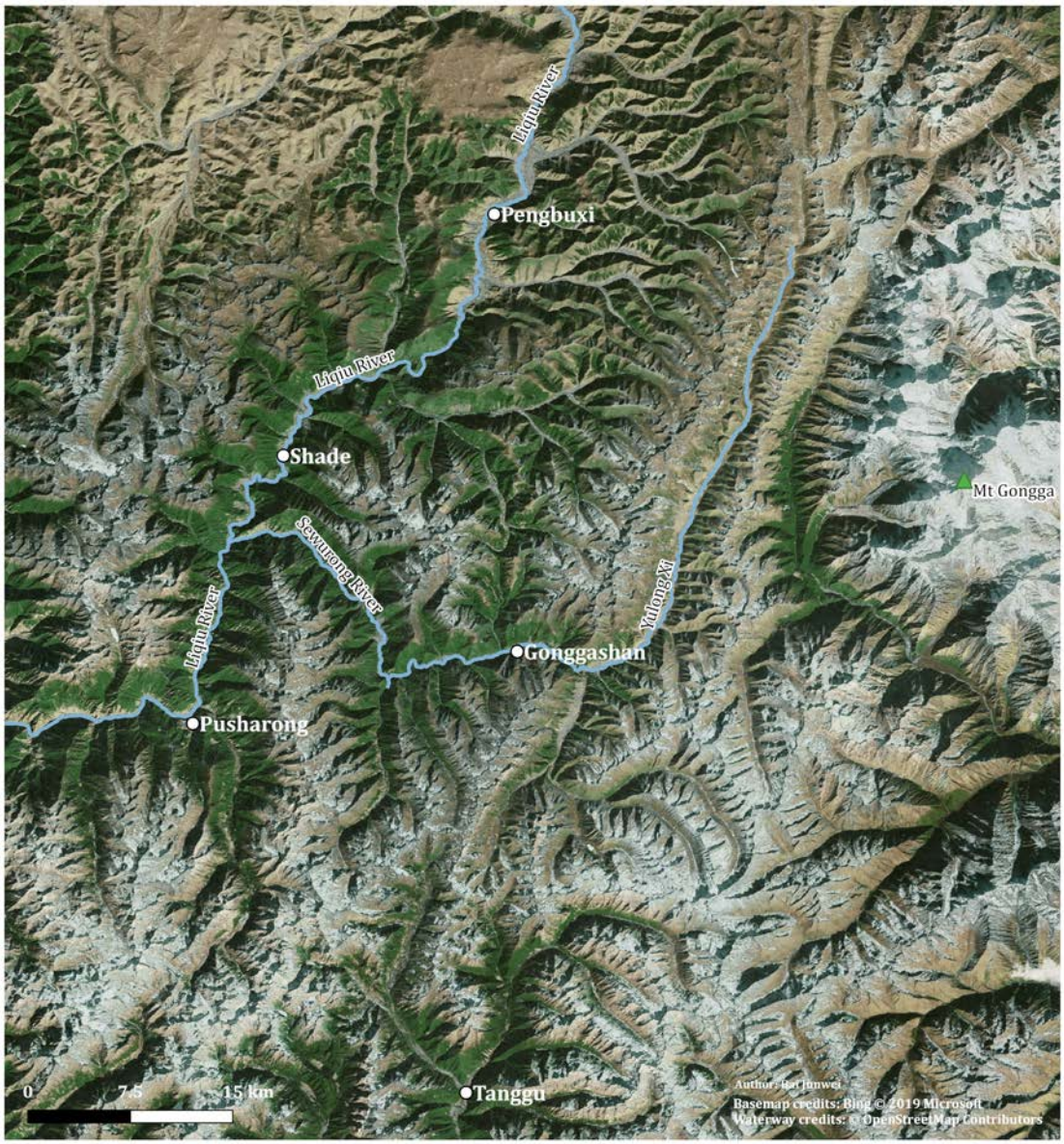

Figure 1.3: The Geography of Western Munya area

the Lìqiū River.

The geographic difference in this area is so significant that people of different places have different means of sustenance. Villages of Péngbùxī, Shādé and western Gònggāshān Township are generally built along wide valleys, where people can both farm crops and graze animals. The crops planted at this area include barley, wheat, potatoes, peas and globe turnips. The livestock kept are predominantly *dzo*, a hybrid of yak and yellow cattle. Some families also keep horses. Figure 1.4 shows a typical landscape of this region.

Figure 1.4: The Landscape of A Northern Munya Village

The villages at the eastern part of the Gònggāshān Township lie upstream of the Yùlóngxī and near Mount Gongga. Because the altitude here is so extreme (about 3,600 MASL) that farming is not feasible and people are forced to live a nomadic life. The photo in figure 1.5 is taken in this area.

The mountains in Pǔshāróng Township are generally very deep, which is not suitable for grazing. Farming is also quite restricted, with pieces of croplands found only in flat areas of the valley. The altitude here is low enough for maize to grow, but not high enough to plant barley. The photo in Figure 1.6 is taken in this area.

1.5 Religion and Related Customs

The dominant religion of this area is Tibetan Buddhism, though there are also vestiges of Bon, the native folk religion. The sects of Buddhism that Munya people belong to are different, and are seemingly dependent on the monasteries in the vicinity of their villages. Within this region are monasteries of Gelug (དགེ་ལུགས་དང), Sakya (ས་སྐྱ་དང) and Kagyu

Figure 1.5: The Landscape of A Munya Village near Mount Gongga

(བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ), among which Gelug seems to be the most influential. The biggest and most important Gelug monastery at this area is Gǔwǎsì (古瓦寺, འགེ་ཁ་དགོན, 'ge kha dgon, *guwɛ́kʰɛ* in Munya), which is located in the mountains northwest of Shādé township and houses over three hundred monks.

Religion is very important to the Munya people. It manifests itself in many aspects of their lives and fundamentally shapes their world view. Killing living beings is deemed a sin, and many people do not even use pesticides; but intoxication seems to be allowed, though it is rare to see people getting drunk. The ubiquitous mantra *Om mani padme hum* (ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པ་དྨེ་ཧཱུྃ, roughly means keeping the body as lotus) is carved into mani stones and painted on the side of hills, and is chanted by laypersons and monastics. Each village has two or three *moní tɔ́kʰö* 'prayer wheel house', where one can turn the big prayer wheel while walking around it, chanting *Om mani padme hum* at the same time. On important occasions, such as marriage, funerals or prior to sowing, it is customary to invite lamas to recite sutras, and the recitation can last for several days. Sky burial is widely practiced, but several villages around a Sakya monastery perform cremation. People have the obligation

Figure 1.6: The Landscape of Pǔshāróng Township

to provide butter and barley powder to the monasteries within their parish, and may be asked to work in the monastery when necessary.

1.6 Lifestyle

A small Munya family generally has four members—the parents and two children, while a large family can have up to seven or eight members of three generations. The firstborn child, be it male or female, will inherit the estate of the family, and has the responsibility to take care of his or her parents. Other children will live together with the family of their in-laws after getting married. Principles of residence thus vary depending on the seniority

of the child. While both polygyny and polyandry are allowed, monogamy is the most common practice. In polygyny and polyandry, the wives and husbands are always sisters or brothers. A family with polygyny or polyandry is never frowned upon, but looked up to, as it means that family has no shortage of labor.

Munya people are hard-working. Each day people start working at about six o'clock. The first job is to drive livestock up to the hills (except in winter), where they roam and graze until afternoon. Then the cattle droppings in the yard need to be removed. Next butter is churned from the milk of the previous day (nowadays a specialized machine is used for this). Then people start to have breakfast. The typical food for breakfast include tsampa, solid sour milk and butter tea (with salt added to it). After breakfast people will continue to work until lunch. After lunch, people work until it gets dark, but sometimes have some refreshments at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The livestock in the hills must be driven back before dark, so that they can be milked. After milking, the milk residue from which butter has been extracted in the morning will be heated up and made into solid sour milk. When these chores are done people will start to have dinner. For dinner, Munya people like baozi, noodles and *putɛ́*, a kind of soup made with dough, vegetables and meat.

Munya people are busy most of the time of the year. Plowing and sowing starts in early March, based on the Tibetan calendar, which can be about one month earlier than the Gregorian calendar. Before plowing, lamas are invited to chant sutras in order to dispel unclean spirits and give blessings for a good harvest. March is the season for digging caterpillar fungus, when people will go up to the high mountains in search of this kind of precious medicinal material and sell them to local dealers. It is the major source of income for the Munya people. May is the season for mushrooms, and just like caterpillar fungus they can also be sold. Field crops ripen in August. Barley will be harvested first, followed by peas, wheat, potatoes and globe turnips. In the location of my fieldwork, farming used to take a substantial amount of time, but thanks to the introduction of modern agricultural machinery, both sowing and harvesting can be completed within one or two days by a family. It is common practice for people of the same village to help each other with the harvest, and the family that is helped will always help back. After all crops are harvested, people will cut firewood for the next year.

The biggest event at the end of the year is the New Year festival. Preparation starts on December 29, when a thin gruel of nine ingredients will be made (called *gutʰú* in Munya, in which *gu* means 'nine'). On the next day, people wash their clothes and make wheat porridge (wheat symbolizes auspiciousness). *pʰɔhɔ́*—a kind of dumpling with a filling of butter, barley powder and sugar—is made for sacrifices and for eating. On this day people eat *pʰɔhɔ́* and drink wheat porridge, and pray that good fortune may come to them. People stay up until very late that night, telling stories, chatting with each other, or chanting sutras. It is believed that the later one stays up, the longer one will live. In the early morning of January first (the Tibetan calendar has thirty days in December), people will go to fetch water from river. At riverside people burn pine branches for smoke offerings and make wishes. The water from the river will be sprinkled around in the house and some will be offered to the gods. Then people have tea and make another smoke offering at home. People will also consult the Tibetan almanac to decide if this is an auspicious day for an outing. Those that go out will bring pancakes and wine, and ride on horses. When they arrive at their destination (there are some conventional destinations for New Year outing) they sacrifice to the gods what they brought and take part in horse racing. The New Year festival will last for several days with celebrations of singing and dancing.

1.7 Architecture

A Munya house generally has three floors. The ground floor is for keeping livestock, the families live on the second floor, and the third floor is used to store grains and can sometimes have a *laɣɔ́* 'sanctuary'. The external wall of the sanctuary needs to be painted white. Figure 1.7 is a typical Munya house.

Munya houses are mostly constructed from stone and wood. The walls are stone and mud while the floors are made with logs and stamped earth. On the second floor, the inner walls are fitted with wooden panels, and the floors are planks of wood. This floor has living rooms, bedrooms, and a toilet. There is generally no separate kitchen, as food is customarily cooked on the fireplace in the living room. Nowadays almost every family has an iron stove for cooking rather than an open fireplace. Figure 1.8 shows part of a Munya living room.

Picture courtesy of Zlaba Pzangpo (ཟླ་བ་བཟང་པོ)

Figure 1.7: A Munya House

Building a house can take one to three years, as it is not easy to get the necessary materials all at once. Some houses can be one hundred or two hundred years old. In the former times it was not uncommon for a family to abandon their house and move to a different place if they were in debt to a local landowner. Some outsiders would occupy the house, but would be demanded to pay off the remaining debt.

Perhaps the most eye-catching architecture in the Munya area are the high fortresses. These are free-standing stone towers as tall as thirty to fifty meters, found in a wide area from southeastern Tibet to western Sichuan. Carbon-dating suggests that they were built from 200 AD to 1600 AD (Darragon 2009). The fortresses shown in Figure 1.9 are in the area of my fieldwork.

The Tibetan name for the towers is *rdzong* (རྫོང). The Munya term is similar, which is *dzú*. Records of them appear in Chinese annals as early as the third century, in the *Book*

Picture courtesy of Zhao Jing

Figure 1.8: A Munya Living Room

of the Later Han, where they are called Qióng lóng (邛笼) (H. K. Sun 1981). H. K. Sun (1981, 1986) believes that the Chinese word may be borrowed from Qiang, and that this type of fortress building was created by speakers of Qiangic languages.

The fortresses are all constructed with uncut stones, which are bonded together with mortar. They are hollow inside with inward-sloping walls. The bottom is about four meters in diameter, and the top between two and two and a half meters. The wall at the bottom is about one meter thick, and the wall at the top is half a meter thick. There are wooden stairs inside of the building all the way to the top (H. K. Sun 1986, more detailed descriptions are given in Darragon 2009).

High fortresses have different styles, and can be classified into four types. Viewed from the top, the fortresses in the Munya area are generally square or star-shaped. They either have six corners and six sides or eight corners and sixteen sides (Darragon 2009).

Local people cannot tell for sure what these towers were built for. Most people believe that they were built for defense, but in some places they could have been built for sacrifices

Figure 1.9: A Twin High Fortress in Péngbùxī Township

to the heaven or as a symbol of status and wealth (Shi 2008).

1.8 The Culture of the Eastern Munya Area

Eastern Munya is spoken in six townships (see Figure 1.1). Four of them—Caǒkē (草科), Xiānfēng (先锋), Xiéluó (蟹螺), and Xīnmín (新民)—belong to Shímían (石棉) County while the other two—Wānbà (湾坝) and Hóngbà (洪坝)—belong to Jiǔlóng (九龙) County. I cannot provide any first-hand information on the eastern Munya area because I did not do any fieldwork there. The following brief account of the culture in this region is abstracted

from J. Li (2006), a master's thesis which, as far as I know, is currently the most thorough ethnological research on this area. The study was carried out in the Měngzhǒng (猛种) village of Xièluó Township, but since the author also gives information on four other towns nearby, it can be seen as representative of the eastern Munya culture. The situations of Wānbà and Hóngbà, however, remain a matter for future research. In what follows, 'eastern Munya' only refers to the Munya-speaking area within Shímián County.

Munya people at this region live on hillside (about 1,700 MASL), and are surrounded by Han Chinese, Yi people, and Ersu Tibetans. People here live by both farming and grazing, growing potatoes and maize and keeping yaks, sheep and goats (J. Li 2006: 4). The house structure is similar to that in the western Munya area.

The religion in this area is a mixture of the Nyingma (རྙིང་མ་པ།) sect of Tibetan Buddhism and the ancient religion of Tibet, Bon. Animal sacrifice is very common, and people worship Shenrab Miwo (གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ), the founder of Bon (J. Li 2006: 6). Lamas do not study in monasteries or hold precepts. Being a Lama is seen as a kind of profession, and can be handed down from one generation to the next (J. Li 2006: 6–7).

White-stone worship is very conspicuous (J. Li 2006: 7), as is the case of many other speakers of Qiangic languages (such worship is not very apparent in the western Munya area).

A family generally has five members. The youngest child will inherit the house of the family (in contrary to the western Munya practice). Eastern Munya people seldom marry outsiders, but people from the same village do not marry each other. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred, but only the daughter on the uncle's side and the son on the aunt's side can marry each other (J. Li 2006: 8–9).

The most important festival of eastern Munya people is the New Year, which is celebrated from the first to the fifth of December of the lunar calendar. The festival is marked by numerous sacrifices, both to mountain deities and to ancestors (J. Li 2006: 13–14). Other major ceremonies include worshiping mountain deities and sheep sacrifice. The former consists of sacrificing a white rooster to mountain deities, and is carried out between August fifteen and March of the next year. The rooster needs to be white as that is the color of holiness. The purpose is to ask for protection or blessing for harvest from the mountain deities (J. Li 2006: 14–17). Sheep sacrifice is devoted to ancestors, and is

performed during New Year festival (J. Li 2006: 17–18).

According to a local folklore, eastern Munya people migrated to the current area about four hundred years ago in several waves, from a place in the north which nobody now remembers for sure (J. Li 2006: 19–24). Some traces in their customs and ceremonies indicate that their ancestors might be nomads from northwest China (J. Li 2006: 50–53). This means Munya used to be spoken in a wider area than it is today, and may lend support to the hypothesis that Munya people are related to Tangut.

1.9 Previous Work and This Study

Munya is not a well-studied language. It was not until in the 1980s that the language began to be described by linguists, during which period three grammar sketches were produced, which are B. F. Huang (1985), Liu (1985), and H. K. Sun (1983).

Later studies generally focus on certain aspects of the language. Ikeda Takumi undertook fieldwork in the western dialect areas and published several papers. Ikeda (1998) compares how the phonetics of vowels and consonants documented by him differ from those in previous studies. Ikeda (2002) discusses the word prosody in Munya. Ikeda (2006a) can be considered a mini-dictionary, which contains two hundred basic words organized according to semantic fields. The word forms given include those from the author's own study and those gleaned from previous publications. Ikeda (2006b) is a lengthy paper which provides the historical background of the language and its speakers and tries to trace the connections between Munya and Tangut. It also contains detailed accounts of the author's fieldwork experience. Ikeda (2008) has two hundred basic Munya clauses, including glossing and the authors' comments. Ikeda (2010) compares the existential verbs in Tangut and Munya, and is another attempt to establish the genetic relations between the two languages.

The PhD thesis by Y. Gao (2015) on Munya grammar is by far the most comprehensive study on this language. The thesis, which is written in French, covers the basic phonology, morphology and syntax of Munya, and is based on original fieldwork in the villages of Rìtóu (日头) and Mǎdá (马达), which are in the same area for my fieldwork. The results of her analyses differ from mine, especially in the treatment of lax versus tense

distinctions in vowels. Gao's approach to phonology has a diachronic angle. In spite of its comprehensiveness, some topics, however, are not addressed to a satisfactory degree. For example, there is no chapter dealing specifically with word classes, the distinction between sortal and mensural classifiers were not made and their various functions were not discussed, and there is little discussion of the difference between egophoric-like markers.

Y. Gao and Rao (2016) is an insightful treatment of person marking in Munya. Y. Gao and Rao (2017) deals with the directional prefixes in this language.

All studies mentioned above are based on the western dialect. J. Li (2006) is an ethnological study on the speakers of the eastern dialect, focusing on their custom, belief and legend. Yin (2013, 2017) deal with the spatial settings in eastern Munya, and are still the only two studies pertaining to the eastern dialect.

The present study is a continuation of this limited but thriving scholarly tradition. It started in April 2015, when my postgraduate program at Nanjing University was coming to an end and I was looking for a PhD position in linguistics. From the LINGUIST List, I found some information on such a vacancy offered by James Cook University. I contacted the persons who posted that advertisement, Professor Alexandra Aikhenvald and Professor R. M. W. Dixon, who later became my supervisors. At that time I only had a vague idea of studying a Tibeto-Burman language, so they suggested that I contact Professor Jackson T.-S. Sun in order to decide on a suitable language to work on. Professor Sun advised me to work on Munya, as it is an important but little known language. Although I never heard of this language before that, I accepted his advice. I studied for six months at James Cook University before I started my first fieldwork, which lasted for nine months, from August 2016 to April 2017. I returned to the university and finished half of the present thesis. Following that I did a second term of fieldwork, lasting from July to September 2018. The rest of the thesis was finished eight months later.

During the two field trips, I collected about 3,000 words and transcribed three and a half hours of audio recordings from about a dozen native speakers. These are the primary data the thesis is based on. Diversity in speaker and genre was taken into account when the recordings were made. In terms of gender, there are both male and female speakers. In terms of age, there are teens, the middle-aged, and the elderly. In terms of dialects, while most recordings are based on the northern dialect, a small portion (about 10 minutes)

is from the southern dialect. In terms of genre, there are story-telling, autobiography, description of procedural activities, a sermon from monks, and daily conversations. All these materials were produced spontaneously by native speakers in a natural context, with no elicitation involved.

The recordings were first made with a *Zoom H4n Handy Recorder*, then migrated into a laptop for analysis and transcription. The transcription was done in *Elan* and *Saymore*. Elan is a professional software designed by The Language Archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics for creating annotations on video and audio resources. Saymore is a software developed by SIL for managing and transcribing audio recordings. After deciding on the materials to be transcribed, I would first divide the recordings into sentences then pre-transcribe them all by myself. After that I would work with my consultants, first playing a sentence on the computer, then repeating what I think I heard. I had two major consultants, both male and in their fifties. The consultants would correct me and repeat the correct sentence to me, after which I would rectify my transcriptions. The consultants would then translate the sentence for me into Chinese. (As my understanding of the language improved, the transcriptions and translations were constantly modified and updated.) The transcribed materials were then exported to FLEX (Fieldwork Language Explorer), a software developed by SIL for managing linguistic and cultural data, ready for glossing and analysis.

The analyses in the thesis are cast within the framework of Basic Linguistic Theory of Dixon (2012a,b,c) and Aikhenvald (2015). The thesis is a comprehensive reference grammar of Munya. It covers the core aspects of the language, including phonetics and phonology, morphology, word classes, grammatical categories, clause structures, and discourse and pragmatics. This, of course, by no means implies that all intricacies in this language have been worked out. Perhaps I, more than anyone else, am aware of how many important issues are glossed over, how shaky many analyses are, and how many conclusions could be turned over as more data become available. Nevertheless, it is my hope that this work can act as a stepping stone to the edifice of Munya studies.

1.10 Typological Overview and Outline of the Grammar

This section provides a typological overview of Munya and outlines the structure of the thesis.

Topics on phonetics and phonology are treated in Chapter 2. Here the consonant and vowel phonemes will be given first, and some related issues, such as consonant clusters, vowel nasalization, tense and lax vowels, and diphthongs will be discussed. Munya has a large inventory of phonemes—there are forty consonants and thirteen vowels. Different from some other Qiangic languages, there are no consonant clusters (although prenasalized sounds can be alternatively analyzed in such a way). Uvular consonants in the northern dialect are allophones of dorso-velars instead of independent phonemes. Munya is a tonal language, which contrasts a high tone and a low tone, and the two tones constitute a range of patterns. Phonological processes will be discussed next, followed by syllable structure and word structure. Lastly, the criteria for identifying phonological words and grammatical words and their relationships will be discussed.

Morphology is discussed in Chapter 3. Morphological processes in Munya include cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. The morphophonological phenomena of vowel harmony are also discussed and a plethora of vowel harmony patterns are identified. In terms of direction both anticipatory harmony and perseverative harmony are found. In terms of dimension there are fronting harmony, lowering harmony, tense harmony, raising harmony, and full harmony. It is also shown that in order to account for the identical vowels in the directional prefixes of certain verbs, the mechanism of vowel elision is needed.

Word classes are treated in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Chapter 4 deals with open word classes, including nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. These four word classes are defined based on a set of phonological, morphological and syntactic properties that are specific to Munya. Most of these properties are not shared by different classes. Even if a few of these properties are found across different classes, they are fully expressed in only one word class and are restricted for other classes. This means that nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs can be clearly distinguished in Munya. Closed classes in Chapter five are recognized mainly on functional grounds, with formal criteria also taken into ac-

count whenever they are available. There are eight closed classes in Munya, which are demonstratives, pronouns, number words, quantifiers, postpositions, interrogative words, auxiliaries, and particles.

Nouns are discussed in Chapter 6. In this chapter the structure of noun phrases, plurality, numeral classifiers and nominalization will be covered. A noun phrase can consist of a bare noun or one to several modifiers, which can be positioned either before or after the head noun. Munya has five plural markers. The most basic marker is *=nə*. The four other markers are all morphologically related to it, which are the associative plural *=ronə́*, the collective associative plural *=nɛ*, the place associative plural *=nə́tɕʰo*, and the similative plural *=mə́nə*. As with many other languages, numeral classifiers can be classified as sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. These numeral classifiers have a plethora of functions, such as denoting indefiniteness, stacking number words to express approximate meaning, acting as quantifiers and adverbs, acting as nominal and manner adverbial demonstratives, and being used for complementation strategy. There are six nominalizing particles in Munya, which cover functions of agentive nominalization, local/temporal nominalization, state/object nominalization, activity-object nominalization, and free-standing nominalization.

Issues related to verbs are treated in Chapter 7 to Chapter 10. In Chapter 7 we look at verbal morphology, including directional prefixes, person-number inflections, causatives and pluractionality. There are seven directional prefixes in Munya. Some of these prefixes can involve more than one sense of direction, and they can be used as verbalizers to make finer-grained semantic distinctions. The predominant person-number inflectional paradigm is first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person nonsingular. The final vowels tend to be /o/ and /ö/ for first person singulars, /ɛ/ and /ü/ for second person singulars, and /e/ for first or second person nonsingulars. There are two ways to form causatives, which are internal modification, including vowel raising (productive) and consonantal processes (non-productive), and with the causative marker *tɕʰí*. The first way tends to be used in intransitive clauses while the second way is mainly applied to transitive clauses. Pluractionality is realized through reduplication of verbal roots. The meanings of this category cover repetition of action, action carried out by multiple persons, and reciprocal actions.

In Chapter 8 we explore some other important grammatical categories related to nouns and verbs, which are case-marking, aspect, evidentiality, egophoricity and mirativity. There are ten cases in Munya. Core syntactic functions can be marked by the ergative case *i*, the absolutive case (in zero form), the genitive case *ɣɛ*, the dative case *le* and the experiential case *ɣɛ*. The patterns of alignment are different for different types of verbs. For control verbs, the pattern is basically ergative-absolutive, but there are also some variations due to differential case marking. Specifically, A is marked by the ergative case, S is marked by the absolutive case, but O can be marked by absolutive case, dative case and experiential case. For non-control verbs, the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative, in that both A and S are marked by the experiential case and O is marked by the absolutive case. There are three aspects, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect. There are also three evidential markers, which are the direct evidential, the indirect evidential and the reported evidential. The perfective marker and the indirect evidential marker are the same auxiliary *sə*, which has both an aspectual sense and an evidential sense. There are two egophorics in Munya. *ŋo* can only be used in context of first or second person subject and control predicate. *nyi* can occur with all persons and all types of predicates. The meanings of egophorics cover volitional action and privileged access to information. The mirative marker *tʰoŋósə* is a clause final particle. It is grammaticalized from the equative copula verb *tʰoŋó* plus the perfective aspect marker *sə*. It can be used in contexts of sudden or deferred realization, counter-expectation, surprise or new information.

Chapter 9 is devoted to motion verbs and serial verb constructions. In this chapter we first look at the properties of five motion verbs, including whether or not they show person-number inflections, the directional prefixes that they can take, the verbal categories and time adverbials that they can co-occur with, and whether or not they can be used as minor verbs in serial verb constructions. Next we look at serial verb constructions in Munya. There are both symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verb constructions, though the latter type is much rarer than the former type. Serial verb constructions in Munya are not always temporally iconic, because the grammatical rule of Munya is such that conceptually secondary verbs should follow primary verbs.

Chapter 10 discusses the properties and functions of copula verbs. Copula verbs

in Munya can denote IDENTITY, LOCATION, EXISTENCE, and POSSESSION. The senses of LOCATION, EXISTENCE and POSSESSION can be expressed with one copula. Munya has multiple copula verbs of existence, the choice of which is determined by the semantics of the Copula Determining Referent (CDR), which can be realized as copula subject or copula complement. Some copulas have extended functions. The copula of identity can act as an egophoric marker and the mirative marker. The copula for animate CDR, *ndʑú*, and the one for movable CDR, *mú*, can be used as a progressive aspect marker. The copula which requires an abstract CDR, *ndə́*, can also be used as a modal particle. Finally, when attached to copulas, the directional prefix *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker' can mark perfectiveness.

In Chapter 11 we look at adjectives, an independent and open word class in Munya. Adjectives can be defined on the basis of their phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties. Phonologically, many (though by no means all) adjectives are inherently reduplicated. Morphologically, adjectives can take a comparative prefix, a superlative prefix, and an intensification suffix. Syntactically, adjectives can modify nouns and verbs, function as predicates and complements of certain verbs. Inherently reduplicated adjectives can also occur in monosyllabic form, called the 'short-form' of adjectives. When functioning as predicates, both short-form and full form are allowed. But when adjectives are prefixed, only short-forms can be used. The semantic types of adjectives in Munya include DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, COLOR, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, DIFFICULTY, SIMILARITY, QUANTIFICATION and POSITION.

Chapter 12 looks at interrogatives and negation. Interrogatives in Munya can be grouped into four types, which are constituent interrogative, polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative. Each type of interrogative is formed in its unique way and has its unique functions. Constituent interrogative needs an interrogative word, which generally contains the interrogative prefix *ɛ-*. It occupies the same position as the constituent questioned, and can be used as indefinites or general indefinites. Polar interrogative is formed by attaching the interrogative prefix to predicates or auxiliaries. Rhetorical interrogative is used to introduce a new topic, and alternative interrogative generally contains the particle *sʉ́* 'or', which links two clauses parallel in structure. Negation can be expressed either with prefixes or with a negative predicate. There are four negative

prefixes with contrasting but also overlapping functions. *tɛɯ-* is only used in prohibitive clauses, *nyɯ-* is used in non-past situations and *mo-* is used in past situations. The negative prefix *tɛɛ-* is interchangeable with *nyɯ-* and *mo-* but cannot be followed by egophoric markers.

Chapter 13 is about basic clause types. In this chapter clauses are first categorized based on predicates, i.e., whether they are verbs, adjectives, copulas or nouns. For each of these types, clauses are further classified based on argument structure as reflected in case marking. After that there is a section on imperative clauses. Such clauses can be categorized into second-person imperative clauses and first person imperative clauses, and the former can be further classified into immediate imperative, future imperative and polite imperative.

Chapter 14 analyzes complex clauses. Here relative clauses, complement clauses, speech report constructions and clause linking devices are explored. In Munya, a relative clause precedes the common argument, and is marked by *ɣɛ*. The common argument is stated in the main clause, and there is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. In complement clauses, the most common argument slot that a complement clause takes is O. There is no dedicated marker for complement clauses. Munya has a wide range of complement-taking verbs, including copulas. In Munya, nominalization, relativization and complementation are related: the same morpheme, *ri*, is found in all three types of constructions, and some constructions are amenable to different analyses. A speech report construction consists of the speech report content, the reporting marker, and optionally a linker between the two. Munya has two markers of speech report, a verb, *tə́-tə* 'UP-say', and a reported evidential, *tə́pi*. There is no obligatory linker between the two markers and the speech report content. There are indirect, direct, and semi-direct speech reports in Munya. In semi-direct speech report, the subject in the matrix clause and the embedded clause are coreferential, and the subject in the embedded clause needs to shift to the reflexive form. Meanwhile, the verb or auxiliary in the embedded clause inflects for the person-number of the subject before it is shifted. For complex clauses containing clause linking, a distinction can be made between focal clauses and supporting clauses. Eight types of clause linking are recognized, which are those involving the relationships of temporal, conditional, consequence, contrast, con-

junction, disjunction, same-event addition, and concession.

In Chapter 15 we look at discourse and pragmatics. Here the distribution of the commonly found discourse marker *tsəkú* will be described. We then turn to some techniques of argument manipulation, including argument omission, right dislocation, and coreferential NP ellipsis. In the section on NP ellipsis, it will be shown that both A, S and O can be ellipsed when they are recoverable from the context, which means there is no pivot restrictions in Munya. The narrative genre of Munya discourse features prevalent bridging constructions, including recapitulative linkage and summary linkage. In the first type of linkage, a dependent clause is used to recapitulate in verbatim or in close paraphrase the preceding clause, and in the second type, a clause containing a demonstrative anaphorically summarizes the content of a discourse unit, typically a paragraph. Munya also has an archaic honorific style, now largely lost within young speakers. This style is used when the subject is a venerable Buddhist. In this style, a standard-register verb (and less commonly, a noun) needs to be replaced by an honorific verb to show the deference of the speaker.

Appendix A is a long story about the adventures of three children, and Appendix B is a vocabulary of about 2,800 words.

Chapter 2

Phonetics and Phonology

2.1 Overview

In this chapter we look at the phonetics of phonology of Munya. We will first discuss segmental phonology, identifying consonants and vowels in the first two sections (Section 2.2 and 2.3). In the latter part of the two sections, we clarify some related issues, including consonant clusters, vowel nasalization, tense and lax vowels and diphthongs. We will then look at the suprasegmental phonology in Section 2.4. It will be shown that Munya is a tonal language which contrasts a high tone and a low tone, and the two tones combine in a restricted range of patterns. The phonological processes in Munya are treated in Section 2.5, where four types of processes are identified, which are vowel nasalization, uvularization, aspiration assimilation and lenition. After that, syllable structure and word structure will be briefly discussed (Section 2.6), followed by loan word phonology (Section 2.7) and the criteria for phonological words and grammatical words (Section 2.8). The orthographic practice used in the thesis is discussed in the last section (Section 2.9).

2.2 Consonants

Altogether forty consonantal phonemes are attested in Munya, which are presented in Table 2.1. The table contains only the consonants identified in the northern dialect, though in the following discussion reference will be made to the southern dialect whenever information is available.

Table 2.1: Consonants in Northern Munya

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	APICO-ALVEOLAR	APICO-POSTALVEOLAR	LAMINO-PALATAL	DORSO-VELAR
STOP						
VOICELESS	p		t			k
VOICELESS ASPIRATED	p^h		t^h			k^h
VOICED	b		d			g
PRENASALIZED	nb		nd			ng
NASAL	m		n		ɲ	ŋ
FRICATIVE						
VOICELESS			s	[ʂ]	ɕ	x
VOICED		v	z	ʐ	ʑ	ɣ
AFFRICATE						
VOICELESS			ts	tʂ	tɕ	
VOICELESS ASPIRATED			ts^h	$tʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$	
VOICED			dz	dʐ	dʑ	
PRENASALIZED			ndz	ndʐ	ndʑ	
APPROXIMANT	[w]				j	
LATERAL			l			

pú ‘incense stick’ **p^hú** ‘puff’

t^hí ‘seal’ **bí** ‘urine’

nbú ‘mountain’ **tú** ‘poison’

dú ‘canopy’ **ndɔ́** ‘meat’

ku ‘tent’ **k^hú** ‘inside’

gú ‘yak’ **ngú** ‘grass name’

mú ‘exist’ **ŋú** ‘silver’

ní ‘two’ **ɲi** ‘egophoric particle’

vɯ́ ‘snow’ **ɕɯ́** ‘lake’

sú ‘language’ **xú** ‘night’

zú ‘button’ **ʂúɑ** ‘protective amulet’

ʐi ‘hand’ **ʑi** ‘pig’

ɣu ‘grass’ **ts^hú** ‘to be enough’

tsʌ́tsʌ ‘hot’ **dzʌ́dzʌ** ‘spicy’

ndzə́ ‘meal’ **ndʐə́** ‘rope’

$tʂ^hɛtʂ^hɛ́$ ‘beautiful’ **jɛjɛ́** ‘strange’

dʐɛ́ ‘voice’ **tʂú** ‘six’

tɕɯ́ ‘water’ **$tɕ^hɯ́$** ‘now’

dʑɯ́ ‘trousers’ **ndʑɯ́** ‘to exist’

wú ‘person’ **lí** ‘moon’

In the table /ʂ/ and /w/ are in brackets because they are losing phonemic status. Consonants contrast six places of articulation, which are bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, postalveolar, palatal, and velar. Based on manners of articulation, consonants are categorized into stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates, approximants, and a lateral. The minimal and quasi-minimal pairs below the table serve to demonstrate that these consonants contrast with each other.

In the following subsections, consonants are discussed based on the manner of articulation, and the different places of articulation will be discussed whenever necessary.

2.2.1 Stops

Stops are made by first forming a complete closure, which results in a momentary blockage of the air stream, with the consequence that a pressure builds up behind the closure as the air tries to flow. As the closure is released, the compressed air bursts out in a small explosion.

Munya has three sets of stops: bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar. Each set of stops has a four-way contrast, which are voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and prenasalized voiced. These contrasts can be seen from the phonetic waveforms in Figure 2.1. The four words used to demonstrate these distinctions are *ku* ‘tent’, *kʰu* ‘inside’, *gu* ‘yak’ and *ngu* ‘plant name’, which are pronounced by the same speaker. The differences among this set of dorso-velar stops are manifested in Voice Onset Time (VOT), which is the time difference between the release of burst and the start of voicing. Generally speaking, voiceless unaspirated stops have a very small VOT value, voiceless aspirated stops have a relatively large VOT, and voiced stops and prenasalized stops have a negative VOT. This is exactly what we see from the figure. All four waveforms are aligned at the moment of burst release, which is set to be at 0.25 second. In the uppermost panel, where the stop is voiceless unaspirated, the VOT is very short—only 0.05s. The second panel contains a voiceless aspirated stop, and the VOT is 0.1s. The longer VOT is caused by an aspiration following the burst. On the third panel we can see that the vocal folds start vibrating 0.13s prior to burst release, indicating that this is a voiced stop. In the last waveform, the voicing section before burst is 0.08s. While this portion is shorter

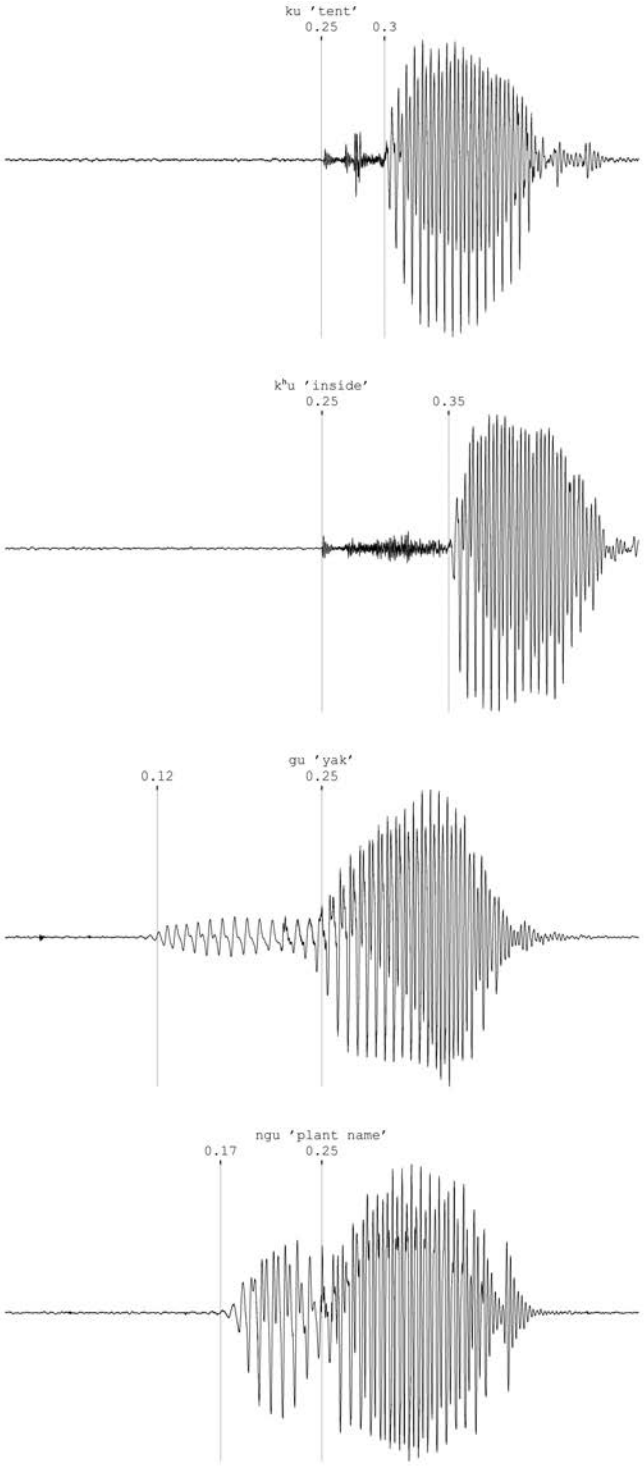

Figure 2.1: A Comparison of the VOTs of four Dorso-Velar Stops (in second)

compared to that in the voiced stop, it is also louder, as can be seen from the greater amplitude in the waveform. This is because in a voiced stop, the voicing volume prior to burst release is considerably muffled by the closed articulators, and in a prenasalized sound

the voicing before burst can escape through nasal cavity and is therefore louder.

Munya does not distinguish between voiced prenasalized sounds and voiceless prenasalized sounds. From the fourth waveform in Figure 2.1, we can conclude that prenasalized stops are similar to voiced stops: the burst release is immediately followed by the vowel section, without any gap in between, and the section before burst release is voiced. Nor are the nasal sounds at the prenasalizing section contrastive. This means we do not have such minimal pairs as *nbu* and *mbu*, or *ngu* and *ŋgu*. The nasal sound in this section is homorganic to the following stop.

2.2.2 Nasals

Nasals are produced by forming a complete closure in the mouth and lowering the velum at the same time, so that airflow comes out through nasal cavity. Four nasals are attested in Munya: the bilabial /m/, the apico-alveolar /n/, the lamino-palatal /ɲ/, and the dorso-velar /ŋ/.

The only nasal that needs to be discussed is /ɲ/. In Munya this sound is phonetically a laminal pre-palatal, made by pressing the blade of the tongue against the post-alveolar or the prepalatal zone. But in Table 2.1 it is grouped together with lamino-palatal fricatives and affricates. This grouping is based on phonological considerations. In Munya [u] and [o] are in complementary distribution, with [o] only occurring after lamino-palatals and [u] occurring in other environments. Because /ɲ/ patterns with other palatals, they are all put under the same category in terms of place of articulation.

Some young speakers do not have this phoneme. For example, I noticed that the little girl in my host family (12 years old) does not have this sound. In her phonological system, /ɲ/ has merged with /n/. But just how widespread this phenomenon is remains an issue for further study.

2.2.3 Fricatives

Fricatives are made by generating a turbulent airflow through a narrow channel, resulting in a maintainable hissing sound. There are altogether nine fricatives in Munya, of which eight are in pairs. The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is only found in Chinese loan

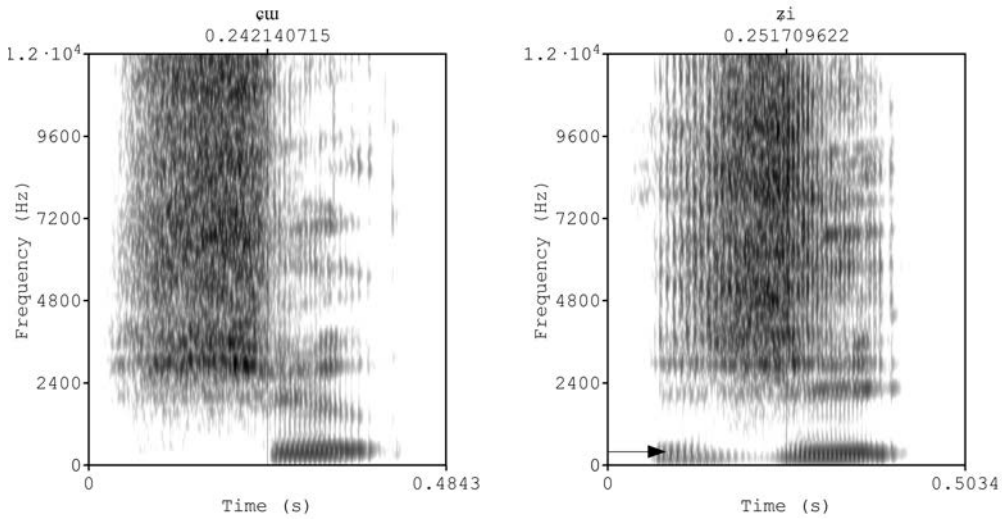

Figure 2.2: The Voicing Contrast Between Two Lamino-Palatal Fricatives

words (to be discussed in Section 2.7). All other fricatives are in pairs, including the apico-alveolar /s/ and /z/, the apico-postalveolar /ʂ/ and /ʐ/, the lamino-palatal /ɕ/ and /ʑ/, and the dorso-velar /x/ and /ɣ/.

This voicing contrast is illustrated with *ɕɯ* 'lake' and *pig* 'ʑi', the spectrograms of which are diagrammed in Figure 2.2. The voiceless fricative is shown in the left panel. There is no voicing bar at the part of the fricative sound on the left panel. By contrast, in the right panel, where the fricative is voiced, there is a voicing bar between 0 to 600 Hz, which is marked by an arrow.

2.2.3.1 Apico-Alveolar Fricatives

The pair of apico-alveolar fricatives, /s/ and /z/, is made with the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge or the upper teeth.

2.2.3.2 Apico-Postalveolar Fricatives

Apico-postalveolar fricatives (or retroflexes) are made with the tip of the tongue turned back against the hard palate. The voiceless apico-postalveolar fricative /ʂ/ is in brackets in Table 2.1, because /ʂ/ is losing its phonemic status in the northern dialect, and is merging with /ɕ/. This can be seen from the rarity of the phoneme, and from the variant pronunciations of the same word in different dialects. For example, what is pronounced

ʂɑ ‘barley’ and *ʂɤ* ‘feces’ in the southern dialect is respectively pronounced as *ɕɑ* and *ɕɤ* in the northern dialect. Nevertheless, /ʂ/ has not yet completely disappeared from the northern dialect, though it only exists in a few native words, such as *ʂənbɯ* ‘pimple’ and *tiʂu* ‘to confiscate’, and some loans, as in *ʂuɑ* ‘protective amulet’ (borrowed from Tibetan), *ʂe* ‘village’, *ʂotɕi* ‘cellphone’ and *ʂutɕi* ‘secretary’ (all borrowed from Chinese).

This merger is also observed in affricates containing /ʂ/. The word for ‘tsampa paste[1]’ is [tʂəmə] in the southern dialect but [tɕəmə] in the northern dialect. The alternation between /tʂ/ and /tɕ/ here can be accounted for as the result of the merger of /ʂ/ with /ɕ/ in the northern dialect.

The voiced apico-postalveolar fricative /ʐ/ is articulatorily very similar to its variant, the alveolar approximant [ɹ], and the two do not contrast. It has two other free variants, which are the alveolar trill [r] and the alveolar tap [ɾ].

2.2.3.3 Lamino-Palatal Fricatives

Lamino-palatal fricatives are made by drawing the blade of the tongue close to the concave of the prepalatal area, leaving a very narrow constriction for the air stream to pass through. /ʑ/ has an allophone [ʝ], which only occurs before high vowels. Thus /ʑi/ ‘pig’ is phonetically [ʝi]. This can be seen as a case of assimilation, as the body of the tongue is raised in anticipation of the production of high vowels.

2.2.3.4 Dorso-Velar Fricatives

The last pair of fricatives is the voiceless dorso-velar fricative /x/ and the voiced dorso-velar fricative /ɣ/, which are produced with the tongue root and the velum. The voiceless /x/ is in free variation with [h]. Before non-high back vowels, both /x/ and /ɣ/ become uvular sounds, with /x/ becoming the voiceless uvular fricative [χ] and /ɣ/ becoming the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ]. In addition, before non-high back vowels both /x/ and /ɣ/ can also be pronounced as the uvular trill [ʀ]. Their relationship is shown in Figure 2.3 below:

[1]The raw material of tsampa paste is fried barley flour. The flour is made by first frying barley in a big wok then grinding them in watermills. The paste is made by adding water, which is then eaten like porridge.

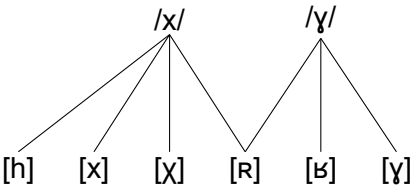

Figure 2.3: The Allophones of /x/ and /ɣ/

2.2.3.5 About Uvular Consonants

While uvular sounds are widely attested among Qiangic languages (H. K. Sun 2016: 10), their phonemic status varies across different languages. Indeed, in addition to the stops and fricatives presented above, some researchers also identified a series of uvular consonants in Munya. H. K. Sun (1983) identified three uvular stops (/q/, /qʰ/ and /ɢ/) and two uvular fricatives (/χ/ and /ʁ/). These uvulars are also recognized by B. F. Huang (1985), who, in addition, sets up an uvular nasal /ɴ/, and notes that the voiced uvular stop /ɢ/ only occurs before /ɴ/. Similar to B. F. Huang (1985), Ikeda (1998) also identified two uvular fricatives, a uvular nasal (/ɴ/), and two uvular stops (/q/ and /qʰ/). In a recent study by Y. Gao (2015: 57) however, no phonemic uvular consonant is mentioned.

The reason why uvular sounds are treated as phonemic in some studies but non-phonemic in others may reflect dialectal variations within Munya. Except for Y. Gao (2015) and the present work, all previous studies were carried out in the southern dialect area. In the northern dialect, uvular sounds are only found before back vowels or the low front [a] and never before non-low front vowels. They can thus be treated as the allophones of dorso-velar consonants. (See Section 2.5.2 for more discussion.) However, in the southern dialect, uvular consonants *can* occur before non-low front vowels. For example, the word for 'wheat' is [qøɹ] (northern dialect has a totally different form, which is [ʐa]). Therefore, while uvular sounds exist in both the southern dialect and the northern dialect, their phonemic status differs: they are phonemes in the southern dialect but are allophones of dorso-velar consonants in the northern dialect.

2.2.4 Affricates

Affricates are stops released into their homorganic fricatives. The structure of this kind of sound is demonstrated in Figure 2.4 with the voiced lamino-palatal affricate from the word

dʑɯ ‘trousers’.

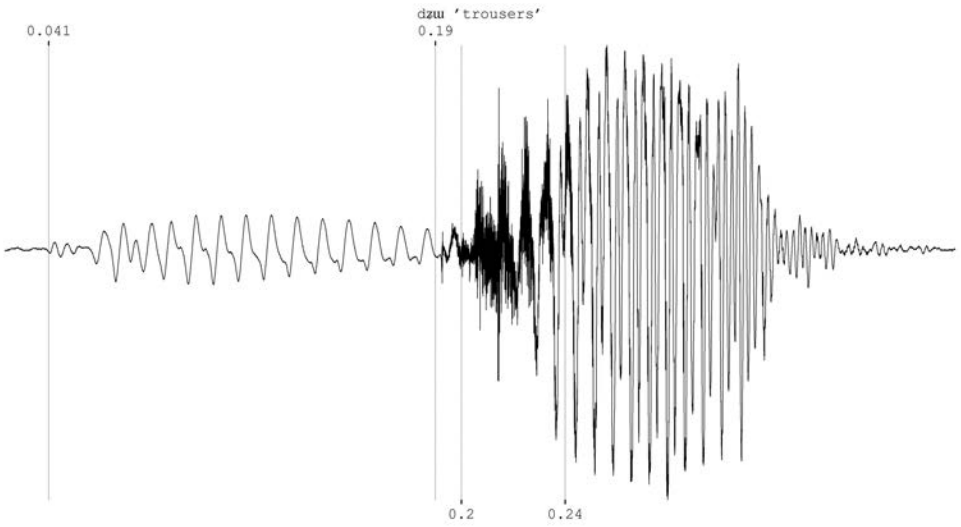

Figure 2.4: The Waveform of a Voiced Affricate

The affricate shown in this figure can be delimited into a stop section and a fricative section. The former ranges from 0.041s to 0.2s and the latter from 0.2s to 0.24s. The stop part can be further divided into a pre-voicing section, from 0.041s to 0.19s (as this is a voiced stop), and a section of burst release, from 0.19s to 0.2s. Here the burst part is 0.01s, which is considerably shorter than that in a pure stop (cf. the first panel in Figure 2.1). This may be because the latter part of the burst is merged with the following fricative section.

Affricates in Munya contrast three places of articulation: apico-alveolar, apico-postalveolar, and lamino-palatal. They are made in the same places as their fricative counterparts. Apico-alveolar affricates are produced with the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge, apico-postalveolar fricatives are formed with the sublamina and the pre-palatal area, and lamino-palatal affricates are made with the tongue blade and the pre-palatal area.

Similar to stops, affricates in Munya also contrast four modes of articulation: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and prenasalized. The stop component and the voicing component have the same voicing value. They are not analyzed as consonant clusters because no schwa can be inserted between them in slow register.

2.2.5 Approximants

Approximants are made by drawing two articulators close to each other, but not to the extent of forming a turbulent airflow. There are two approximants in Munya—the labio-velar /w/ and the lamino-palatal /j/, which are also called semi-vowels. [w] is made by raising the root of the tongue toward the velum and simultaneously rounding the lips, and [j] is produced with the tongue blade and the hard palate.

Not much needs to be said about /j/, but /w/ should be discussed in some detail. Notice that this phoneme is put in brackets in Table 2.1, because it is disappearing in the northern dialect. This loss is manifested in three aspects. The most direct evidence comes from comparing the different pronunciations of the same words in the northern and the southern dialects. *wi* 'wine' and *wotsə* 'this' in the southern dialect are respectively pronounced as *i* and *otsə* in the northern dialect. In addition, in the northern dialect, certain words have alternating pronunciations, either with or without /w/. For example, *ruwɛ* 'bear' can be pronounced as *ruɛ*, as do *ɣuwɛ* ∼ *ɣuɛ* 'farm cattle' and *ʈʂiwɛ* ∼ *ʈʂiɛ* 'praying beads'. It is possible that these words originally contained /w/, and as the phoneme is disappearing, the variants without /w/ emerge. The low functional load of this phoneme is another symptom of its loss. It is only found in a handful of words, and rarely occurs in initial syllables. Some notable exceptions include *wo* 'rope' and certain loan words from Chinese, such as *wɑ* 'roofing tile' and *wɑtsə* 'sock'.

The gradual loss of /w/ is correlated with the monophthongization of vowels in the northern dialect. Although there are no diphthongs in the northern dialect, B. F. Huang (1985) recorded diphthongs in the southern dialect, in which the first vowel of all diphthongs was always /u/, such as *kui* 'year', *quɑ* 'underneath', *tsʰuə̯* 'mouse' and *ʧuɑ* 'ant'. But she also noted that this /u/ is sometimes not pronounced, so that *dzuə* 'fox' can be alternatively pronounced as *dzə*. In the northern dialect, the vowels in all these words are monophthongs, hence *kui(SD)=ki(ND)* 'year', *tsʰuə̯(SD)= tsʰɯ(ND)* 'mouse' and *ʈʂuɑ(SD)=ʈʂɑ(ND)* 'ant'.

It is very probable that both the /u/ in the diphthong and the semi-vowel /w/ in the southern dialect documented in B. F. Huang (1985) correspond to /w/ in the northern dialect. Thus it might be more accurate to transcribe [kui] 'year' and [ʈʂuɑ] 'ant' as [kwi]

and [tʂwa]. One might wonder why cannot it be the case that they correspond to /u/. The reason is that /u/ is a commonly found vowel in the northern dialect, showing no trace of loss. Therefore, /w/ and /u/ should be kept apart, and it is the semivowel /w/ that is losing its phonemic status in the northern dialect.

2.2.6 Lateral

Munya has one lateral sound, /l/. It is a lateral approximant, made by touching the alveolar area with the tip of the tongue, and letting airflow out through the two sides of the tongue blade.

2.2.7 Consonant Clusters

The status of consonant clusters in Munya is controversial. On one hand, there are those who treat prenasalized consonants as consonant clusters (H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985). On the other hand, Y. Gao (2015: Chapter 4) treats this type of consonant on a par with other consonants . The debate on this issue is largely terminological, as these consonants can be analyzed either way without significantly influencing other parts of the phonological system (other than the syllable template). I analyzed prenasalized consonants as one consonant phoneme each, on the ground that there are only a small number of such consonants (altogether six) and that they contrast with other consonants.

Meanwhile Y. Gao (2015) includes six more prenasalized consonants in her consonant system, which were overlooked by previous researchers and need to be discussed here. These consonants all consist of an aspirated stop or affricate and a homorganic nasal component, which are /mpʰ/, /ntʰ/, /ŋkʰ/, /ntsʰ/, /ntɕʰ/ and /ntʂʰ/. Evidence from verbal directional prefixes indicates that such consonants do exist in Munya. A Munya verb can take one to seven directional prefixes (which are all monosyllabic). The vowels in these directional prefixes are normally not nasalized. For example, [xə] means ‘go’ and can be used without taking any directional prefix. The directional prefix is not nasalized when forming a word with [xə]: *tə-xə* ‘to go up (UP-go)’, *nʌ-xə* ‘to go down (DOWN-go)’ and *tʰʌ-xə* ‘to go away (AS-go)’. However, when prefixed to certain verb roots, directional prefixes need to be nasalized: *tə̃-tʰetɕɛ* ‘to drag upward (UP-drag)’, *nə̃-tʰetɕɛ* ‘to drag downward

(DOWN-drag)' and *tʰʌ̃-tʰetɕɛ* 'to drag (AS-drag)'. To account for the nasalization, one only needs to argue that the consonant in the first syllable of the verb root of 'drag' is prenasalized, and the underlying form of the root is *ntʰetɕɛ*. Then, with the vowel nasalization rule (to be discussed in Section 2.5), the vowels in the directional prefixes are nasalized and the nasal component in the prenasalized consonant is dropped.

Why not, then, add these prenasalized aspirated consonants to the consonant inventory? The reason is that, in contrast to prenasalized voiced consonants, this type of prenasalized consonants cannot occur in word-initial syllables. Thus, while there are such words as [mbi] 'to sit' and [ndʑɯ] 'to exist', there are no such words like [*mpʰi] or [*ntɕʰɯ], as this violates the phonotactic constraints in Munya. (*ntʰetɕɛ* 'to drag' cannot be used without taking a directional prefix.) Because of this constraint and the scarcity of such consonants, they seldom contrast with other consonants, which means that their phonemic function is negligible.

Some reduplicated adjectives in Munya give us a hint as to the fate of such prenasalized consonants. Munya has words such as [tʂʰə̃tʂʰø] 'hard-working' and [tʰũtʰu] 'high'. (see Section 11.2 for more information.) These words are otherwise fully reduplicated, except for the nasalization on the first vowel. One natural question is where does the nasalization come from. Now, if we assume that the consonants in the two words are prenasalized, we can reconstruct them as **ntʂʰøntʂʰø* and **ntʰuntʰu*. The nasalization on the first vowel would then come from the vowel nasalization rule, and the missing nasal component on the first syllable is the result of the simplification of consonant clusters. This also explains why prenasalized aspirated consonants are not found in word-initial syllables.

Thus, while prenasalized aspirated consonants in Munya may have existed and contrasted with other consonants in history, synchronically they are only preserved in non-initial syllables and do not have any phonemic functions. They are better analyzed as marginal, instead of fully fledged, phonemes.

2.3 Vowels

This section discusses the vowels in Munya. After first giving the vowel inventory in Section 2.3.1, the phonetics and allophones of vowels will be discussed, focusing on their acoustic properties such as formant configurations (Section 2.3.2). Nasalized vowels will be discussed in Section 2.3.3, and it will be shown that vowel nasalization in Munya is non-phonological. The nature of tense and lax vowels will be explored in Section 2.3.4, and the issues on diphthongs are briefly mentioned in Section 2.3.5.

2.3.1 Vowel Inventory

Munya has thirteen vowels. These vowels contrast in roundness, three degrees of backness, and four degrees of height. There are no diphthongs in northern Munya. The vowel inventory of the northern dialect is shown in Figure 2.5. Where the vowels occur in pairs, the one on the right is a rounded vowel. Single vowels are all unrounded.

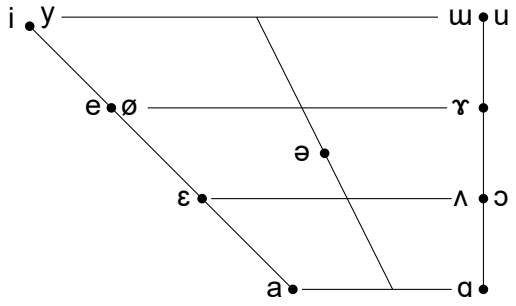

Figure 2.5: Vowels in Northern Munya

The phonemic status of these vowels can be established based on the minimal pairs below:

tɕi ‘one’	**tɕe** ‘house’	**tɕɛ** ‘tea’
sy ‘offerings’	**sɑ** ‘smoke offerings’	
nbu ‘mountain’	**nbø** ‘candy’	
va ‘butter’	**vʌ** ‘father’	
ɣɯ ‘seed’	**ɣɤ** ‘fish’	
ndɔ ‘meat’	**ndə** ‘exist’	

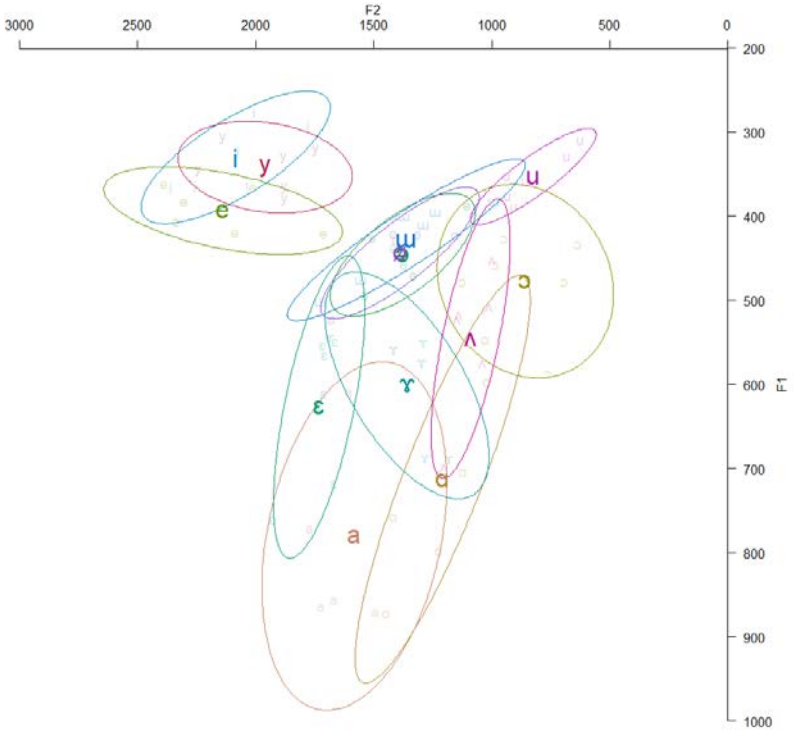

Figure 2.6: The Formant Plot of Munya Vowels

A preliminary phonetic study on Munya vowels is done based on a set of recordings of the above word list. The recordings are from six speakers of the northern dialect, of which two are females (S2 and S4) and four are males. The ages of the speakers range from late twenties to early seventies. Each word was first pronounced in isolation then put in the frame sentence *ŋi __ tə po nyi* 'I am saying __'. The F1 and F2 values of these vowels are then measured in *Praat*, which are given in Table 2.2. The measurement points are chosen where both F1 and F2 are relatively steady. With these data, a formant plot is drawn with the *phonR* package in *R*, which is given in Figure 2.6.[2] These vowels will be discussed in detail below.

2.3.2 The Phonetic Properties and Allophones of Vowels

2.3.2.1 Front Vowels

There are six front vowels in Munya. Contrast in lip position is found in the high pair and the mid-high pair, i.e., between /i/ and /y/ and /e/ and /ø/.

[2] In this figure, the two vowels immediately below /ɯ/ are /ø/ and /ə/. It so happens that they overlap with each other.

Table 2.2: The F1 and F2 Values of Munya Vowels Measured from six Speakers

		i	y	e	ø	ɛ	a	ɑ	ɯ	u	ɤ	ʌ	ɔ	ə
S1	F1	366	307	383	523	761	772	873	476	376	559	698	478	494
	F2	2359	2139	2302	1676	1926	1772	1445	1556	933	1415	1203	1124	1538
S2	F1	322	380	366	429	612	856	704	400	359	574	523	478	457
	F2	2073	1877	2008	1404	1709	1669	1120	1372	860	1297	1147	695	1373
S3	F1	364	345	407	443	553	864	757	502	352	545	517	427	426
	F2	2255	2238	2336	1370	1715	1723	1416	1724	937	1686	1141	947	1504
S4	F1	361	330	362	421	550	610	547	411	389	551	452	458	471
	F2	2035	1879	2384	1416	1664	1604	1024	1289	906	1291	997	985	1331
S5	F1	291	321	421	423	718	707	597	383	310	689	574	433	388
	F2	1779	1746	1711	1153	1666	1227	1018	991	627	1182	1038	637	1102
S6	F1	275	366	420	422	566	871	798	395	330	688	508	588	438
	F2	2004	1876	2082	1315	1706	1495	1124	1239	684	1283	1012	761	1417

The spectrograms of the two high front vowels are given in Figure 2.7.

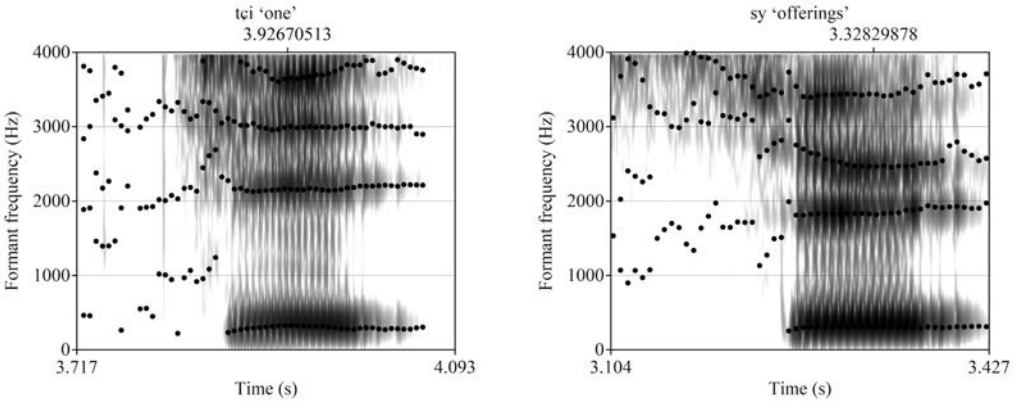

Figure 2.7: The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [i] and [y]. All spectrograms and formant contours used in this chapter are generated with *Praat*. For spectrograms, the view range is set between 0–4000 Hz, the window length is set at 0.005, and the dynamic range is set at 40.0 dB. In order to better capture the formants, the maximum formant is capped at 5500, the number of formants to be found is 5, the window length is set to 0.025, the dynamic range is 30.0, and the dot size is 1.0. The time points for measuring formant values are mostly in the middle of the vowel, where the formant contours are steady. The values are then checked against the standard vowel formants given in Catford (2001: 154) for reliability.

High front vowels are characterized by a low F1 and a high F2. At the time point marked above the figures, the two formants are respectively 324 and 2161 for [i] and 314 and 1819 for [y]. The lower F2 value for the rounded vowel is expected, because rounded lips can increase the length of the vocal tract and thus reduce the frequency of F2. Perhaps the two sounds can be more prominently distinguished by their F3s, which are 2993 for [i] and 2464 for [y].

In many words /i/ and /y/ are in free variation, such as *ɣɔji~ɣɔjy* ‘face’, *tʌji~tʌjy* ‘one night’, *ji~jy* ‘wine’, *si~sy* ‘day’, *li~ly* ‘month’ and *ri~ry* ‘will’. However, there are also many instances where they are non-interchangeable. For example, /i/ can occur in many directional prefixes, but this is impossible for /y/ (see Section 7.2). On the other hand, many verbs inflect for the second person singular form by changing the vowel in the final syllable to /y/, but never to /i/ (see Section 7.3). In view of these, the two sounds are treated as two distinct phonemes rather than two allophones of one phoneme.

Figure 2.8 shows the spectrograms of the two mid-high front vowels.

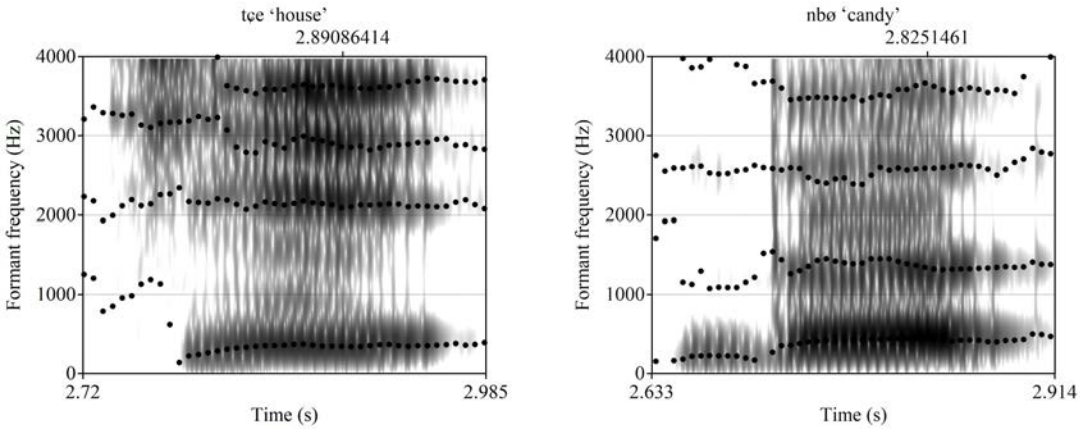

Figure 2.8: The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [e] and [ø]

The formants of [e] are very similar to that of [i], with F1 being 344 and F2 being 2091 at the marked time point. In the right panel, which is the formant chart of [ø], F1 is 436 and F2 is 1335. Here lip rounding has a more prominent influence on the first two formants than in the case of high front vowels, raising F1 and significantly lowering F2. /e/ and /ø/ both have a pharyngealized allophone, this will be discussed in Section 2.3.4.

There are disagreements on how to represent the mid-low front vowel. B. F. Huang (1985) and Ikeda (1998) phonemicize it as /æ/, but H. K. Sun (1983) phonemicizes it as /ɛ/. Impressionistically, while this sound in the northern dialect is lower than [e], it is not so low as to approach [æ]. Therefore it is treated as /ɛ/ here. The spectrogram of this sound is given in Figure 2.9 below. At the marked time point, F1 is 628 and F2 is 1665.

The last front vowel to be discussed here is /a/. While this sound is treated as a low front vowel, the tongue position can sometimes be higher, to the point of approximating [æ]. There is a perceptual difference of this phoneme in the northern and the southern

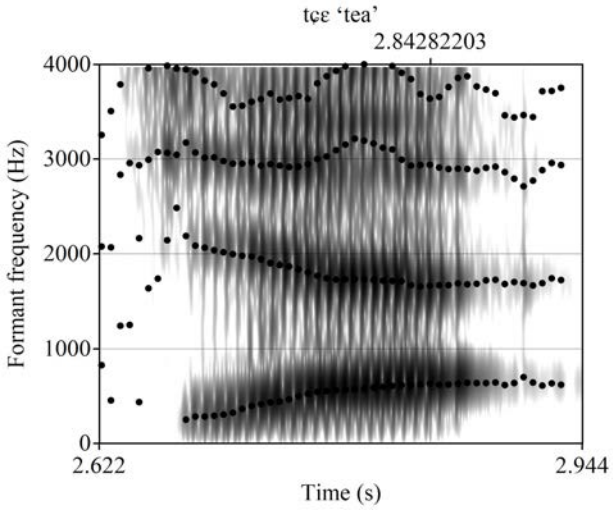

Figure 2.9: The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [ɛ]

dialects. In the southern dialect, this sound is produced in a position further back, and can be described as the low central unrounded [ɐ]. This difference can be seen in the two spectrograms in Figure 2.10. Both speakers pronounced the word *va* 'butter'. The word on the left is from the northern dialect, and the one on the right from the southern dialect. Generally speaking, back vowels tend to have low F2. The F2 value on the right panel is 1299, which is lower than the 1551 on the left panel.

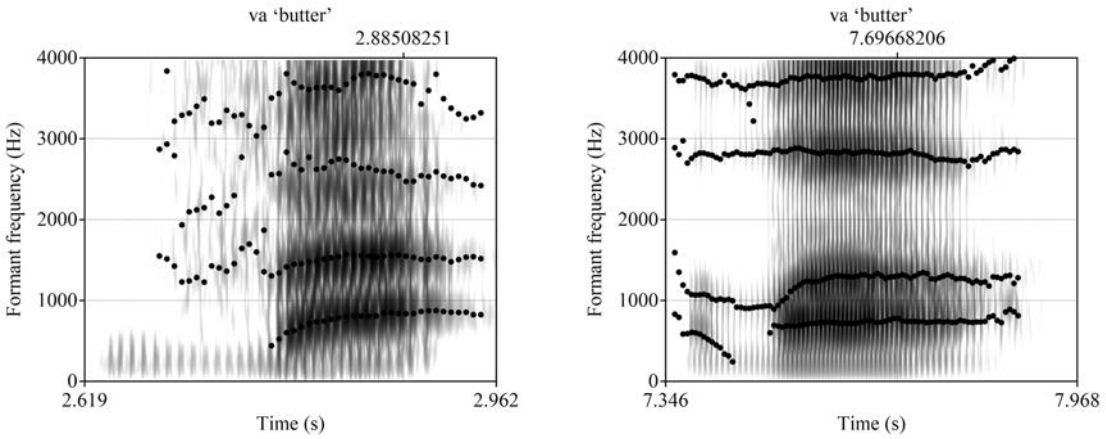

Figure 2.10: The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [a] in two Dialects

2.3.2.2 Back Vowels and the Schwa

Similar to front vowels, there are six back vowels that contrast four degrees of height. The first pair, /u/ and /ɯ/, contrast in lip rounding. /u/ is a high back rounded vowel. The tongue

position for /ɯ/ is also very high, to the extent that the upper and lower teeth almost touch each, but the lips are not protruded. The tongue root also needs to be drawn back when producing this vowel. This is why it is treated as a high back vowel here. Both H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998) have this vowel in their vowel inventories, but B. F. Huang (1985) does not phonemicize it. In natural speech this sound can be weakened to a schwa. The spectrograms of the two vowels are given in Figure 2.11.

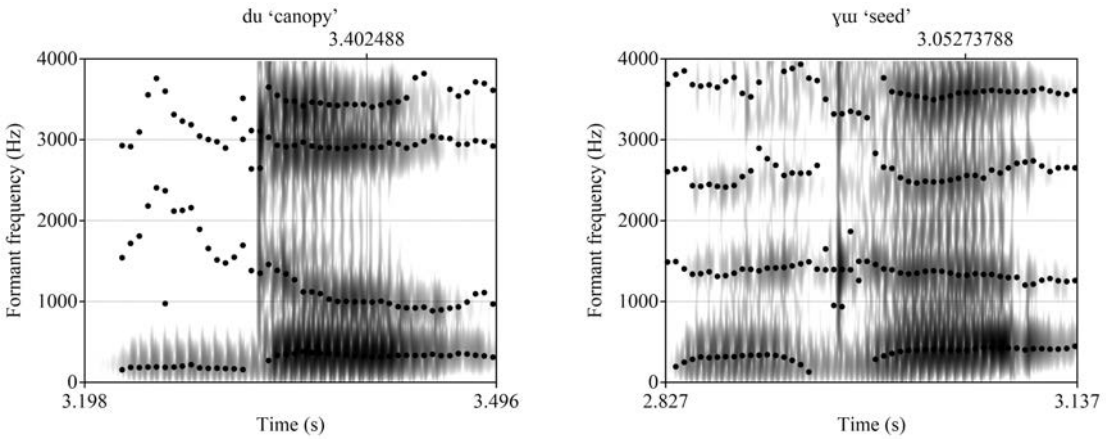

Figure 2.11: The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [u] and [ɯ]

Both vowels have very low F1 (315 for [u] and 396 for [ɯ]), indicating that they are back vowels. Due to lip rounding, the F2 for [u] is much lower than that of [ɯ] (992 for [u] and 1323 for [ɯ]).

/u/ has an allophone [o], which only appears after palatals. Thus, what are phonemically transcribed as /ju/ and /tɕu/ are phonetically [jo] and [tɕo].

The vowel /ɤ/ is also produced by drawing the tongue backward, but there is no lip rounding involved. The tongue position is lower than when producing /u/ and /ɯ/, but not so low as to bordering on /ɔ/. The spectrogram for this vowel is given in Figure 2.12.

For this vowel, the F1 is 614 and the F2 is 1339 at the marked position. Compared to the F1 of [ɯ], which is 396, the F1 of [ɤ] is higher, indicating that the tongue position for this vowel is lower. In natural speech this sound is often pronounced as a schwa. It also has a pharyngealized allophone, [ɤˤ], this will be discussed in Section 2.3.4.

The next pair of back vowels to be discussed are the mid-low /ʌ/ and /ɔ/. The rounded /ɔ/ is treated as /o/ by Ikeda (1998) and B. F. Huang (1985). But in my fieldwork location this sound is pronounced lower than [o], with a high degree of lip rounding. Also, consid-

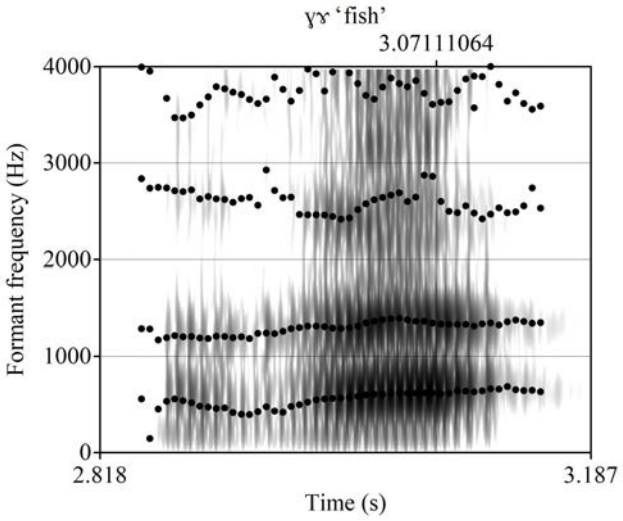

Figure 2.12: The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [ɤ]

ering that [o] has been treated as an allophone of /u/ above, the sound is phonemicized as /ɔ/ here.

There are disagreements on how to represent /ʌ/. This phoneme corresponds to the /ɐ/ of H. K. Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985). Impressionistically, the sound is more central than /ʌ/, and can be either transcribed as [ɐ] or [ɞ]. It is treated as [ʌ] here in order to make the vowel system symmetrical and neat. The spectrograms of the two vowels are given in Figure 2.13.

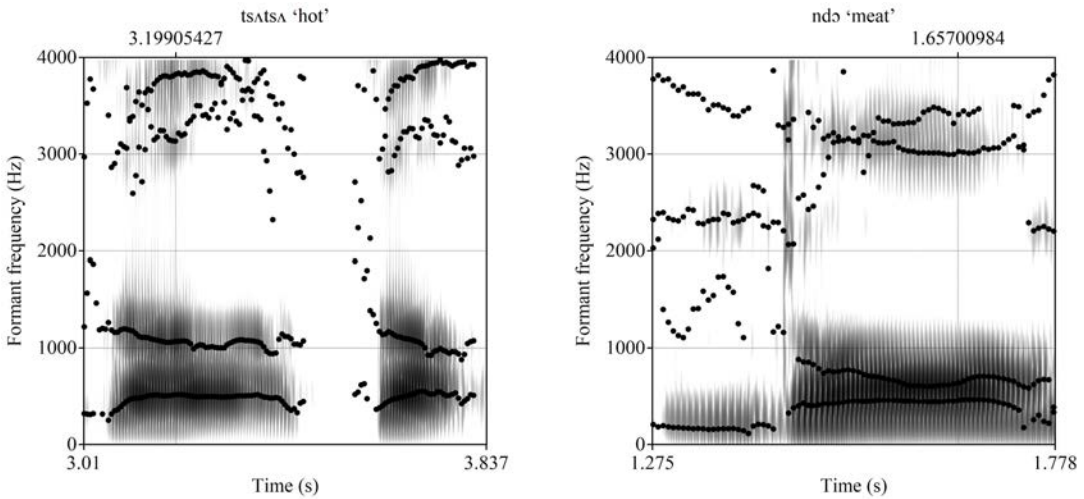

Figure 2.13: The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [ʌ] and [ɔ]

The F1 and F2 of [ʌ] are respectively 514 and 1065 and those of [ɔ] are 457 and 635. The lowness and backness of [ɔ] are born out by the prominent high F1 and low F2.

The last back vowel to be discussed is the low unrounded /ɑ/. The tongue position for this sound is actually more fronted compared to that of the canonical low back unrounded vowel, to the point of approximating the low central unrounded [ʌ] (similar to the /a/ in the southern dialect). Because the low front unrounded /a/ was identified above, treating this vowel as /ɑ/ can make the vowel system more symmetrical. The spectrogram for this vowel is given in Figure 2.14, where F1 is 565 and F2 is 963 at the marked position.

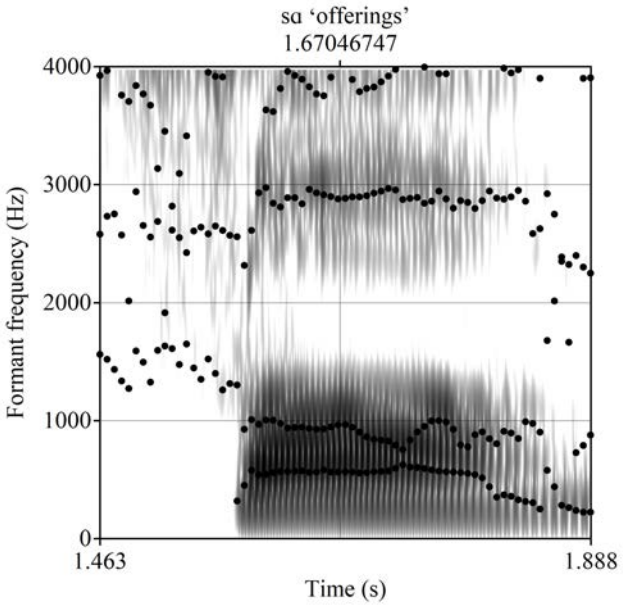

Figure 2.14: The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [ɑ]

The schwa in Munya contrasts with other vowels and is an independent phoneme. It has two allophones: the apico-alveolar [ɳ], as in [ndzɳ] 'food', and the apico-retroflex [ɭ], as in [ndzɭ][3]. The former only occurs after alveolars and the latter is only found after retroflexes. The spectrogram for this vowel as pronounced in *də* 'wolf' is given in Figure 2.15, in which F1 is 441 and F2 is 1312.

2.3.3 Nasalized Vowels

While phonetic nasalized vowels abound in Munya, nasalization does not seem to have any contrastive function. I can only find a near-minimal pair which seems to have a contrast in nasalization, which is [tʂʰø^{55}tʂʰø^{33}] 'white' and [tʂʰø̃^{33}tʂʰø^{55}] 'hard-working'. They

[3]An anonymous examiner points out that they are generally allophones of the high-front vowel [i] rather than a schwa. However, in Munya, [i] can occur after apico-alveolars ([ndzi] 'leopard') and apico-retroflexes ([ndzɻpu] 'fruit').

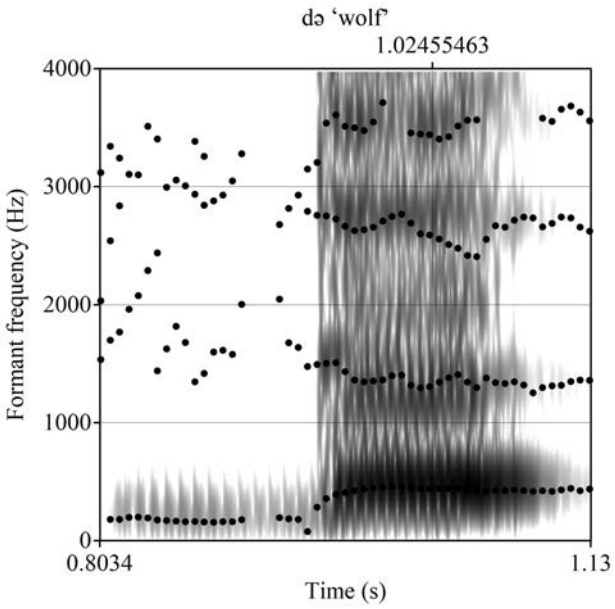

Figure 2.15: The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [ə]

are not strict minimal pairs because the two words differ not only in the nasalization on the first syllable, but also in the tones, with the first one having a HL pitch and the second one having a LH pitch. (More on this in Section 2.4.)

Nasalized vowels in Munya come from three sources. The first and most common source is the vowel nasalization rule: a vowel is nasalized if it is followed by a prenasalized consonant. This is a kind of regressive nasalization. For example, [ʑi] means 'pig' and [ndɔ] means 'meat', and the compound formed by the two words, 'pork', is [ʑĩdɔ]. Here the vowel in the first syllable, [i], is nasalized as the following consonant is a prenasalized consonant. This phonological rule is very robust and is found from speakers of all ages.

Vowels can also be nasalized under the influence of the nasal consonant in the same syllable. This is a kind of progressive nasalization. This can be seen from words such as [mɯ̃mɯ] 'wind', [mɯ̃] 'sky', [mɔ̃ɲɔ] 'woman', [mẽ] 'medicine' and [nɯ̃] 'dare'. The reason to postulate that the nasalization on these vowels is caused by the nasal onset is that vowels are never nasalized in monosyllabic words with non-nasal onsets. There are no such words, for example, as [*lĩ] or [*dɔ̃] or [*kʰũ], etc. This kind of nasalization is optional, and can be omitted without affecting the meaning of words. Some young speakers tend not to nasalize the vowels in these words.

Another type of nasalization is only found in loan words. Both nasalized vowels and

vowels plus nasal codas in donor languages are pronounced as nasalized vowels in Munya. One important feature of such loan words is that nasalized vowels are only found in non-final syllables. Examples include [kɑ̃lu] 'iron stove' (from Chinese 钢炉 [kɑŋlu]), [tsʰɔ̃tsə] 'leeks' (from Chinese 葱子 [tsʰoŋtsə]), [tɑ̃pi] 'bottle' (from Tibetan དམ་བི *dam.bi*) and [nĩpɛ] 'old' (from Tibetan རྙིང་པ *rnying.pa*). If a word in the donor language has a nasalized vowel or a vowel plus a nasal coda in the final syllable, the nasalization on that vowel will be dropped when the word is borrowed into Munya. This can be seen in examples like [ɕɑ] 'county' (from Chinese 乡 [ɕɑŋ]), [tiɛ] 'electricity' (from Chinese 电 [tiæn]), [sɑ] 'smoke offerings' (from Tibetan བསངས *bsangs*) and [mẽkʰɑ] 'hospital' (from Tibetan སྨན་ཁང *sman.khang*). Even in non-final syllables, nasalized vowels and vowels plus nasal codas are sometimes not preserved when borrowed into Munya. Examples of this type include [kaɕi] 'backdoor connections' (from Chinese 关系 [kuan.ɕi]) and [tiɛsɿ] 'television' (from Chinese 电视 [tiæn.ʂɿ]). (See Section 2.7 for more discussion.)

The last type may give us a clue to the fate of nasalized vowels in Munya. What it shows is that nasalization is prohibited in word-final position. It can thus be deduced that while it is possible that nasalization used to play a phonemic role in Munya, nowadays it has been diminished to a phonetic vestige in the language. In addition, the fact that nasalization in some words show inter-speaker variation (the second situation) and that even some borrowed words with nasalization in non-final syllables can lose this feature after being borrowed into Munya indicates that nasalization does not have psychological reality among native speakers, in other words, it is synchronically non-phonological.

Having discussed the status of nasalized vowels, we now briefly look at the inventory of such vowels in Munya. H. K. Sun (1983) identifies six nasalized vowels, which are [ĩ], [ẽ], [ɛ̃], [ɑ̃], [on] and [ũ]. B. F. Huang (1985) recognizes ten, which are [ĩ], [ẽ], [ø̃], [æ̃], [ə̃], [ɛ̃], [ɑ̃], [on], [ũ] and [ɐ̃]. The [y] and most tense vowels identified by her do not have nasalized counterparts. The inventory of nasalized vowels given in Ikeda (1998) corresponds to that of lax vowels—all twelve oral lax vowels have a nasalized counterpart.

From the vowel nasalization rule mentioned above, we can infer that any vowel can in principle be nasalized as long as it occurs in a suitable phonological environment, i.e. before a prenasalized consonant. However, certain distinct oral vowels can merge into one vowel after being nasalized. This is the case of [a], [ʌ] and [ɑ], which all become [ɑ̃]

after nasalization. The inventory of nasalized vowel allophones is thus smaller than oral vowels, with members being [ĩ], [ỹ], [ẽ], [ø̃], [ɛ̃], [ũ], [ɯ̃], [ɤ̃], [ɔ̃], [ɑ̃] and [ə̃].

2.3.4 Tense and Lax Vowels

In describing the vocalic system of Munya, previous researchers all make a distinction between *tense* vowels and *lax* vowels (H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985; Ikeda 1998; Y. Gao 2015: Chapter 3; Y. Gao and Rao 2016). When presenting the phonological status and phonetic properties of vowels in the above sections, I did not follow this tradition. But considering the significance that previous scholars have attached to this dichotomy, it is necessary to explore the nature of it in some details.

On a wider scope, *tense* and *lax* is a pair of phonological terms used by some scholars who work on Tibeto-Burman languages in order to capture certain vocalic contrasts, of which the phonetic manifestation can vary from language to language. In some southern Tibeto-Burman languages, the contrast is largely phonatory. For example, Maddieson and Ladefoged (1985) found that in Jingpho and Wa, tense vowels are [-slack] and lax vowels are [+slack], while in Hani and Yi tense vowels are [+stiff] while lax vowels are [-stiff]. In other languages this contrast is articulatory. In some dialects of Qiang, uvularization is the most important factor involved in the pronunciation of tense vowels (Evans et al. 2016). Furthermore, sometimes both laryngeal and articulatory features are involved in this opposition. In an overview on the phonation types of the Tibeto-Burman languages in China, Kong (2015) notes that 'the difference between the lax and tense vowels in the Liangshan Yi language lies not only in the different tension of vocal folds but also in the different pharyngeal cavity sizes and tongue positions'.

Because up till now there are no detailed and rigorous phonetic studies on Munya vowels, the articulatory properties of tense vowels remain elusive. When describing the articulation of these vowels, previous researchers could only take an impressionistic approach. H. K. Sun (1983) mentions in passing that there is 'tension of the larynx muscle' for these vowels. B. F. Huang (1985) says tense vowels are more tense and back than their plain vowel counterparts, without explaining which part of the articulator is tensioned. Ikeda (1998) does not mention the articulatory or acoustic features of tense vowels at all,

although he makes this distinction in his vowel system. In a recent study, Y. Gao and Rao (2016) claim that tense vowels are pharyngealized or uvularized vowels caused by tongue root retraction, hence they regard tense vowels as retracted tongue root vowels.

In addition to the divergent ideas on the phonetic properties of tense vowels, researchers also have different criteria of how to identify tense vowels, with some taking a strict phonetic approach, and others, such as B. F. Huang (1985), taking morphological changes into account as well. This lack of consensus led researchers to set up different inventories of tense vowels in Munya, as can be seen from Table 2.3[4].

Table 2.3: Tense Vowels Identified in Previous Studies

Source	Tense Vowels Identified								
H. K. Sun (1983)	e̱	a̱	ɯ̱						
B. F. Huang (1985)	i̱	e̱	ø̱	a	ə̱	e̱	ɑ	o	ə̃
Ikeda (1998)	i̱	e̱	ø̱	ɯ̱	ə̱	a̱	ɑ̱		
Y. Gao and Rao (2016)	e̱	ɛ̱	ø̱	ə̱	ʌ̱	u̱			

Based on my fieldwork experience, the description of Y. Gao and Rao (2016) seems to be to the point (but this may be because our fieldwork locations were near to each other). Impressionistically, tense vowels seem to involve pharyngealization, which are produced by narrowing of the pharynx (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011: 235). But based on this criterion I can only identify three tense vowels, which are [eˤ], [øˤ] and [ɤˤ].

However, it is well-known that auditorily similar vowels can be generated by means of many different articulatory gestures, and inferences made based on the auditory impression can only be regarded as an initial hypothesis (Lieberman and Blumstein 1988: 169). Therefore, experimental studies are needed in order to find conclusive evidence on how such vowels are articulated. In spite of this, assuming that pharyngealization is to some degree involved in the production of tense vowels at the present stage seems to be promising, as similar phenomena can be found in other Qiangic languages. Evans (2006), for example, argues that pharyngealization should be posited as a feature for the Hongyan dialect of Qiang. He also notes that this feature is not phonemicized in all Qiang dialects. It is not improbable that pharyngealized vowels will be found in more Qiangic languages in the future, and it can be expected that this feature is phonemically exploited

[4]Y. Gao (2015: 25) provides a set of vowel phonemes (/i/, /y/, /u/, /e/, /ø/, /ɛ/, /ə/, /ʌ/) with a tense/lax counterpart for each.

to different degrees in different languages.

This raises the issue of the role that tenseness or pharyngealization plays in Munya. Is vocalic pharyngealization phonologically contrastive, or is it just a kind of peculiar second-articulation that some Munya vowels have? Different from previous studies, I tend to believe that tenseness or pharyngealization is synchronically non-phonological, and that the tense vs. lax dichotomy is redundant in the description of the Munya vocalic system.

The main reason is that pharyngealized vowels can be optionally pronounced as plain vowels in my fieldwork location. H. K. Sun (1983) also made similar observations, noting that 'tense vowels are unstable'. These suggest that pharyngealized vowels and their non-pharyngealized counterparts are in free variation, and can be treated as the allophones of one phoneme. In spite of this, I do believe that this distinction is useful in capturing certain grammatical phenomena, especially some patterns of vowel harmony. This harmony pattern is irregular, however, and is only attested in a handful of words. (See Section 3.2.1 for more discussion.)

2.3.5 Diphthongs

There are also disagreements on the status of diphthongs in Munya. H. K. Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985) report that there are diphthongs in Munya, but Ikeda (1998) and Y. Gao (2015) only have monophthongs in their vowel inventory. I did not find any diphthongs in my dialect either.

The diphthongs identified by H. K. Sun (1983) have [i], [u] and [y] as their first elements. The diphthongs proposed in B. F. Huang (1985) all share the first element /u/. But she notes that the prenuclear vowel is sometimes omitted by native speakers. She hypothesizes that it may indicate an ongoing change in diphthongs. Table 2.4 compares the words containing diphthongs given in H. K. Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985) with my own data.

It is evident that all diphthongs in these words correspond to a monophthong in my data. Taking B. F. Huang (1985)'s observation into account, we can conclude that diphthongs in Munya are undergoing monophthongization. But this process developed to different degrees in different dialects. In the northern dialect, this process has finished; in

Table 2.4: A Comparison Between the Words with Diphthongs and my Data

Source	Words with Diphthongs	My Data	
H. K. Sun (1983)	kui^{53}	[ki]	'year'
H. K. Sun (1983)	ʁua^{35}	[ʁa]	'shoulder'
H. K. Sun (1983)	ʁuɯ^{53}	[ʁɯ]	'fish'
H. K. Sun (1983)	ɕyɐ^{53}	[ɕʌ]	'eight'
H. K. Sun (1983)	gie^{35}	[ge]	'private'
B. F. Huang (1985)	tʰɐ^{55}kue^{53}	[tʰʌke]	'reap/1/2NONSG'
B. F. Huang (1985)	kʰə^{33}tʂuø^{53}	[kʰɯtʂø]	'arrive/1SG'
B. F. Huang (1985)	tsʰuə^{24}	[tsʰɤˤ]	'mouse'
B. F. Huang (1985)	tʂuɑ^{24}	[tʂɑ]	'ant'

the southern dialect (which is the dialect on which Huang's study is based), monophthongization is an ongoing process.

2.4 Word Prosody: Tones

2.4.1 Previous Analyses

Previous studies have established that there are tonal contrasts in Munya and have thus identified Munya as a tonal language. Early studies tacitly analyzed Munya as having an omnisyllabic tone system, in which each syllable has its own tone assignment which is relatively unaffected by neighboring syllables and word-level prosody. Both H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998) identify four tones: a high-level (55/˥), a mid-level (33/˧), a rising (35/˧˥), and a high-falling(53/˥˩). Huang (1985) identifies five tones, of which three are identical to the previous ones, which are the high-level (55/˥), the mid-level (33/˧) and the high-falling (53/˥˩). One of her rising tone is (24/˨˧), which differs only slightly from the rising tone (35/˧˥) of H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998). She also found a fifth tone, which is a rising 15 (˧˥) with lengthened vowels, and noted that it only appears in morphophonological change.[5]

This analysis leaves some tonal phenomena in Munya unexplained. Firstly, the distribution of certain tones seems to be correlated with the number of syllables in a word. H. K.

[5]The example she gives for this tone is *ɦæ^{15}ts'æ^{33}* 'did (you) measure'. From the translation, we know that this is a verb containing an interrogative prefix. The correct morphological analysis should be *ɦæ^{33}-æ^{55}-ts'æ^{33}* 'DS-INTRG-measure/2SG'. The vowel in the directional prefix becomes identical to the interrogative prefix due to vowel harmony, and the two vowels are pronounced without hiatus in between, thus it would give the impression that this is a long vowel with a rising pitch. See Section 3.2.2 for detailed discussion.

Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985) note that the high-level tone and the mid-level tone are generally found in disyllabic or polysyllabic words. This seems unusual if we assume that tones are assigned at the syllabic level in Munya. Secondly, unlike typical omnisyllabic languages such as Mandarin, tones in Munya carry a very low functional load, and show variations among speakers. For example, my major consultant insists that *tɕe*˥ ‘son’ and *tɕe*˥˩ ‘house’ are to be pronounced with different tones, but there are speakers who pronounce both words as [tɕe˥˩] and say that there is no auditory difference between the two. In six of my recordings, *nini* ‘little, tiny’ is pronounced as [ni˧˥ni˥˩] by three and as [ni˧˥ni˥˩] by the other three. Many more examples like this can be found. This makes it virtually impossible to establish the tonal inventory based purely on minimal pairs, and also suggests that another way of analyzing Munya tones is needed. Thirdly, closer analysis shows that two tones identified by previous researchers, which are the high-level (55/˥) and the high-falling (53/˥˩), are partially in free variation, in that the high level tone can be optionally pronounced as the high-falling tone in word final or sentence-final positions.

In view of these tonal behaviors, a different approach to Munya tones is pursued by Ikeda (2002) and Y. Gao (2015: 77–81), where Munya is analyzed as a pitch-accent language. Both scholars recognize two tones for monosyllabic words, an /H/ and a /L/. Y. Gao (2015: 80) sets up two tones for disyllabic words and two for trisyllabic words, which are /HL/, /LH/, /HLL/ and /LHL/. She did not mention the situation of words with four syllables, probably because such words are hard to find. Ikeda (2002) identifies three tones for disyllabic words: /HH/, /HL/ and /LH/. The examples he uses to illustrate the pitch patterns in polysyllabic words are compounds or phrases. Because we are here concerned with the prosody on one word, his approach of identifying tones in polysyllabic words is not followed.

2.4.2 The Tone Patterns

My analysis is built on the insights of previous research but also differs from them in many details. The key is to reduce the four surface tone patterns (55, 53, 35 and 33) into two tones, a high tone (/H/) and a low tone (/L/). The high tone will be marked with an acute accent on the vowel and the low tone will be unmarked.

We look at the high tone first. As noted above, the high-level tone is in partial free variation with the high-falling tone. In particular, the high-falling variant is only found in word-final syllables, particularly in citation forms. For example, the monosyllabic word with a high-level tone, [kʰɯ^{55}] 'dog', can be optionally pronounced with a high falling tone, [kʰɯ^{53}], in citation form. The disyllabic word [jɛ^{33}jɛ^{55}] 'good-looking' has a high-level tone on the second syllable, and that syllable can be optionally pronounced with a high-falling tone, giving [jɛ^{33}jɛ^{53}]. The high-level tone in non-final syllables can never be pronounced with the high-falling tone. In fact, the high-falling tone cannot occur in non-final syllables at all. Therefore, [gɑ^{55}le^{33}] 'mountain top' cannot be pronounced as *[gɑ^{53}le^{33}], and [kɔ^{55}rɔ^{33}rɔ^{33}] 'crooked' cannot be optionally pronounced as *[kɔ^{53}rɔ^{33}rɔ^{33}]. The high-falling tone can thus be treated as a variant of the high-level tone, and their relationships can be captured by the rule below:

55 $\rightarrow$ 53 / _# (The high-level tone becomes high-falling in word-final position.)

This rule is optional because some people pronounce the high-level tone as such even if it is in word-final position. The above analysis shows that the high-level tone and the high-falling tone can be treated as a high tone. This tone is represented with /H/.

The rising tone (35) and the mid tone (33) can also be treated as one tone. This is because the rising tone only occurs in monosyllabic words while the mid tone is only found in bisyllabic or multi-syllabic words. They can thus be treated as two variants of one low tone, represented as /L/.

Having reduced the four surface tones into two tonemes, the tones in Munya can be considered as a series of pitches composed of /H/s and /L/s. These pitch patterns are given in Table 2.5.

As can be seen in the table, words with a different number of syllables have different tone patterns. The tone patterns of monosyllabic words (/H/ and /L/) conform to that identified by Y. Gao (2015: 80) and Ikeda (2002) and the tone patterns for disyllabic words (/LH/, /HL/ and /HH/) agrees with that of Ikeda (2002). Ikeda (2002) points out that /HH/ is mostly found in Tibetan loans, which seems to be the case. Besides, words with this tone pattern are mostly nouns or adjectives, and it seems that verbs do not have this pattern. Among the three tone patterns of trisyllabic words (/HLL/, /LHL/ and /LLH/), /LLH/ is not identified by Gao. This tone is not as common as the other two, and the word used to

Table 2.5: Tone Patterns

Syllable	Tone Pattern			
σ	/L/ [tɕe^{35}] 'son'	/H/ [tɕe^{55}] 'house'		
σσ	/LH/ [ti^{33}vi^{55}] 'to get thirsty'	/HL/ [ti^{55}vi^{33}] 'to send off'	/HH/ [kʰɔ^{55}pɑ^{55}] 'body'	
σσσ	/HLL/ [tʰo^{55}tɕo^{33}ri^{33}] 'to look'	/LHL/ [tʰo^{33}tɕo^{55}ri^{33}] 'daily essentials'	/LLH/ tʰo^{33}ɕu^{33}mu^{55} 'to work hard'	
σσσσ	/LLHL/ [tʰo^{33}kʰɯ^{33}ɕi^{55}ri^{33}] 'to pull'	/HLLL/ [tʰon^{55}tʰe^{33}tɕi^{33}tɕe^{33}] 'to drag'	/LLHH/ [ni^{33}kə^{33}sö^{55}rö^{55}] 'ear'	/HHHH/ [tɕɯ^{55}nbə^{55}re^{55}mi^{55}] 'bird name'

illustrate this tone, [tʰo^{33}ɕu^{33}mu^{55}] 'to work hard', is pronounced as [tʰo^{33}ɕu^{55}mu^{33}] by some speakers. Since it is possible that as more trisyllabic words are discovered, more words with this tone pattern will be found, it is recognized as an independent tone. Four tone patterns are identified for quadrisyllabic words, which are /LLHL/, /HLLL/, /LLHH/ and /HHHH/. Because quadrisyllabic words are very rare, it is possible that certain tone patterns are missing here. No word with five or more syllables has been found in Munya, therefore their tone patterns cannot be given.

2.5 Phonological Processes

Phonological processes in Munya can be broadly categorized into two types, which are assimilation and lenition. Assimilation includes vowel nasalization (Section 2.5.1), uvularization (Section 2.5.2), and aspiration assimilation (Section 2.5.3). Lenition mainly includes spirantization, where a stop or an affricate becomes its homorganic fricative (Section 2.5.4). The complex phenomenon of vowel harmony is treated under the topic of morphophonology in Section 3.2.

2.5.1 Vowel Nasalization

Vowels are nasalized before prenasalized consonants. In the meantime, the prenasalized consonant loses the nasal component and becomes a homorganic voiced conso-

nant. This rule can be represented as below:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Nasal} \end{bmatrix} / \_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Nasal} \end{bmatrix} \text{C}$$

For example, [hu] ‘night’ and [ndzɳ] ‘food’ can form a compound meaning ‘dinner’, which is pronounced as [hũdzɳ]. This rule can apply across word boundaries, as is shown in the first line of the example below.

(1) *[nɛnə̃] [be]*
nɛnə nbe
2PL sit/1/2NONSG

‘You sit down.’

2.5.2 Uvularization

A dorso-velar consonant is uvularized before back vowels and the low front [a]. This is an instance of assimilation because it can be argued that the dorso-velars acquire the feature of [+back] under the influence of back vowels. This is captured with the rule below.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+dorsal} \\ \text{+consonantal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+back} \end{bmatrix} / \_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+low} \\ \text{+back} \end{bmatrix}$$

Words that can be used to illustrate this rule include *kʰɤtɤ* [qʰɤtɤ] ‘buy’, *ngʌ* [nqʌ] ‘leg’, *xɔxɔ* [χɔχɔ] ‘slowly’, *ɣɑ* [ʁɑ] ‘Han Chinese’ and *kʰakʰa* [qʰaqʰa] ‘dense’.

A closely related rule is spirantization. After [k] or [kʰ] become [q] or [qʰ] through assimilation, the latter can be further weakened to its homorganic fricative [χ]. Thus, it can be said that the rule of uvularization feeds the rule of spirantization in this case. Examples include *kʰɤseŋa* [χɤseŋa] ‘to listen’, *kʰɔpɑ* [χɔpɑ] ‘figure, stature’ and *sɔkɑ* [sɔχɑ] ‘three kinds’.

2.5.3 Aspiration Assimilation

A stop or affricate can optionally assimilate to the preceding stop or affricate in the feature of aspiration. This phenomenon is found both within a word and across words. This rule can be represented below:

$$\left[\text{ -continuant }\right] \rightarrow \left[\text{ α spread glottis }\right] / \left[\text{ α spread glottis }\right]\_$$

For example, the prefix which means 'the more...the more...' is *tɕɯ-*. When used in the word *kʰujɛ* 'to look', the whole word is pronounced as [kʰu-tɕʰɯ-jɛ] 'the more (one) looks (NONS-more-look)', where the unaspirated affricate becomes aspirated under the influence of the preceding consonant. An aspirated consonant can lose the feature of [+spread glottis] if the stop or affricate before it is unaspirated. For example, the postposition *kʰu* 'inside' can become [ku] in the phrase [tɕi-ki ku] 'within one year (one-year inside)'.

2.5.4 Lenition

Cases of consonant lenition (or weakening) are found in fast-register speech. Such processes are not very regular and not found for all speakers. Below I give all lenition phenomena that I observed.

The voiceless bilabial stop can be weakened and become its homorganic nasal [m]: [ɛpu] 'uncle' →[ɛmu].

Aside form the spirantization of [q]/[qʰ] mentioned above, three more cases of spirantization are found. In the first case, the voiceless palatal affricate [tɕ] or [tɕʰ] can be weakened and become its homorganic voiceless fricative [ɕ]: [tɕipu] 'happy' → [ɕipu] and [ngətɕʰy] 'below' → [ngəɕy]. In the second case, the voiceless unaspirated dorsovelar stop [k] becomes its homorganic fricative [ɣ]: [katɕʰa] 'bad' → [ɣatɕʰa]. In the third case, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate [ts] becomes its homorganic fricative [s]: [tsəkɯ] (discourse marker) → [səkɯ].

2.6 Syllable Structure and Word Structure

The syllable structure of Munya is (N)(C)V^{T}. Because of the relatively simple syllable structure, there are not many noticeable phonotactic constraints.

The majority of syllables are of the CV pattern, as [də́] 'wolf'. In the NCV pattern, NC refers to a consonant cluster consisting of a nasal component and an aspirated stop or affricate, like /nt^{h}/ and /nʈ^{h}/, as the second syllable of the word [t^{h}o-ntɕ^{h}ó] 'to have fun (AS-have.fun)'. As was mentioned in Section 2.2.7, this kind of prenasalized consonant is not recognized as a phoneme because they do not contrast with other consonants and their distribution is restricted. A prenasalized consonant consisting of a nasal component and a voiced stop or affricate is seen as one consonant phoneme, thus the syllable structure of *ngʌ* 'leg' is CV. A syllable can also simply consist of a vowel. This type of syllable is rare, and only five vowels have this function, which are [i] (as the ergative marker), [y] (as the word that means 'wine'), [ɛ] (as the directional prefix for downward direction), [u] (as the suffix meaning 'person') and [ʌ] (as the demonstrative prefix). If a vowel-only syllable occurs in the word-initial position of a multi-syllabic word, it can optionally be preceded by a glottal stop. For example, [ʌ^{33}tsə^{55}] 'this' can be optionally pronounced as [ʔʌ^{33}tsə^{55}]. The glottal stop is not contrastive with other consonants.

The number of syllables in a word ranges from one to four. Disyllabic words are most common in Munya, followed by monosyllabic and trisyllabic words. Words with four syllables are very rare, and words with five or more syllables are not found. Lexical examples can be found in Table 2.5.

2.7 Loan Word Phonology

The phonological profile of the words borrowed from Tibetan and Chinese can be different from that of native words. In this section we look at this issue from the aspects of differences in segments, nasal coda dropping, diphthongs, and rhotacization.

The voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] is only found in Chinese loans, and is sometimes pronounced like [ɸ]. Needless to say, this sound appears in Chinese loans that contain [f], such as [fɑfi] 'soda' (borrowed from the Sichuan Dialect of Chinese). A Chinese loan with

the voiceless dorso-velar fricative [x] can sometimes be replaced by [f] or [ɸ] after being borrowed into Munya. Examples include [lɔfu] 'tiger' (cf. 老虎 [lɑuhu]) and [ɸasɛ] 'peanut' (cf. 花生 [xuɑʂəŋ]).

The [ɐ] in many Tibetan loans is raised to [ɛ] in northern Munya. This phenomenon is very pervasive, and can be illustrated with words like [sɛtɕʰɛ] 'earth' (cf. ས་ཆ sa cha), [lɛ] 'god' (cf. ལྷ lha) and [tɛ] 'horse' (cf. རྟ rta). However, there are also some words in which this lowering does not occur, as in [lomɑ] 'root' (cf. ལོ་མ lo ma) and [tɕɑlɑ] 'thing' (cf. ཅ་ལག ca lag).

In both Chinese loans and Tibetan loans, the nasal coda in the word-final syllable is dropped when borrowed into Munya. The nasal coda in the non-final syllables can be retained, but is realized as nasalization on the vowels in the same syllable. This was discussed in Section 2.3.3.

It was mentioned in Section 2.3.5 that diphthongs are not attested in the northern dialect. The diphthongs in many Chinese loans are monophthongized after being borrowed into Munya, as in [ɕɛ̃pu] 'to declare' (cf. 宣布 [ɕuɑn.pu]) and [kʰɛtɕi] 'accountant' (cf. 会计 [kʰuaɪ.tɕi]). However, occasionally one finds some Chinese loans that still retain diphthongs when borrowed into Munya. One such word is [kuɑ] 'melon', which is pronounced in the same way as in Chinese.

Rhotacization is not found in the northern dialect but seems to exist in the southern dialect. The word for 'wheat', for example, is pronounced as [qøɹ] in the southern dialect. (In the northern dialect the word has a completely different form, which is [ʐa].) It is a matter for further study as to how common rhotacization is in the southern dialect. Rhotacization is found in a few Chinese loans in the northern dialect, such as [liəɻ] 'pear' (cf. 梨儿 [liəɻ]) and [mɑɻ] 'cat' (cf. 猫儿 [mɑʊəɻ]).

2.8 Phonological Words and Grammatical Words

The words of a language can be defined on either phonological or grammatical grounds, which are accordingly called phonological words and grammatical words. A phonological word can be recognized on the basis of segmental, prosodic, and phonological features. A grammatical word can be defined from aspects such as cohesiveness, fixed order,

conventionalized coherence and meaning, non-recursiveness, uninterruptability and isolatability (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002; Dixon 2012b: Chapter 1).

Words in Munya can also be defined from both phonological and grammatical perspectives. Phonologically, because Munya syllables do not have any coda, a word cannot end with a consonant. Also, the prenasalized aspirated consonant clusters cannot occur word-initially. Moreover, the prevalent vowel harmony phenomenon, to be discussed in Section 3.2, is only applicable within a phonological word. Finally, a Munya word will carry one of the tone patterns given in Table 2.5, and only the word-final syllable can carry the high-falling variant of the high tone.

The criteria for grammatical words mentioned above are mostly applicable to Munya. Such words always occur together instead of being scattered throughout the clause. In morphologically complex words or compounds, the components occur in a rigid order. A grammatical word has a coherent and conventionalized meaning. One type of morphological process can only be applied once in a grammatical word. A grammatical word can not be paused within, and can stand alone as a complete utterance. Language particular criteria are available for identifying the boundaries of nouns and verbs. The plural clitic is always marked at the end of a noun, such as *dʑɔ́=nə* 'rocks (rock=PLUR)', and if a verb takes a directional prefix, the prefix will always occur at the beginning of that verb, such as *tʰo-hə́* 'to go (AS-go)'.

Phonological words and grammatical words in Munya generally coincide, but there are also cases of mismatch. For example, a compound is a grammatical word, but its components are independent phonological words and each component has its own tone pattern. The compound *tɕúutso tánpí* 'thermos bottle' is composed of *tɕúutso* 'hot water' and *tánpí* 'bottle'. A noun forms a phonological word with its plural clitic, but they are two grammatical words. Another case is disyllabic inherently reduplicated adjective. These adjectives show reduplicated forms in citation or when functioning as modifiers, but they can occur in monosyllabic form when functioning as predicates. Both *reré* and *ré* mean 'delicious' and can be used independently. Thus, both a monosyllabic adjective and its reduplicated counterpart are independent phonological and grammatical words. One can either say that a reduplicated adjective is a grammatical word, which consists of two phonological words, or say that a reduplicated adjective is a phonological word, which is composed of

two grammatical words.

2.9 Practical Orthography

Unless otherwise specified, the transcriptions in the following chapters are all phonemic. IPA symbols are used in most cases, with minor modifications, as are shown in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Practical Orthography

IPA Symbol	Practical Orthography
ɾ̩	r
ɲ	ny
j	y
y	ü
ø	ö
ʌ	o

The high tone is marked with the acute accent (as on á), and the low tone is not marked. Vowel nasalization that is the product of assimilation is not marked, as in *ɀindɔ* ‘pork’, where [i] is phonetically [ĩ]. Nasalization in borrowed words are marked, but with the letter /n/ after the nasalized vowel, as in [ɕĩku] *ɕinku* ‘wooden plate’. This is because the nasalization marker tends to clash with the high-tone marker when both are marked on a vowel.

2.10 Summary

In this chapter we investigated the phonetic properties of Munya consonants and vowels and aspects of the phonological system of the language. Firstly we described the properties of consonants in Munya and discussed the issue of consonant clusters, the phonetics of vowels and reviewed the issues of nasalized vowels, the dichotomy of tense and lax vowels, and briefly touched on diphthongs. We then turned to suprasegmental phonology–tones, where it was shown that Munya word prosody can be described as a pitch-accent system with a binary contrast of /L/ and /H/. A discussion of some phonological processes followed which established that those process fall into two categories, assimilation and lenition. Then we explored and discussed syllable structure and word

structure, the phonological properties of loan words and the issue of phonological words and grammatical words. The last section presented the orthographic practice followed throughout the thesis.

Chapter 3

Morphology

This chapter deals with morphology and morphophonology. Section 3.1 examines major morphological processes, including cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. Section 3.2 discusses morphophonology, focusing on vowel harmony and vowel elision.

3.1 Morphological Processes

Morphological processes in Munya include cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation.

3.1.1 Cliticization

Compared with other morphological processes, cliticization is not very common in Munya. Only plural markers can be analyzed as clitics. (See Section 6.3 for detailed arguments.) Two examples are given below:

(2) a. *ndʑú*=**nə**
other.people=PL
'others'

b. *otsə́ kíko*=**nə**
DEM big=PL
'those grown-ups'

3.1.2 Affixation

Most affixes in Munya are prefixes. These include number prefixes on classifiers, directional prefixes on verb roots, and interrogative and negative prefixes on verbs, adjectives, and auxiliaries.

Two examples of number prefixes are shown in (3) (detailed discussion on numeral classifiers is in Section 6.4):

(3) a. *kʰʉ́ **tó**-lö*
dog one-CLF:GENR
'a dog'

b. *domá **tɛ́**-zɛ*
log one-CLF:LONG
'a log'

In Munya, a number word plus a classifier form one word, both in the grammatical sense and in the phonological sense. Both number words and classifiers are bound morphemes and neither of them can be used alone. The reason for analyzing number words as prefixes and consequently classifiers as bound roots instead of analyzing number words as bound roots and classifiers as suffixes is that number words show vowel harmony (compare the two forms of *to-* 'one' in example 3, which have different vowels). As will be shown below, in most cases the direction of vowel harmony is from root to prefixes (regressive). If it were the classifiers suffixed to number words, we would not expect the form of number words to change.

Another type of prefixes are directional prefixes, which are attached to verb roots. (See Section 7.2 for more details.) These are shown in Table 3.1, illustrated with the verb

Table 3.1: Directional Prefixes

Directional prefix	Verb	Meaning
tə- ‘upward’	*tə́-tʂɛ*	‘arrive (by going upward)’
no- ‘downward’	*nɛ́-tʂɛ*	‘arrive (by going downward)’
ɣɤ- ‘upstream’	*ɛ́-tʂɛ*	‘arrive (by going downstream)
ɛ- ‘downstream’	*ɣɤ́-tʂɛ*	‘arrive (by going upstream)
ngɯ- ‘towards the speaker’	*ngɯ́-tʂɛ*	‘arrive (by going towards the speaker)’
tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’	*tʰɛ́-tʂɛ*	‘arrive’
kʰɯ- ‘nonspecific direction’	*kʰɯ́-tʂɛ*	‘arrive’

root *-tʂɛ* ‘to arrive’. Among the seven directional prefixes, three show vowel harmony: *no-* ‘downward’, *ɛ-* ‘downstream’ and *tʰo-* ‘away from the speaker’. This will be discussed in Section 3.2.1.

Aside from number prefixes and directional prefixes, Munya also has an interrogative prefix *ɛ-* and four negative prefixes, which are *nyɯ-*, *mo-*, *tɕɛ-* and *tɕɯ-*. Compare the examples in (4):

(4) a. ***ɛ-tsʰú*** *ti?*
INTRG-be.enough STA
‘Is it enough?’

b. ***nyɯ́-ku***
NEG-can
‘can’t’

c. ***mó-ta***
NEG-see
‘didn’t see’

d. ***tɕɛ́-ku***
NEG-can
‘can’t’

e. ***tɕɯ́-****hu*

PROH-go/2SG

‘(You) don’t go.’

The interrogative prefix *ɛ-* is subject to vowel harmony and will be discussed shortly. The situation for the negative prefixes, however, is more complex. The four negative prefixes have two to seven different forms, but only some of those forms are the result of vowel harmony. More on this will be discussed later in this chapter. The differences between the four negative prefixes will be explored in Chapter 12.

When a verb root takes both a directional prefix and a negative/interrogative prefix, the directional prefix precedes the negative/interrogative prefix:

(5) a. *tʰɛ-ɛ́-dɛ*

AS-INTRG-finish/2SG

‘(You) finished or not?’

b. *kʰɯ-mó-ʈʂö*

NONS-NEG-arrive/1SG

‘(I) didn’t arrive’

c. *no-tɕɯ́-vü*

DOWN-PROH-do/2SG

‘don’t do (it)’

Compared to prefixation, suffixation is rare in Munya. This seems to be typologically unusual, as languages tend to have more suffixes than prefixes (cf. Mithun 2003). There are only two suffixes in Munya, which happen to be homophones and both are in the form of *-u*. The first *-u* functions as the adjectival intensification suffix (see Section 11.3.3 for more details):

(6) *rərə́***-u**

long-very

'very long'

The second *-u* suffix means 'person', and is only attached to nouns that denote places, such as *mənyɛ́-u* 'Munya people', *tɕʰísɛ́-u* 'outsider', *ʈʂʰə́ʈɕi-u* 'ʈʂʰə́ʈɕi villagers'.

3.1.3 Reduplication

Pluractionality in Munya is realized through partial or full reduplication (see Section 7.5 for more details.) The two most productive ways are either repeating the consonant in the verb root together with a supportive /ə/ (partial reduplication) (7a) or repeating the whole verb root (full reduplication) (7b):

(7) a. *tə́-**sə́**-so*

UP-PLUR-fight

'to fight with each other'

b. *tʰɑ́-**ʈɕɔ**-ʈɕɔ*

AS-PLUR-chase

'(many people) chase after'

As can be seen, the pluractional formative is positioned before the root. In this sense, it can also be said that pluractionality is achieved through prefixal reduplication.

3.1.4 Vowel Alternation

It is necessary to distinguish two types of vowel alternation in Munya. One type of vowel alternation, found only in prefixes, is a morphophonological phenomenon: the vowel forms in the prefixes are determined by the vowel in the roots through vowel harmony, and there is no semantic difference between the alternating forms of the same prefix. This will be discussed in Section 3.2. The other type of vowel alternation is not conditioned by morphophonology. Rather, vowel alternation of this type is a morphosyntactic technique,

and the alternating forms of the same lexeme have different grammatical meanings. It is the second type of alternation, i.e., morphosyntactic vowel alternation, that is discussed in this section.

Morphosyntactic vowel alternation is applied to verbs, and has two functions. When operating on verb roots, vowel alternation is used to show person-number inflection. When operating on directional prefixes, the function is to form causatives.

Vowel alternation operates on verb roots to cross-reference the person-number information of the subject. This is an inflectional process. For example, *tú-tɕɯ* 'be.full (UP-be.full)' is the base form of this verb. It has three inflected forms, which are the first person singular *tú-tɕo* (UP-be.full/1SG), the second person singular *tú-tɕɛ* (UP-be.full/2SG), and the first or second person non-singular *tú-tɕe* (UP-be.full/1/2NONSG). The person-number information is shown by alternating the vowels in the verb root.

Vowel alternation can also be derivational, which is the case when formulating a causative form of a verb. This is done by changing the vowel in the directional prefix to /ɛ/ or /i/ (see Section 7.4 for more details). Some examples are given in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Examples of Causative Formation

Base form	Causative form
ná-ngɑ 'to cry (DOWN-cry)'	*né-ngɑ* 'to make someone cry (DOWN-make.cry)'
tə́-ra 'to dry up (UP-dry)'	*tɛ́-ra* 'to dry something up (UP-make.dry)'
nó-pətɕo 'to collapse (DOWN-collapse)'	*ní-pətɕo* 'to tear down (DOWN-tear.down)'
tə́-tɕɯ 'to wake up (UP-wake.up)'	*tí-tɕɯ* 'to wake someone up (UP-wake.up)'

3.2 Morphophonology

There are two major morphophonological processes in Munya—vowel harmony and vowel elision. Vowel harmony is found across different types of prefixes while vowel elision is more restricted, in that it is only found in directional prefixes.

There are five types of vowel harmony in Munya. In terms of direction, both anticipatory harmony and perseverative harmony are found. In terms of dimension, there are fronting harmony, lowering harmony (which has two subtypes), tense harmony, raising harmony and full harmony.

In all types of vowel harmony the vowels that undergo harmony are /ɛ/ or /ʌ/ (orthographically *o*) or both, but the vowels that trigger harmony differ. For fronting harmony, the triggering vowel is /ɛ/ (3.2.1.1); for lowering harmony, the triggering vowels are /a/, /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ (3.2.1.2); for tense harmony, the triggering vowels are /ø/ (orthographically *ö*) and /ɤ/ (3.2.1.3); for raising harmony, the triggering vowels are /i/ and /u/ (3.2.2.1). There is no restriction on the vowels that can trigger full harmony (3.2.2.2). It seems that all vowels that can occur in directional prefixes can function as the conditioning environment of this type of harmony.

Vowel harmonies also differ in how regular they are. Fronting harmony and full harmony are the most regular types. The two types of harmony are obligatory, and no alternating, unharmonized forms are found. Lowering harmony and raising harmony are less regular, with harmonized forms and unharmonized forms co-existing. Tense harmony is the least regular, and is only found in a few words. A comparison of these vowel harmony patterns is given in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Patterns of Vowel Harmony

Harmony pattern	Direction	Undergoer	Trigger	Regularity
Fronting harmony	anticipatory	/o/	/ɛ/	regular
Lowering harmony	anticipatory	/ɛ/, /o/	/a/, /ɔ/, /ɑ/	optional
Tense harmony	anticipatory	/ɛ/, /o/	/ö/, /ɤ/	irregular
Raising harmony	perseverative	/o/	/i/, /u/	optional
Full harmony	perseverative	/ɛ/	no restriction	regular

We next look at vowel harmonies based on direction, i.e., whether they are anticipatory or perseverative.

3.2.1 Anticipatory Vowel Harmony

Anticipatory vowel harmony has three dimensions: fronting harmony, lowering harmony, and tense harmony.

3.2.1.1 Fronting Harmony

This involves /ɛ/ as the trigger and /o/ as the undergoer: /o/ in the prefix becomes /ɛ/ if the root contains /ɛ/. This rule can be formally stated as below:

Fronting harmony (obligatory)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{-front} \\ \text{-rounded} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{+front} \\ \text{-rounded} \end{bmatrix} / \_\text{+C} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{+front} \\ \text{-rounded} \end{bmatrix}$$

Here and below, the '+' sign outside brackets in the formal representations denotes a morpheme boundary, and C represents a consonant. This is fronting harmony because a non-front vowel (/ʌ/) becomes fronted (/ɛ/), but its height does not change. Examples of this kind of harmony are given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Examples of Fronting Harmony

Underlying forms	***tʰo*-*dɛ́***	*tʰó-di*	***tó*-*zɛ***	*tó-tsʰe*	*kʰɯ-**mó**-ʈʂɛ*	*kʰɯ-mó-ʈʂŏ*
Fronting harmony		N/A		N/A		N/A
Surface forms	***tʰɛ*-*dɛ́***	*tʰó-di*	***tɛ́*-*zɛ***	*tó-tsʰe*	*kʰɯ-**mɛ́**-ʈʂɛ*	*kʰɯ-mó-ʈʂŏ*
Gloss	AS-finish/2SG	AS-finish	one-CLF:LONG	one-CLF:FAMILY	NONS-NEG-arrive/2SG	NONS-NEG-arrive/1SG

There are three pairs of underlying and surface forms of fronting harmony in this table. The first pair contains a directional prefix (*tʰo*- 'AS'), the second pair a number word (*to*- 'one'), and the third pair a negator(*mo*-). In each pair, the first member undergoes fronting harmony but the second does not. It can be seen that only when the vowel in the root is /ɛ/ can fronting harmony occur.

3.2.1.2 Lowering Harmony

Lowering harmony involves /a/, /ɔ/ or /ɑ/ as triggers and /ɛ/ or /o/ as undergoers. There are two types of lowering harmony, depending on whether the vowels harmonize into /a/ or /ɑ/. The undergoers become /a/ if the vowel in roots is /a/. This can be termed 'lowering and fronting harmony'. The undergoers harmonize into /ɑ/ if the vowel in roots is /ɑ/ or /ɔ/. This can be termed 'lowering and backing harmony'. The two patterns are formally stated as follows:

Lowering and fronting harmony (optional)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{-rounded} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+low} \\ \text{+front} \end{bmatrix} / \_\text{+C} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+low} \\ \text{+front} \end{bmatrix}$$

Lowering and backing harmony (optional)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{-rounded} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+low} \\ \text{-front} \end{bmatrix} / \_\text{+C} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-front} \\ \text{-high} \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples of lowering and fronting harmony are given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Examples of Lowering and Fronting Harmony

Underlying forms	*tʰó-ŋa*	*ɛ́-ra*	*tó-tsa*	*mó-ŋa*	*ɛ́-ŋa*
Lowering and fronting harmony Surface forms	*tʰá-ŋa*	*á-ra*	*tá-tsa*	*má-ŋa*	*á-ŋa*
Gloss	AS-good	DS-go	one-storey	NEG-good	INTRG-good

The first two words in the table contain a directional prefix, which are respectively *tʰo-* 'AS' and *ɛ-* 'DS', the third one contains a number prefix (*to-* 'one'), the fourth one a negative prefix (*mo-*), and the last one an interrogative prefix (*ɛ-*). As can be seen, /o/ and /ɛ/ in these prefixes all become /a/ when the vowel in the root is /a/. This kind of harmony is optional as we do find such alternating forms such as *nó-kəra* 'to shout (DOWN-shout)' (unharmonized form) and *ná-kəra* (harmonized form). According to native speakers, the two forms are equally acceptable, and the exact factors that condition such alternation need further study. However, for some frequently used words, such as *tʰa-ŋa* 'be good (AS-be.good)', vowel harmony is obligatory.

Examples of lowering and backing harmony are given in Table 3.6. There are four blocks in this table, each containing one kind of prefix. The first block contains three directional prefixes (*no-* 'DOWN', *tʰo-* 'AS' and *ɛ-* 'DS'), the second block a number prefix (*tó-* 'one'), the third an interrogative prefix (*ɛ-* 'DOWN') and the fourth two negative prefixes (*mo-* and *tɕɛ-*). As can be seen, they all conform to the pattern of lowering and backing harmony. As with the previous rule, this rule is not obligatory, so that we have alternating forms like *tɕɛ́-ndɑ* ∼ *tɕɑ́-ndɑ* 'didn't have the experiencing of doing something' and *tɕɛ́-tʰɔ* ∼ *tɕɑ́-tʰɔ* 'I can't'.

Table 3.6: Examples of Lowering and Backing Harmony

Underlying forms	Lowering harmony	Surface forms
nó-ɣɔ		*ná-ɣɔ* ‘to wash (DOWN-wash)’
tʰó-kɑ	⟶	*tʰá-kɑ* ‘to be afraid (AS-be.afraid)’
ɛ́-kɔ		*á-kɔ* ‘to dig (DS-dig)’
ɛ́-səsɑ		*á-səsɑ* ‘to wipe (DS-wipe)’
tó-pʰɔ	⟶	*tá-pʰɔ* ‘a plant (one-CLF:PLANT)’
to-ɞá		*tɑ-ɞá* ‘a mouthful of (one-mouth)’
ɛ́-ŋɑ	⟶	*á-ŋɑ* ‘right or not (INTRG-right)’
ɛ́-tʰɔ		*á-tʰɔ* ‘useful or not (INTRG-useful)’
mó-rɑ		*má-rɑ* ‘didn’t (NEG-EVID:DIRECT)’
tɞɛ́-sɑ	⟶	*tɞá-sɑ* ‘(he) doesn’t want (NEG-want)’
tɞɛ́-sɔ		*tɞá-sɔ* ‘(I) don’t want (NEG-want/1SG)’

3.2.1.3 Tense Harmony

The third, and also the most irregular type of vowel harmony is the tense harmony. The triggering vowels of this process are /ö/ and /ɤ/ and the undergoers are still /o/ and /ɛ/. What the triggering vowels have in common is that they can optionally be pharyngealized (cf. Section 2.3.4). After harmony, the undergoers will become /a/. This rule can be represented as follows:

Tense harmony (irregular):

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{-rounded} \\ \text{-tense} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+low} \\ \text{+front} \end{bmatrix} / \_\text{+C}\begin{bmatrix} \text{+tense} \end{bmatrix}$$

This pattern of harmony is illustrated with examples in Table 3.7. The first three instances contain a verb root (*-tö* ‘to go and get’) and three different directional prefixes. The fourth one is a different verb root (*-rɤ* ‘to face toward’). The last example contains an auxiliary (*ʈʂɤ* ‘to be useful’) and a negative prefix (*tɞɛ-*). As can be seen, all the vowels in the surface forms of these prefixes are /a/.

Compared with other harmony patterns, this pattern is non-productive. This may have to do with the nature of so called tense vowels in Munya. Tenseness is, by and large, a phonetic phenomenon in Munya. As has been pointed out in Section 2.3.4, it is neither

Table 3.7: Examples of Tense Harmony

Underlying forms	*ɛ-tő*	*no-tő*	*tʰo-tő*	*ɛ́-rɤ*	*tɕɛ́-ʈʂɤ*
Tense harmony					
Surface forms	*a-tő*	*na-tő*	*tʰa-tő*	*á-rɤ*	*tɕá-ʈʂɤ*
Gloss	DS-get	DOWN-get	AS-get	DS-face.towards	NEG-be.useful

phonologically contrastive nor compulsory — it is perfectly acceptable to pronounce the two tense vowels (/ö/ and /ɤ/) in the normal way, without narrowing the larynx. Therefore, although many verbs inflect for the first person singular by changing the vowel in the root into /ö/, this never triggers vowel harmony in the prefix, cf. *no-ndű* 'to go downward (DOWN-go)' ⟶ *no-ndő* 'I go downward'.

Tense harmony may be an archaic feature of Munya. It may be that tense and lax vowels were contrastive in history, and that this distinction is also reflected in vowel harmony. As the language changes, this distinction becomes less and less phonemically significant, so that in my fieldwork location tense vowels have become free variants of plain vowels. However, the imprints that this distinction left in vowel harmony is not totally gone, so that we can still observe some irregular tense harmony phenomena in Munya.

3.2.2 Perseverative Vowel Harmony

It was mentioned in Section 3.1.2 that a verb root can take a directional prefix and an interrogative or negative prefix at the same time, and that in this case the interrogative/negative prefix should come after the directional prefix. Perseverative vowel harmony happens when both a directional prefix and an interrogative prefix *ɛ-* or a negative prefix *mo-* are present. Since the vowel in the interrogative/negative prefix harmonizes with that in the preceding directional prefix, this type of vowel harmony is perseverative. In perseverative vowel harmony, the behavior of the vowels in the negative prefix *mo-* and that in the interrogative prefix *ɛ-* are quite different, hence it is necessary to discuss them separately.

3.2.2.1 Raising Harmony

When the negative prefix *mo-* occurs after the directional prefix, it only harmonizes to /i/ or /u/. This can be seen as an instance of raising harmony. This pattern is represented

as follows:

Raising harmony of mo- (optional):

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{-front} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+high} \\ \alpha\text{front} \end{bmatrix} / \text{C} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+high} \\ \alpha\text{front} \end{bmatrix} \text{+\_}$$

In this representation, αfront means the undergoer vowel will harmonize with the frontness of the triggering vowel. This harmony pattern is illustrated with examples in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: Examples of Perseverative Raising Harmony

Underlying forms	*kʰi-mó-tsi*	*ti-mó-ʂu*	*kʰu-mó-nyo*	*tu-mó-ɐo*	*nu-mó-dɛ*
Raising harmony					
Surface forms	*kʰi-mí-tsi*	*ti-mí-ʂu*	*kʰu-mú-nyo*	*tu-mú-ɐo*	*nu-mú-dɛ*
Gloss	NONS-NEG-study	UP-NEG-confiscate	NONS-NEG-can/1SG	UP-NEG-say	UP-NEG-read

In the first two examples, the vowel in the directional prefixes (which are *kʰi-* 'NONS' and *ti-* 'UP') is /i/; in the other three examples, the vowel in the directional prefixes (which are *kʰu-* 'NONS', *tu-* 'UP' and *nu-* 'DOWN') is /u/. In all these examples, the vowel in the negative prefix harmonizes with those in the directional prefix. This harmony rule is also optional because there are examples such as *kʰi-mó-tsə* 'didn't cook (NONS-NEG-cook)' and *tu-mó-tɕɯ* 'didn't build (UP-NEG-build)', in which the vowel in the negative prefix is not harmonized.

One might wonder if it is possible to analyze the direction of harmony the other way around, i.e., to argue that the vowel in the negative prefix can take different forms (either *mo-*, *mi-* or *mu-*), and that the choice is not conditioned by vowel harmony. Then the vowel in the directional prefixes would harmonize with those in the negative prefix, making this a case of anticipatory harmony. It is easy to show that this analysis is untenable, because when the negative prefix is absent, the vowel in the directional prefix stays the same, thus *kʰi-tsí* 'study(NONS-study)' but not **kʰɯ-tsí*, and *kʰu-nyó* 'I can(NONS-can/1SG)' but not **kʰɯ-nyo*. However, a different question is, why the vowels in these directional prefixes are /i/ or /u/ instead of those in the base form, which are /ɯ/, /ə/ and /o/, as in *kʰɯ-* 'NONS', *tə-* 'UP' and *no-* 'DOWN'. This will be the topic of Section 3.2.3.

3.2.2.2 Full Harmony

In this type of harmony, the interrogative prefix *ɛ-* fully harmonizes with the vowel in the directional prefix, regardless of its height, frontness or backness. This harmony rule is represented as below:

Full harmony of the interrogative prefix ɛ- (obligatory)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{+front} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow V_0 \ / \ CV_0\text{+}\_$$

Examples of this type of harmony are given in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9: Examples of Perseverative Full Harmony

Underlying forms	*tʰo-**ɛ́**-tsʰu*	*kʰɔ-**ɛ́**-re*	*a-**ɛ́**-ra*	*tu-**ɛ́**-ɛɯ*	*ɛ-**ɛ́**-ndzü*
Full harmony Surface forms	*tʰo-**ó**-tsʰu*	*kʰɔ-**ɔ́**-re*	*a-**á**-ra*	*tu-**ú**-ɛɯ*	*ɛ-**ɛ́**-ndzü*
Gloss	AS-INTRG-be.enough	NONS-INTRG-start	DS-INTRG- go	UP-INTRG-build	DS-INTRG-eat/2SG

The commonality in these examples is that the interrogative prefix, which is underlyingly *ɛ-*, fully harmonizes to the vowel in the directional prefix. This is very different from the harmony pattern of this prefix when no directional prefix is present, i.e. when it is undergoing anticipatory harmony.

After harmony, the two identical vowels can be pronounced without hiatus in between, so that sometimes it sounds as if the vowel in the directional prefix is longer than non-interrogative forms. Why not, then, simply analyze the formation of question, in the case when a directional prefix is present, as being achieved by lengthening the vowel in the directional prefix? The most crucial evidence against this interpretation is that some verbs have two surface forms, one of which has a harmonized directional prefix, the other a harmonized interrogative prefix.

Take the first verb in Table 3.9, 'to be enough', for an example. The underlying form of this verb, after taking the interrogative prefix, is *tʰo-ɛ́-tsʰu* 'AS-INTRG-be.enough'. As is shown in the table, its surface form is *tʰo-ó-tsʰu*, the vowel of the interrogative prefix being derived through perseverative full harmony. Importantly, there is another equally acceptable surface form, which is *tʰɛ-ɛ́-tsʰu*. How does this form come about? The answer is, the fronting harmony as discussed in the preceding section. To derive the second form,

Table 3.10: Derivation of Two Surface Forms of 'enough'

Underlying form	*tʰo-ɛ́-tsʰu*	
Anticipatory fronting harmony		—
Perseverative full harmony	—	
Surface form	*tʰɛ-ɛ́-tsʰu*	*tʰo-ó-tsʰu*

we have to postulate the underlying form as *tʰo-ɛ́-tsʰu*, then after the anticipatory fronting harmony applies, the /o/ in the directional prefix becomes /ɛ/, thus yielding the surface form *tʰɛ-ɛ́-tsʰu*. Derivation of the two surface forms is shown in Table 3.10. The order of application of the two rules is not significant, since the two rules 'bleed' each other, that is, whichever rule applies first, the derived surface form will block the application of the other rule. Therefore, if we had analyzed question formation as being achieved through lengthening the vowel in directional prefixes, there would be no way to explain how the form with harmonized directional prefix could arise.

3.2.3 Vowel Elision in Directional Prefixes

In the previous sections it was shown that Munya has seven directional prefixes and that the vowels in some of these prefixes are subject to vowel harmony. However, there are some vowel alternations in directional prefixes that cannot be explained by the vowel harmony rules mentioned above. Consider the examples in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Uniform Vowels in Directional Prefixes

Base DP	*i* prefix		*ɔ* prefix		*u* prefix	
tə-	*ti-ndʑé*	*tí-ndzu*	*tɔ́-lə*	*tɔ́-tɕo*	*tú-dzö*	*tu-kú*
no-	*ni-ndʑé*	*ní-ndzu*	*nɔ́-lə*	*nɔ́-tɕo*	*nú-dzö*	*nu-kú*
ɛ-	*i-ndʑé*	*í-ndzu*	*ɔ́-lə*	*ɔ́-tɕo*	*ú-dzö*	*u-kú*
ɣʏ-	*ɣi-ndʑé*	*ɣí-ndzu*	*ɣɔ́-lə*	*ɣɔ-tɕo*	*ɣú-dzö*	*ɣu-kú*
ngɯ-	*ngi-ndʑé*	*ngí-ndzu*	*ngɔ́-lə*	*ngɔ́-tɕo*	*ngú-dzö*	*ngu-gú*
tʰo-	*tʰi-ndʑé*	*tʰí-ndzu*	*tʰɔ́-lə*	*tʰɔ́-tɕo*	*tʰú-dzö*	*tʰu-kú*
kʰɯ-	*kʰi-ndʑé*	*kʰí-ndzu*	*kʰɔ́-lə*	*kʰɔ́-tɕo*	—	*kʰu-kú*
Gloss	DIR-fly	DIR-point.at	DIR-drive	DIR-drive	DIR-send	DIR-carry

There are two characteristics of the vowels in the directional prefixes given in this table. Firstly, these vowels are not the outcome of vowel harmony. The vowels in the root of the *i* prefix column are /e/ and /u/, those in the *ɔ* prefix column are /ə/ and /o/, and

those in the *u* prefix column are /ö/ and /u/. It is hard to see the shared features between the vowels in the root and those in the prefixes. Specifically, the fact that both the *i* prefix column and the *u* prefix column have a root containing /u/ (which are *-ndzu* 'point' and *-ku* 'carry') indicates that the vowels in these prefixes cannot be determined by the vowels in the roots, as otherwise we would expect the vowels in the prefixes of those two verb roots to be the same.

Secondly, as has been mentioned previously, vowel harmony only affects /ɛ/ and /o/, meaning that only the directional prefixes containing these vowels, which are *no-* 'DOWN', *ɛ-* 'DS' and *tʰo-* 'AS', show vowel harmony. However, for all verb roots in the table, the vowels in their directional prefixes are identical. The vowels are uniformly /i/, or /ɔ/, or /u/. Clearly, this is a phenomenon different from vowel harmony and must have a different mechanism.

The solution is to assume that the base form of these verb roots all have a vowel as initial syllable, which can be either /i/, /ɔ/, or /u/. After that, we only need a phonological rule which elides a vowel that occurs before another vowel to derive these forms:

Vowel elision in directional prefixes:

$V \rightarrow \varnothing \; / \; \_+V$

By positing a vowel-initial verb root and a vowel elision rule, we can now derive the surface forms of these verbs. This is illustrated with the verb root *-indʑe* 'fly', shown in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12: Deriving Surface Forms Through Vowel Elision

Underlying forms	Vowel elision	Surface forms
tə-indʑé		*ti-ndʑé*
tʰo-indʑé		*tʰi-ndʑé*
no-indʑé		*ni-ndʑé*
ɛ-indʑé	$\longrightarrow$	*i-ndʑé*
ngɯ-indʑé		*ngi-ndʑé*
ɣʏ-indʑé		*ɣi-ndʑé*
kʰɯ-indʑé		*kʰi-ndʑé*
DIR-fly		DIR-fly

After the vowels in the directional prefixes are elided, the consonant in the directional prefix and the initial vowel in the root form a syllable, and is reanalyzed as the directional

prefix. This is why in these verbs the vowel in the directional prefixes are identical. Note that it is less desirable to analyze the directional prefixes in these verbs as consisting solely of a consonant. This is because a morpheme in Munya is minimally a syllable while a consonant alone cannot form a syllable.

3.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the morphological processes and morphophonological phenomena in Munya. Munya has a plethora of morphological processes, including cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. There are two major morphophonological processes: vowel harmony and vowel elision. Vowel harmonies operate across different types of affixes. They come in various types and have different degrees of regularity. In terms of direction, they can be anticipatory or perseverative; in terms of dimension, they can be raising, lowering, fronting, tense, or full harmony. Vowel elision is postulated to account for the uniform vowels found in the directional prefixes of some verbs. It is not found in any other part of the morphology of the Munya language.

Chapter 4

Word Class I: Open Classes

4.1 Overview

Word classes can be broadly categorized into open classes and closed classes. This chapter deals with the open word classes in Munya, which are nouns (Section 4.2), verbs (Section 4.3), adjectives (Section 4.4) and adverbs (Section 4.5). There are a large number of words in each class, which cannot be exhaustively listed. These word classes can accept new members, either through derivation or through borrowing. The criteria for defining each word class is mainly based on their morphological and syntactic properties. For adjectives an additional phonological criterion is also available. These properties are summarized in Section 4.6.

4.2 Nouns

Nouns can take plural markers (Section 4.2.1), can function as the head of an NP (Section 4.2.2), can function as arguments and take case markers (Section 4.2.3), and can act as complements in copula clauses (Section 4.2.4).

4.2.1 Taking Plural Markers

Munya has five plural enclitics (see Section 6.3). These markers can only occur on nouns:

(8) a. *məní=nə*
person=PL
'persons'

b. *ɣu=nə*
grass=PL
'(lots of) grass'

c. *hɔtʰűtʂʰá=nə*
sausage=PL
'sausages'

This plural marker is attached to nouns of animate referent in (8a) and inanimate referent (8b). The noun in (8c), *hɔtʰűtʂʰá* 'sausage', is a recent loan from Chinese, yet it can also take the plural marker. This indicates that pluralization is a productive morphological process.

4.2.2 Functioning as the Head of an NP

Only nouns can freely function as the head of an NP. They can be modified by nominal demonstratives, adjectives, nouns, possessor NPs, relative clauses, and be categorized by numeral classifiers and quantified by quantifiers.

Nouns can be modified by nominal demonstratives. In this case, the demonstrative should precede the head noun:

(9) a. ***otsə́*** *mɛ́ndɛ*
DEM old.lady
'this old lady'

b. ***onə́*** *tɕɯ́*
DEM+PL water
'these water'

Nouns are very commonly modified by adjectives, in which case the modifying adjective should follow the head noun:

(10) a. *tɕé* ***kíko***
house big
'(a) big house'

b. *məní* ***katɕʰá***
person bad
'(a) bad person'

A head noun can also be modified by another noun. In this case the modifying noun is placed before the head, and the two nouns are linked by ***ɣɛ***:

(11) a. ***nyúlékʰá*** ***ro*** ***ɣɛ*** *dőndá*
agricultural.cooperative time LK thing
'the things at the time of agricultural cooperative'

b. ***löŋő*** ***tó-ki*** ***ɣɛ*** *tsʰərő*
year one-CLF:YEAR LK firewood
'the firewood for one year'

In a possessive NP construction, the head noun is modified by the possessing NP. In this case the two nominals should also be linked by ***ɣɛ***, which functions as a possessive marker here:

(12) a. ***ŋú*** ***ɣɛ*** *vomó*
1SG POSS parents
'my parents'

b. ***tsʰű́*** ***ɣɛ*** *kʰɛ́*
lake POSS side
'lakeside'

A noun can also be modified by a relative clause. The relative clause should precede the head noun, and be marked by *ɣɛ*, this time functioning as a relativizer. (Relative clauses are discussed in Section 14.1.) In the following example, the relative clause, which is put in brackets, modifies the head noun *nímɛ* ‘day’.

(13) *[tínə tɕátɕɔ é-tɕɯ-ro rí] ɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí nimɛ́*
anything financial.loss DS-PROH-come NMLZ REL D.M day
tʰə́-va pi
AS-become IMPF
‘In future nothing will be lost.’

Nouns in Munya can be categorized by numeral classifiers, which come after the head noun.

(14) a. *domá* ***tɛ́-zɛ***
log one-CLF:GENR
‘a log’

b. *kʰɯ́* ***tó-lö***
dog one-CLF:GENR
‘a dog’

Further discussion on numeral classifiers can be found in Section 6.4.

Nouns can also be quantified by quantifiers. In this case the quantifiers should also follow the head noun:

(15) a. *löŋő* ***kɛ́yi***
year many
‘many years’

b. *ɣɤ* ***taháˊ***
seed some

'some seeds'

4.2.3 Functioning as Arguments and Taking Case Markers

The argument slots of a clause can only be filled by nominals. Depending on the grammatical roles that they perform, nominals need to take different case markers:

(16) ***[lánputɕʰɛ]***$_A$ *i* ***[dʑópu=nɛ́ tɕe]***$_E$ *le* ***[kʰátɛ tɛ́-zɛ]***$_O$ *kʰɔ́-lə*
elephant ERG king=COLL.PL son DAT kʰata one-CLF:LONG NONS-present
sə nyi
PFV EGO:AP

'The elephant presented a piece of haha to the son of the king's family.'

Example (16) is a ditransitive clause. Here the A (*lánputɕʰɛ* 'elephant'), E (*dʑópu=nɛ́ tɕe* 'the son of the king's family') and O (*kʰátɛ tɛ́zɛ* 'a piece of hada') are all nominals, which are respectively marked by the ergative case (*i*), the dative case (*le*), and the absolutive case (in zero form). Case markers are postpositions, which occur at the right periphery of a bare noun or an NP. (More discussion on argument structure and case marking can be found in Chapter 8.)

Verbs and adjectives cannot directly fill the argument slot, and when performing this function, they need to be nominalized:

(17) a. ***tʰɛ-ndɛ́ ri*** *mé* *ti*
AS-old NMLZ COPULA:NEG STA

'(He) has not become old.'

b. ***tőme tsə́*** *tőme,* ***nyontɕʰɤ́ tsə́*** *nyontɕʰɤ́*
rich NMLZ be.rich poor NMLZ be.poor

'The rich people are rich and the poor people are poor.'

In (17a), the predicate, which is a negator, requires an S argument. The element performing this function is a nominalized verb *tʰɛndɛ́ ri* ‘getting old’. In (17b), the predicates are adjectives (‘to be rich’ and ‘to be poor’), and their S arguments are two nominalized adjectives.

4.2.4 Functioning as Copula Complements

The arguments in copula constructions are also nouns in most cases. This is illustrated with an existential copula construction in (18), in which the CC (*ndʐé* ‘rice’) is a noun:

(18) *[pʰúla kʰu]$_{CS}$ [**ndʐé**]$_{CC}$ kʰɯ́ ti*
bowl in rice COP:CONTAIN STA

‘There is rice in the bowl.’

4.3 Verbs

The morphological and syntactic criteria for identifying verbs include taking directional prefixes (Section 4.3.1), showing person-number inflection (Section 4.3.2), showing pluractional derivation (Section 4.3.3), taking interrogative and negative prefixes (Section 4.3.4), and functioning as predicates (Section 4.3.5). Verbs in Munya can be classified into control verbs, non-control verbs and fluid verbs. The three types of verbs differ in the case-marking pattern, person-number agreement, and whether the allowed grammatical categories are egophoric or direct evidential when the subject is in first person (Section 4.3.6).

4.3.1 Taking Directional Prefixes

Morphologically, many Munya verbs can be analyzed as consisting of a directional prefix and a verb root. There are altogether seven such directional prefixes in Munya, which are only found in verbs. These prefixes are treated in Section 7.2.

Whether a verb can take a directional prefix or not depends on its meaning. Motion verbs such as *tʰó-tso* ‘to run (AS-run)’ and *ti-tsʰí* ‘to jump (UP-jump)’ can take directional

prefixes. Non-motion verbs whose meaning can optionally involve orientation can also take directional prefixes, such as *kʰɯ́ɯ-tɕori* 'to look (NONS-look)' and *ɛ́-tɕʰɯ* 'to carry (DS-carry)'. Some verbs that do not involve direction cannot take such prefixes, such as *kʰí* 'to sleep' and *nbí* 'to sit'.

4.3.2 Showing Person-number Inflections

A Munya verb can inflect for the person-number of the subject through ablaut. Taking the third person form as the base form (no number distinction is made in this person), most verbs have three inflections, which are first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person dual or plural forms. Examples are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Person-number Inflections on Verbs

Base form (3SG/PL)	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG
ndɯ́ 'to go'	*ndɯ́́*	*ndɛ́*	*ndé*
tʰópʰu 'to give up'	*tʰópʰo*	*tʰópʰü*	*tʰópʰe*
núvɯ 'to do'	*nóvo*	*nóvü*	*nóve*

Irregular inflectional patterns and different inflectional forms are discussed in Section 7.3.

Not all verbs show inflections. Non-control verbs such as *təŋé* 'to be sick' and *tɔtsɔ́* 'to get hungry' do not inflect (see the discussion in Section 4.3.6). Some verbs that should be categorized as control verbs based on semantics do not show inflection either, such as *tívi* 'to send off' and *kʰɔlə́* 'to drive'. There do not seem to be any semantic commonalities for non-inflecting control verbs.

Aside from verbs, certain auxiliaries, such as the perfective aspect marker *sə* and the imperfective aspect marker *pi*, also show person number inflection.

4.3.3 Showing Pluractional Derivation

When the subject of a clause involves multiple participants or reciprocal actions, sometimes the pluractional form of a verb needs to be used. The pluractional form is derived from the base form through reduplicating the verb root, either partially or fully. An example of fully reduplicated pluractional verb is *tʰɑ́-tɕɔ-tɕɔ* '(many people) chase (AS-PLUR-

chase)', which is derived from *tʰɑ́-tɛɔ* 'to chase (AS-chase)'. In partially reduplicated forms, the reduplicant generally retains the consonant of the verb root and replaces the original vowel with a schwa. An example is *nɑ-ngə-ngɑ* '(many people) cry (DOWN-PLUR-cry)', which is derived from *ná-ngɑ* 'to cry (DOWN-cry)'. Plural derivation can only be applied to verbs and not any other word classes. More details on this technique can be found in Section 7.5.

4.3.4 Taking Interrogative and Negative Prefixes

Verbs can take interrogative and negative markers. A verb can take at most one interrogative marker or one negative marker, but not both at the same time. If a verb has a directional prefix, these markers follow that prefix, otherwise they are directly prefixed to the verb root. In the two examples below, the interrogative prefix is directly marked on the verb root in (19a) and after the directional prefix in (19b):

(19) a. ***ɛ-dɛ́*** *rɑ*
INTRG-see/2SG EVID:DIRECT
'Did (you) see (it)?'

b. *lɔ́npɑ=nə kʰu kɤ́lö=nə* ***ɑ-tɛɯ́-ke***
valley=PL in medicinal.herb=PL DS-NEG-dig/1/2NONSG
'Do not dig up the medicinal herbs in the valleys.'

Interrogative and negative prefixes can also be marked on adjectival predicates and auxiliaries. It seems that these prefixes tend to be marked on words that are either predicates or a part of predicates. But nominal predicates cannot take these markers.

4.3.5 Functioning as Predicates

The core syntactic function of verbs is as predicates. Clauses with verbal predicates can take all grammatical categories in Munya, including aspect, evidentiality and egophoricity. These categories are illustrated in (20):

(20) a. *otsí* *táyɛ́* *ú-pʰə* ***sə***
3SG+ERG money DS-lose PFV

‘He lost his money.’

b. *ŋí* *tő* ***rɑ***
1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT

‘I saw (it).’

c. *nə́-lü* *kʰu* *hə́* *po* ***ŋo***
two-CLF:MONTH in go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP

‘I will leave in two months.’

While nouns and adjectives can also function as predicates, the meanings that such predicates express and the kind of grammatical categories that are allowed in those clauses are restricted.

Nominal-predicate clauses either have a similative or an equative meaning. The grammatical categories allowed in such clauses can only be the stative aspect *ti* or the egophoric marker *nyi*. In the two examples below, (21a) denotes a similative meaning and (21b) denotes an equative meaning:

(21) a. *[kʰɯ́]$_A$* *[də́]$_O$* ***ti***
dog wolf STA

‘The dog looks like a wolf.’

b. *[nɛnə́* *sɔ́-zə* *tsə* *ɣɛ* *ngötʂí]$_A$* *[nɛ́]$_O$* ***nyi***
2PL three-CLF:MAN FOC POSS leader 2SG EGO:AP

‘The leader for the three of you is you.’

An adjectival predicate generally denotes a kind of state. The grammatical categories that can occur in such clauses can only be the stative aspect *ti*, the egophoric marker *nyi*, or the clause final particle *tólö/tɛ́gɛ*, which are grammaticalized from numeral classifiers. See Section 11.4 for more discussion.

4.3.6 Subclasses of Verbs

Verbs in many languages can often be categorized based on transitivity. This approach is pursued in the discussion on clause types in Section 13.2.1. Munya has two special types of verbs, which are motion verbs and copula verbs. They are respectively treated in Chapter 9 and Chapter 10.

In this section we classify Munya verbs from a different perspective, i.e., based on whether the subject can consciously control the action denoted by the verb. This classification yields three subtypes of verbs, which are control verbs, non-control verbs and fluid verbs. The three types of verbs differ in both semantics and grammatical behavior. Semantically,

- control verbs refer to actions that are normally exercised under the control or awareness of an agent, such as *hə́* 'to go', *tə́da* 'to hit' and *ɛ́ndzə* 'to eat';
- non-control verbs denote actions that are uncontrollable, and generally refer to the internal feelings of an experiencer, such as *ngɯtʂé* 'to miss', *təŋé* 'to be sick' and *təkú* 'to feel cold';
- fluid verbs denote actions that can either be performed with conscious control or not, such as *hákʰukö* 'to know, to understand', *ɛ́pʰə* 'to lose' and *tʰomú* 'to forget'.

The grammatical differences between these verbs can be seen from three aspects, namely, patterns of case-marking, person-number agreement, and whether the grammatical categories that can be marked in the clause are egophoric or direct evidential (other categories are not sensitive to this distinction). These differences are summarized in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: The Grammatical Differences Between Three Types of Verbs

	control verb	non-control verb	fluid verb
case-marking	ergative pattern	nominative pattern	ergative pattern
person-number agreement	marked	not marked	marked
syntactic categories allowed	egophoric	direct evidential	direct evidential

The case-marking pattern for control verbs is ergative-absolutive: A is marked by the ergative case *i* and S and O are not marked. Control verbs can inflect for the person-

number of subjects, and the clause can take the egophoric marker but not the direct evidential marker when the subject is in first person. Consider the pair of examples below:

(22) a. *[ŋɯ́]$_S$ hə́ po ŋo*
1SG go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP
'I'm leaving.'

b. *[nɛ́]$_A$ i [mənyɛ́ sú]$_O$ u-nyɛ́ nyi*
2SG ERG Munya language INTRG-can/2SG EGO:AP
'Can you speak Munya?'

The control verb in (22a) is intransitive and the one in (22b) is transitive. The S in the first example is in first person, which is indexed on the imperfective marker. The narrow-scope egophoric marker is used at the end of the clause. In (22b), the A is marked by the ergative case. The verb shows second person singular inflection, agreeing with the subject, and a wide-scope egophoric marker is used here. Both the S in (22a) and the O in (22b) are not overtly marked by case.

Non-control verbs tend to be intransitive, but there are also some transitive non-control verbs, such as *ngɯtʂə́* 'to miss' and *tuyŭ́* 'to desire'. Both A and S of non-control verbs are marked by the experiential case *ɣɛ*. Non-control verbs or auxiliaries that are marked after non-control predicates do not inflect for the person-number of subjects. Non-control predicates can take the direct evidential marker but not any egophoric marker. Consider the two examples below:

(23) a. *[ngɛ́]$_S$ tə-ŋé pi*
1SG+EXP UP-be.sick IMPF
'I'm sick.'

b. *[ngɛ́]$_A$ [kólo]$_O$ kʰɯ-ɕó ra*
1SG+EXP hard NONS-come.out EVID:DIRECT
'I am tired/met with difficulty.'

The verb in the first example is intransitive and the one in the second is transitive. In (23a), the S is first person singular and is marked by the experiential case, and the imperfective marker *pi* does not show agreement with the subject. In (23b), the A is also in first person form and marked by the experiential case, but just as the previous example the verb *kʰɯɛ́ó* 'come out' shows no inflection. The grammatical category in this clause is the direct evidential marker. In both examples the egophoric markers cannot be used.

Fluid verbs show hybrid properties of control and non-control verbs. They are similar to control verbs in that they show the ergative-absolutive case marking pattern and can mark person-number agreement, but are similar to non-control verbs because they allow the direct evidential marker when the subject is in first person. Consider the two examples below:

(24) a. *[ŋɯ́]$_S$ tə-tɛ́^{hí} rɑ*
1SG UP-wake.up EVID:DIRECT
'I woke up.'

b. *[ŋí]$_A$ [ndzə́]$_O$ tu-tɛ́ó rɑ*
1SG+ERG food UP-be.full/1SG EVID:DIRECT
'I am full.'

Here the case marking pattern is ergative-absolutive (A is marked by the ergative case and S and O are not marked) and both clauses are marked by the direct evidential marker. The verb in the second example agrees with the subject. The one in the first shows no inflection because this is a non-inflecting verb. Similar to non-control verbs, here the egophoric markers cannot be used.

There are also some verbs that can be treated as both a fluid verb and a control verb. The verb would have different, albeit related, meanings in these two cases. Consider the pair of examples below:

(25) a. *ŋí tő rɑ*
1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT
'I see it.'

b. *ŋí* *tő* *ŋo/nyi*
1SG+ERG find/1SG EGO:SAP/EGO:AP
'I will find it.'

The verb *tö* means '(I) see' in (25a) and '(I) find' in (25b). The fact that the subject takes the ergative case, triggers person-number inflection, and the clause takes the direct evidential marker indicates that it is a fluid verb in (25a). The case-marking and the person-number inflection are the same in (25b), but here the egophoric marker is used. This means the predicate in (25b) is a control verb.

4.4 Adjectives

Adjective is also an open word class in Munya. Words meeting the criteria for adjectives cannot be exhaustively listed. New adjectives can be recruited from other languages. For example, adjectives such as *tɕípu* 'comfortable', *támɛ* 'real' and *tsömɛ́* 'fake' are borrowed from Tibetan. Munya adjectives can be identified based on inherent reduplication (Section 4.4.1), deriving comparative forms, superlative forms, and intensification forms (Section 4.4.2), and the ability to modify nouns (Section 4.4.4), to function as predicates (Section 4.4.5), and to function as complements (Section 4.4.6). Adjectives can be put into subclasses based on their semantic types (Section 4.4.7). Because all these will be treated in detail in Chapter 11, in the next section we will briefly discuss the features mentioned above.

4.4.1 Inherent Reduplication

Adjectives are the only word class in Munya that share common phonological properties, which involves inherent reduplication. Munya adjectives tend to be in reduplicated disyllabic form, as can be seen from examples like *rərə́* 'long', *nbonbó* 'low', *tsótso* 'hot', *tsátsa* 'cold' and *ndɛ́ndɛ* 'old'. Disyllabic adjectives may also be partially reduplicated, and there are some cases of trisyllabic adjectives where two syllables are in reduplicated form. These are discussed in Section 11.2. Borrowed adjectives, such as *tɕípu* 'comfortable' and *tsɔ́mɑ* 'clean' (both borrowed from Tibetan), are generally not in reduplicated form.

4.4.2 Comparative, Superlative and Intensification Forms

Munya adjectives have derived comparative forms, superlative forms, and intensification forms. Comparative forms are derived by prefixing *kɛ-* 'more' to an adjective: *yɛyɛ́* 'good-looking' → *kɛ́-yɛyɛ* 'more good-looking'. Superlative forms can be derived by prefixing *zə-* 'most' to an adjective: *kíko* 'big'→*zə-kíko* 'biggest'. Intensification forms are derived by suffixing *-u* to an adjective: *tsə́tsɛ* 'small'→*tsətsɛ́-u* 'extremely small'. More details on the morphology of adjectives can be found in Section 11.3.

4.4.3 Taking Interrogative and Negative Prefixes

When functioning as predicates, adjectives can also take the interrogative and negative prefixes. These are illustrated below, with the word *yɛyɛ́* 'good-looking':

(26) a. *tsʰalá* ***ɛ-yɛ́*** *ti?*
dance INTRG-look.good STA
'Does the dance look good?'

b. ***nyʉ́-yɛ*** *ti*
NEG-look good
'(The dance) does not look good.'

4.4.4 Modifying Nouns

Modifying nouns is the main syntactic functions of Munya adjectives. An adjective modifier always follows the noun that it modifies:

(27) a. *ɣu* ***rərə́***
grass long
'long grass'

b. *ʈʂá* ***ʈʂʰőʈʂʰö***
cliff white

'white cliff'

It was mentioned in Section 4.2.2 that nouns can be categorized by numeral classifiers and quantified by quantifiers, and these need to follow the head noun. When a noun phrase contains both an adjective and a numeral classifier or quantifier, the word order is Noun Adj NC/Q, that is, the numeral classifier or quantifier always follows the adjective:

(28) a. *ɣu* *rərə́* *tósə*
grass long many

'much long grass'

b. *ʈʂá* *ʈʂʰőʈʂʰö* *tó-lö*
cliff white one-CLF:GENR

'a white cliff'

This indicates that although adjectives, numeral classifiers and quantifiers can all modify nouns, one can still distinguish between adjectives and other word classes through word order: when a noun phrase is modified by both an adjective and a numeral classifier/quantifier at the same time, the element that is closest to the head noun is the adjective.

4.4.5 Functioning as Predicates

When adjectives are followed by the stative aspect *ti*, the egophoric marker *nyi* or the clause final particle *tólö*, they are seen as functioning as predicates. Although adjectives can function as predicates, they lack many morphological and syntactic properties that verbal predicates have. For example, adjectival predicates cannot inflect for the person-number of subject; they are mostly intransitive; they cannot take the imperfective marker, perfective marker, or the direct evidential marker. The grammatical markers that are allowed in an adjectival predicate clause are the stative aspect *ti*, the clause-final particle

tólö/tɛ́gɛ, and the egophoric marker *nyi*. (The differences between these grammatical markers are discussed in Section 11.4). These are illustrated with the examples in (29):

(29) a. *tsótso* ***ti!***
be.hot STA

'It is hot!'

b. *tsótso* ***nyi!***
be.hot EGO:AP

'It is hot!'

c. *ótsə məní tʂʰɛtʂʰɛ́* ***tólö***
DEM person be.handsome/be.beautiful PAR

'That person is handsome/beautiful.'

4.4.6 Functioning as Complements

Munya adjectives can function as the complement of the copula verb of change of state, *tʰəvá* 'to become' (30a), and as the complement in a command construction (30b):

(30) a. *sɛ́pɛ tʰə-vá rɑ*
new AS-become EVID:DIRECT

'(It) has become new (uttered after fixing a tractor).'

b. *tsʰöntsʰő nó-vü*
good DOWN-do/2SG

'Be good.'

4.4.7 Subclasses of Adjectives

Based on the semantic parameters proposed in Dixon (1982: 1–62, 2012b: 65–66), eleven subclasses of adjectives are recognized, which are adjectives of DIMENSION, AGE,

VALUE, COLOR, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, DIFFICULTY, SIMILARITY, QUANTIFICATION, and POSITION. These are further discussed in Section 11.6.

4.5 Adverbs

4.5.1 Overview

While defining nouns, verbs, and adjectives is mostly unproblematic, identifying adverbs is less straightforward in many languages. According to Aikhenvald (2015: 166), this is because adverbs are typically defined as the word class which modifies verbs, and verb modifiers can have varying syntactic behaviors and morphological properties.

In Munya, there are some words that don't show any morphological change: unlike nouns and adjectives they cannot take any prefix or suffix, and unlike verbs they don't show vocalic change. Their syntactic function is mainly modificatory: they can modify adjectives, verbs or a whole clause. A few of them can function as copula complements. These words are recognized as adverbs. Depending on their semantics and grammatical behaviors, three types of adverbs can be recognized, which are adverbs of MANNER, DEGREE, and INTENSIFICATION. The grammatical properties of these adverbs are given in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: The Types and Functions of Munya Adverbs

Type	Function
MANNER	Modifying verbs, functioning as copula complements (Section 4.5.2.1)
DEGREE	Modifying adjectives and verbs (Section 4.5.2.2)
INTENSIFICATION	Modifying verbs, adjectives and clauses (Section 4.5.2.3)

4.5.2 Sub-types of Adverbs and Their Grammatical Properties

4.5.2.1 Manner Adverbs

Adverbs of MANNER include *ɣóɣɔ* 'slowly', *yáro* 'quickly', *zəzə́va* 'on the sly', *zózo* 'carefully', *tɕétɕe* 'heavily, intensively', *rosɛ́* 'immediately' and *ŋaŋá* 'well'. Their phonological profile reminds one of adjectives, but they are fundamentally different from adjectives in

that they can modify verbs (31a) but not nouns, and cannot function as predicates. Some adverbs, however, can function as copula complements (31b and 31c):

(31) a. *ŋú* ***ɣɔ́ɣɔ*** *ndɔ́* *ŋo*
1SG slowly go/1SG EGO:SAP

'I will go slowly.'

b. *yaró* ***vǔ***
quickly do/2SG

'Be quick!'

c. *otsə* ***tɕétɕé*** *tʰə-vá* *sə* *ndə́*
3SG heavily AS-become PFV must

'He must have got it pretty badly/It must have been very heavy/serious for him.'

4.5.2.2 Degree Adverbs

The function of degree adverbs is to specify the degree or extent of an action or state. They generally modify verbs and adjectives and typically precede the word being modified. Words that are identified as degree adverbs include *kərɛ́* 'a little', *teníme* 'very', *ŋə́mɛ* 'very', *tɕʰítɕʰa* 'very', *tɕʰiníndʐu* 'extremely', *tɕíténí* 'really (which means 'one hundred percent', literally)', *tsaŋá* 'almost', *kɛnɛ́kɛ* 'more and more', *ʈʂʰətʂʰə́* 'mostly', *káro* 'terribly' and *ɕə́ɕo* 'all the time, always'. Between degree adverb and the modified element, three particles, *ɛ/ɣɛ* (homophonous with the possessive marker/the experiential case marker), *ti* and *tólö*, can be marked. These particles can then be optionally followed by the discourse marker *tsəkú ŋotʰónyí* (this marker is discussed in Section 15.2). The exact nature of *ɛ* is not clear at the moment. For now, it is analyzed as a particle whose function is to mark the adverb. These are illustrated with *tɕʰiníndʐu* 'very' in (32):

(32) a. *dʑópu=nɛ* ***tɕʰiníndʐu*** *tʰó-ngə* *sə* *nyi*
king=COLL.PL very AS-be.happy PFV EGO:AP

'The king's families were very happy.'

b. *putsʰí sɔ́-lö tsə* ***tɕʰiníndʑu ɛ tsəkɯ́ ŋotʰónyí*** *ndʑándʑa*
kid three-CLF:GENR FOC extremely PAR D.M intimate

'The three kids are extremely close to each other.'

In (32a), the adverb directly modifies the verb *tʰóngə* 'to be happy'. In (32b), the adverb modifies the adjective *ndʑándʑa* 'intimate', and is followed by the discourse marker *tsəkɯ́ ŋotʰónyí* after it is marked by the particle *ɛ*.

ɛ is not the only particle that can mark adverbs. Other markers include *ti* and *tólö*. *ti* is also a stative aspect marker and *tólö* can be used as a clause final particle in an adjectival predicate clause. Consider the examples in (33):

(33) a. ***kərɛ́*** *tə-kú pi*
a.little UP-feel.cold IMPF

'(I feel) a little bit cold.'

b. *tsʰəyɛ* ***tɕʰítɕʰa*** *kólo kʰɯ-ɕó sə nyi*
harvest very tired NONS-come.out PFV EGO:AP

'The harvest was very tiresome.'

c. *ŋɯ́ rə-kí pu kɯ mó tʰó-sə sə nyi; há-tɕɛ-ko,*
1SG four-CLF:YEAR on OBL mother AS-die PFV EGO:AP formative-NEG-know/1SG
kərɛ́ ti *mətsʰé há-tɕɛ-ko*
a.little PAR only formative-NEG-know/1SG

'My mom died when I was four years old; I don't remember (much about) that, only a very little bit.'

d. *ŋɯnə́ lötɕʰó nyi kə,* ***tɕʰítɕʰa tólö*** *ɛ-ɕó ri mé ti*
1PL+EXCL young EGO:AP D.M very PAR AS-tired NMLZ COPULA:NEG STA

'We were very young, and it was not the case that we got very tired.'

In the first two examples the adverbs *kərɛ́* 'a little' and *tɕʰítɕʰa* 'extremely' directly modify the verbal element. In (33c) and (33d) they are respectively marked by *ti* and *tólö*.

One way of expressing high degree in Munya is to use a low degree adverb in a negative clause:

(34) ***kərɛ́*** *ti ɛ káro vúú no-tʰṹ tɕɛ́-ŋo*
a.little PAR PAR heavily snow DOWN-fall NEG-be

'It is snowing extremely heavily (lit. It is not snowing a little bit).'

The degree adverb that occurs in this example is *kərɛ́* 'a little'. It modifies the manner adverb *káro* 'heavily', which in turn modifies the verb *notʰṹ* 'to fall'. Then the predicate is negated, and the clause means, literally, that the snow is not a little heavy, which is an indirect way of saying that 'the snow is exceedingly heavy'. Notice that *kərɛ́* 'a little' is followed by two particles, which are *ti* and *ɛ*. This indicates that particles marking adverbs can be stacked.

Some words that have the meaning of degree can be used as both adjectives and adverbs, one such word being *káro* 'terribly'. When used as an adjective it means 'impressive' or 'terrifying' and can function as predicate, as in (35a). As an adverb it can modify verbs (35b) and even copulas (35c):

(35) a. *ʈʂʰṍtɕi-u=nə* ***káro*** *nyi*
PN-person=PL impressive EGO:AP

'The villagers of ʈʂʰṍtɕi are impressive.'

b. *ŋúú* ***káro*** *tʰɛ-ndɛ́ sö*
1SG terribly AS-get.old PFV/1SG

'I'm terribly old.'

c. *ɛ́-ndzə ri* ***káro*** *í nyi*
DS-eat NMLZ terribly COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP

'There were lots of things to eat (lit. Things to eat exist terribly).'

4.5.2.3 Intensification Adverbs

Intensification adverbs are used to add emphasis to the clause or to convey the speaker's attitude or emotion towards a situation, such as amazement, condemnation or surprise. The intensification adverbs currently identified include *sé* 'so', *té* 'so' and *mətsʰé* 'only'. The functions of *mətsʰé* 'only' are discussed in Section 14.5. Here we only focus on *sé* and *té*.

sé and *té* can be seen as attitudinals, and neither can be easily translated into English ('so' is just a rough approximation), because their function is to express the speakers' emotion or attitude and they do not have any semantic content. First, let us consider the semantic and grammatical properties of *sé*, as are illustrated in (36) below:

(36) a. *ʈʂʰőtɕi-u=nɛ* ***sé*** *məngő dőtɕə kʰatʂó i rotsə́ pi nyi*
PN-person=COLL.PL so people seventy more.than ERG dance IMPF EGO:AP
'More than seventy of the ʈʂʰőtɕi villagers will dance.'

b. *tɕə́tsö=nə nə tí-ʂu sə nyi;* ***sé*** *tʰíkʰu tɕʰó ɣɔ́-tɕɔ*
livestock=PL also UP-confiscate PFV EGO:AP so PN place US-drive
ra
EVID:DIRECT
'The livestock were also confiscated; they were ALL driven to the tʰikʰu village.'

In (36a), *sé* 'so' is used to express surprise or amazement. Usually only twenty people in one village are good dancers. The fact that more than seventy people of ʈʂʰötɕi village will dance impresses the speaker quite a lot, hence she used *sé* 'so'. In (36b), *sé* 'so' functions to add some intensification to the statement, as indicated by the translation.

The position of *sé* 'so' is very flexible, and this is probably because its scope of modification is the whole clause. In (36a), *sé* 'so' occurs within the subject, while in (36b) it occurs at the beginning of the clause. This word can also occur prior to an adjective and function as the modifier of it. In (37) it modifies *tsətsɛ́* 'small':

(37) ***sé*** *tsətsɛ́ ró ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ kʰɛ́ tu-dó tʰó...*
so small time LK D.M words UP-speak if

'If (I am to) say a few words about when (I was) very young...'

té 'so' is pronounced as *bé* in the southern dialect. While *té* can occur at the beginning of an affirmative clause, as in (38a), it is more commonly found before negative predicates, as are shown from (38b) to (38d). In the latter case it can be roughly translated as 'at all'.

(38) a. ***té*** *ŋɯ́ ɣɛ mó le tɕótɕo tólö tʰə-vá sə*
so 1SG POSS mother DAT same PAR AS-become PFV

'(She) literally became the same as my mum.'

b. *otsə́ ɣɛ tsʰərő* ***ɣɤ-***tsʰə́ *ri* ***té tɕɛ́-ndə***
3SG POSS wood US-burn NMLZ at.all NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

'He does not have any wood for burning at all.'

c. *mɯ́* ***té ɣɤ-tɕɯ́-tʰü***
fire at.all US-NEG-light.up/2SG

'Be sure not to light up any fire.'

d. *ɛ́ri tə́pi tsə́* ***té*** *tʂʰɛtʂʰɛ́ tólö* ***tɕɛ́-ŋo***
PN called NMLZ at.all beautiful PAR NEG-be

'(The woman) called ɛri is not beautiful at all.'

In (38a), *té* 'so' occurs at the beginning of the clause, and its meaning and function are similar to those of *sé* 'so'. In (38b) and (38c), it occurs before negated predicates. The situation seems to be different in (38d), where it does not occur before the negated predicate *tɕɛ́ŋo* 'not', but before *tʂʰɛtʂʰɛ́* 'beautiful'. But one can still analyze *tʂʰɛtʂʰɛ́ tólö tɕɛ́ŋo* 'not beautiful' as a complex predicate and say that *té* 'so' is used before the whole predicate but not inserted in between.

té can also be used as a swear word. In a monologue, a little girl told how she used to have a headache after eating some *tʰányuɛ* 'rice dumpling' (both the food and the word

are borrowed from Chinese):

(39) *tʰányuɛ* *ɛndzó* *kə* *ɣálö* *tə-ŋé,* *tsəkú* ***té!***
rice.dumpling eat/1SG and head UP-hurt, D.M INTSF

‘(I) had some rice dumplings and then (I) had a headache, dammit!’

It is not hard to see the connection between the swear word usage and the intensifier usage of *té*, as both contain the speaker’s attitude and, to some degree, emotions, towards the situation being described. Thus, it is not improbable that the intensifier usage is the result of semantic extension from the swear word usage, or vice versa.

4.6 Summary

The grammatical properties and subclasses of the four types of words discussed in this chapter are summarized in Table 4.4.

This table displays how each open word class has a range of properties not shared by others. For example, only nouns can be pluralized or modified by adjectives, and only verbs can take directional prefixes or inflect for the person-number of subjects. This means nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs are clearly distinguishable word classes in Munya. While some features are shared by different word classes, these features are fully expressed in only one word class. For example, although verbs, adjectives and nouns can all function as predicates, only verbal predicate can take the full range of grammatical categories.

Table 4.4: A Comparison of the Grammatical Properties of Four Open Word Classes

Grammatical properties	Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs
Pluralization	+			
Modified by adjectives	+			
Modified by nouns	+			
Categorized by numeral classifiers	+			
Possessor NP modification	+			
Quantified by quantifiers	+			
Relative clause modification	+			
Quantified by quantifiers	+			
Functioning as arguments	+			
Functioning as copula complements	+		+	Restricted
Taking directional prefixes		+		
Person-number inflections		+		
Pluractional derivation		+		
Taking interrogative/negative prefixes		+	+	
Functioning as predicates	Restricted	+	Restricted	
Inherent reduplication			+	Restricted
Comparative derivation			+	
Superlative derivation			+	
Intensification derivation			+	
Modifying nouns	Restricted		+	
Modifying adjectives				+
Modifying verbs				+
Modifying clauses				+

Chapter 5

Word Class II: Closed Classes

5.1 Overview

This chapter looks at the closed word classes in Munya. Different from the open classes discussed in the last chapter, which have well-defined common morphological and syntactic properties, closed classes cannot be recognized on purely formal bases. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, some closed class words behave like those in open classes, and if one takes a strictly formal approach some closed classes would have to be treated as a subclass of certain open classes. For example, demonstratives in Munya behave like either nouns, or adverbs, or verbs; postpositions show nominal properties, and many auxiliaries are verb-like. In spite of this, none of these closed word classes behave like full-fledged open classes. They might have some properties of those open classes, but not all of them. Secondly, some closed classes do not have any prominent morphological or syntactic properties. One such class contains the particles, which neither show any morphological changes nor do they play any syntactic roles. In view of this, closed classes are recognized on both formal and functional grounds. A closed class will be defined, first and foremost, based on functional criteria. And if a closed class thus recognized also shares certain formal properties, those properties will be seen as additional criteria for that class. Following this approach, altogether eight closed classes are recognized, which are demonstratives (Section 5.2), pronouns (Section 5.3), number words (Section 5.4), quantifiers(Section 5.5), postpositions (Section 5.6), interrogative words (Section 5.7), auxiliaries (Section 5.8) and particles (Section 5.9).

5.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are defined here as a class of words that can deicticly refer to person (other than speaker or addressee) and thing, location, manner and action. Demonstratives in Munya are formed by attaching the demonstrative prefix *o-* or *on-* to a root, as in *o-tsə́* 'this' and *on-tólö* 'like this'. This can be seen as their common morphological property. Demonstratives can be categorized into three types based on their syntactic functions, which are nominal, adverbial and verbal. The meanings of demonstratives mainly cover deictic reference, anaphora/cataphora, and pronoun.

All demonstratives in Munya make the distinction of proximal vs. distal. Proximal and distal demonstratives differ in tone. The high tone falls on the last or on the penultimate syllable for proximal demonstratives, and on the first syllable for distal demonstratives, cf. *otsə́* 'this' and *ótsə* 'that', *omənə́* 'like this' and *ómənə* 'like that' and *onóvɯ* 'do like this' and *ónovɯ* 'do like that'. Only the nominal demonstratives distinguish number, contrasting a singular and a non-singular form.

5.2.1 The Forms of Demonstratives

The demonstratives in Munya are listed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Munya Demonstratives

Type	Demonstrative	Basic or contracted
Nominal	*otsə́* 'this', *ótsə* 'that'	Basic
	okʰó 'here', *ókʰo* 'there'	Basic
	okʰú 'in this', *ókʰu* 'in that'	Contracted
	opú 'on this', *ópu* 'on that'	Contracted
Manner adverbial	*omənə́* 'like this', *ómənə* 'like that'	Basic
	ontólö 'like this', *óntolö* 'like that'	Contracted
	ontɛgɛ́ 'like this', *óntɛgɛ* 'like that'	Contracted
	ontopí 'like this', *óntopi* 'like that'	Contracted
	ontosə́ 'like this', *óntosə* 'like those'	Contracted
Verbal	*onóvɯ* 'do like this', *ónovɯ* 'do like that'	Contracted

Demonstratives are either basic or contracted, depending on whether they have equivalent forms. Basic demonstratives do not have alternative equivalent forms. This kind of demonstrative include *otsə́* 'this', *okʰó* 'here' and *omənə́* 'like this'. Contracted demonstra-

tives have other equivalent forms besides those given in Table 5.1, and these equivalent forms all consist of a basic demonstrative plus either a postposition, a verb, a numeral classifier or a quantifier. For example, *opú* 'on this' can be alternatively realized as *otsə́ pu*, where *otsə́* is the basic nominal demonstrative and *pu* is the postposition meaning 'on'. Similarly, the verbal demonstrative *onóvɯ* 'do like this' has the equivalent form *omənə́ nóvɯ*, in which *omənə́* 'like this' is the basic adverbial demonstrative and *nóvɯ* 'do' is a verb. Contracted demonstratives formed by combining a basic demonstrative with other element(s) are also reported in some other languages, cf. Guérin (2015).

Contracted demonstratives, together with their full forms, are listed in Table 5.2. Both the contracted forms and the full forms are currently used, and they are interchangeable.

Table 5.2: Contracted Demonstratives and Their Full Forms

Contracted demonstrative	Full form	Composition
okʰú 'in this'	*otsə́ kʰu*	nominal dem. + postposition
opú 'on this'	*otsə́ pu*	nominal dem. + postposition
ontólö 'like this'	*omənə́ tólö*	adverbial dem. + numeral classifier
ontɛgɛ́ 'like this'	*omənə́ tɛ́gɛ*	adverbial dem. + numeral classifier
ontopí 'like this'	*omənə́ tópi*	adverbial dem. + quantifier
ontosə́ 'like these'	*omənə́ tósə*	adverbial dem. + quantifier
onóvɯ 'do like this'	*omənə́ nóvɯ*	adverbial dem. + verb

From the table it can be seen that contracted demonstratives all originate from a demonstrative phrase, where the demonstrative prefix *o-* migrates to the word following the basic demonstrative, and the erstwhile demonstrative root is omitted. Take *onóvɯ* 'do like this' for an example. It originates from the verb phrase *omənə́ nóvɯ*, which consists of the basic manner demonstrative *omənə́* 'like this' and the verb *nó-vɯ* 'to do (DOWN-do)'. We know this because the full form, *omənə́ nóvɯ* 'do like this' is still in use. Then the full form is shortened, by omitting the root of the basic manner demonstrative, *-mənə*, and attaching the demonstrative prefix *o-* to the verb *nóvɯ* 'do', giving *onóvɯ*. One peculiar thing is that in the contracted forms the demonstrative prefix needs to be nasalized when prefixed to numeral classifiers or quantifiers. This is still a mystery to me.

In what follows, we look at the syntactic properties and functions of the three types of demonstratives, the nominal demonstratives, manner adverbial demonstratives, and verbal demonstratives. For ease of presentation, only the proximal form of the demon-

stratives is given when cited as examples, since what is claimed for this form is also applicable to the distal form.

5.2.2 Nominal Demonstratives

There are four pairs of nominal demonstratives in Munya. The three pairs indicating locations, which are *okʰó* 'here', *opú* 'on this' and *okʰú* 'in this', are recognized as nominal instead of adverbial demonstratives. This is because words denoting locations behave like nouns in Munya: they can take the place of an associative plural marker (cf. Section 6.3), a numeral classifier (*-kʰɛ* 'CLF:PLACE'), and can be marked by the oblique case. Because local demonstratives can anaphorically refer to local nouns and can function as copula complements (to be discussed below), they are essentially noun-like.

5.2.2.1 Syntactic Properties

The two pairs of basic nominal demonstratives (*otsə́* 'this' and *okʰó* 'here') can make up a complete NP (40a and 40b) or appear in an NP with a noun (40c and 40d), in which case they function as arguments. The two pairs of contracted nominals (*opú* 'on this' and *okʰú* 'in this') can only form a complete NP but cannot occur in an NP. Consider the four examples below:

(40) a. ***[otsə́]***$_O$ *[ŋí]*$_A$ *há-nyu-ko* *ti*
DEM 1SG+ERG formative-NEG-know/1SG STA

'I don't know that.'

b. *[tá]*$_S$ ***okʰó*** *tʰó-sə* *nyi*
tiger DEM AS-die EGO:AP

'The tiger died here.'

c. ***[otsə́ dɯnbɯ́]***$_S$ *tɕʰiníndʐu* *pítsɔ* *té-zɛ* *nyi*
DEM stick very good one-CLF:LONG EGO:AP

'This stick is really good.'

d. *[ŋɯ́]$_A$ i lɤ́mi tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ **okʰó nbú** le tɔ́-tɕo hə́*
1SG ERG watch.over.cattle D.M D.M DEM hill on UP-drive go

'I watched over cattle and drove (them) up the hill over there.'

otsə́ 'this' generally functions as core arguments (it acts as O in 40a and as S in 40c) and the local demonstrative *okʰó* 'here' normally functions as peripheral arguments. Different from other local nominals, when functioning as peripheral arguments *okʰó* 'here' is not marked by the oblique case *kə*. This can be seen in (40b). Similarly, contracted nominal demonstratives cannot take the oblique case but their full forms (*otsə́ kʰu* 'in this' and *ostə́ pu* 'on this') can be marked by it.

Nominal demonstratives can also function as copula arguments:

(41) a. ***[otsə́]***$_{CS}$ *[vá]*$_{CC}$ *ŋó ti*
DEM butter be STA

'This is butter.'

b. *[dʑópu tó-lö]*$_{CS}$ ***[okʰú]***$_{CC}$ *ndʑɯ́ rɑ*
king one-CLF:GENR DEM COP:ANIMATE EVID:DIRECT

'One of (those kids) is the king.'

otsə́ 'this' is the only nominal demonstrative that has a plural form, which is *onə́*. This form can be used when it functions as a complete NP and appears in an NP with a noun or as a pronoun. In the second case, if the NP head is specified for number via other means, *otsə́* 'this' does not occur in plural form. Compare:

(42) a. ***onə́*** *ɣu*
DEM+PL grass

'these grasses'

b. ***otsə́*** *putsʰí sɔ́-lö*
DEM kid three-CLF:GENR

'these three kids'

The plurality in (42a) is indicated with the demonstrative. In (42b), because the head noun, *puts^{h}í* 'kid', is quantified by the numeral classifier, the demonstrative does not show plural form.

5.2.2.2 Functions

The functions of nominal demonstratives are deictic reference and anaphora. Their deictic function is illustrated with the examples below:

(43) a. ***otsə́*** *reré* *ti*
DEM be.delicious STA

'This is delicious. (Uttered as the speaker is pointing at the dish she just tasted.)'

b. *tsɤ́lɤ* ***ok^{h}ó*** *mú*
cat here COP

'The cat is here. (Uttered as the speaker is pointing at the cat.)'

The major parameter of reference of Munya demonstratives is spatial, which relates to 'near speaker' (proximal) and 'not near speaker' (distal). They are also used to highlight contrast. For example, if someone had two dishes and thinks one dish is delicious but the other one is not, she can say (44):

(44) ***otsə́*** *reré* *ti,* ***ótsə*** *reré* *nyɯ-ti*
DEM be.delicious STA DEM be.delicious NEG-STA

'This one is delicious and this one is not delicious.'

Here the two instances of the nominal demonstrative are used deicticly, and both referents are near the speaker in this context. However, the first demonstrative is proximal but the second one is distal. This is because the two referents—in this case, two dishes—are contrasted against each other and the second one needs to be referred to with the distal demonstrative regardless of distance.

While nominal demonstratives can all be used as anaphoras, thus far I have not found any example of such demonstratives being used cataphorically. (But verbal demonstra-

tives can be used in this way—see the discussion in Section 5.2.4.) In the example below, *ótsə* 'that' is used as an anaphora, referring back to the CS in the previous copula clause:

(45) *[mɯ́ kʰu-ɕə́ ró ɣɛ dʑó tó-lö]$_{CS}$ tʰó-ndə sə,* ***ótsə***
fire NONS-preserve go REL stone one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ABSTRACT PFV DEM
tsə məɕətʰɛ
FOC fire.preserving.stone

'There used to be a stone for preserving fire (keeping ambers alive), and that is the fire preserving stone.'

5.2.3 Manner Adverbial Demonstratives

Manner adverbial demonstratives all mean 'like this/like that' or 'like these/like those'. The root of the basic demonstrative, *mənə́*, can also be used as a similative plural marker. This is discussed in Section 6.3. The syntactic functions of manner adverbial demonstratives are to modify verbs (46a) and adjectives (46b):

(46) a. *kʰɯ́-ndzo ri té mé,* ***omənə́ ɛ tsəkɯ́*** *ndʑuwɛ́ hə́ ri*
NONS-stop NMLZ at.all COPULA:NEG DEM PAR D.M change go NMLZ
tólö
PAR

'(Everything) doesn't stop at all, and (everything) changes like that.'

b. *tsé ɣɛ dʐɛ́ nyú-kʰo, tsʰalá rótsə nyú-nyo, sé* ***omənə́***
REFL/3 GEN voice NEG-have/1SG dance to.dance NEG-can/1SG so DEM
dudú tólö ti
be.bad PAR STA

'I don't have (a good) voice, nor can I dance, I'm as bad as that.'

Note that in (46a), the adverbial demonstrative is marked by the particle *ɛ* and followed by the discourse marker *tsəkɯ́*. This is in accordance with the behavior of degree adverbs as discussed in Section 4.5.

Similar to nominal demonstratives, manner adverbial demonstratives can also be used deicticly and as anaphoras. In (46) above, the demonstratives are used as anaphoras, referring back to the situations described by the previous clauses. It refers to the fact that nothing in the world is static in (46a) and that the speaker does not have a good voice and cannot dance in (46b).

In (47), the manner adverbial demonstrative seems to be used deicticly:

(47) *löŋő ʑɯ́ pu tsəkɯ́ mó tʰó-sə sə nyi,* ***ómənə*** *kʰɛ́ tu-tó hi*
age four on D.M mother AS-die PFV EGO:AP DEM words UP-speak will

'When you were four your mum died, speak like that.'

When asked to say something about himself, the speaker did not know where to start. His wife, who was sitting nearby, prompted him by saying (47). Here it can be argued that the speaker of (47) first set up an example, then asked her husband to continue in that manner. The adverbial demonstrative then deicticly refers to the way of speaking.

The semantic or pragmatic differences between the four contracted manner adverbial demonstratives can be subtle, and mainly lie in quantity. Roughly speaking, *ontɛgɛ́* would be used if the speaker wants to emphasize the small quantity or low degree involved in the situation, hence it can be more accurately translated as 'this little'. *ontosə́* and *ontopí* would be used if the speaker wants to emphasize the large quantity or high degree involved in a certain situation. *omənə́* and *ontólö* are the unmarked, and also most frequently used, manner adverbial demonstratives, which carry no connotation as to whether the degree involved is high or low. This can be seen by comparing (48a) with (48b):

(48) a. *löŋő tó-ki kʰu, ɣu tʰo-kó pi kə, ŋá-si* ***yoɣő*** *í-ni*
year one-CLF:YEAR in grass AS-cut IMPF OBL five-CLF:DAY only DS-rest

pi nyi, sű tɕé-ndə; tó-ki kʰu ***ontɛgé*** *í-ni*
IMPF EGO:AP others NEG-COP:ABSTRACT one-year in DEM DS-rest

pi
IMPF

'Within one year, only at the time of cutting grass could we take five days' break, and there was no other rest. We only rested that little within a year.'

b. *yoní tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí 'ŋɯ́ kʰɔ́ nyú-so, löŋő dʑétɕɯ gútɕɯ*
1PL.INCL+ERG D.M 1SG at.all NEG-die/1SG year eighty ninety

*óntolö pu pɛ nbí ri ndé', **óntosə ɕəɕó** sɔ́ tsəkɯ́*
DEM ALL until live NMLZ certainly DEM always think D.M

'I won't die, I will live to eighty or ninety years old,' we always think like that.'

In (48a), the speaker talked about the small amount of rest that they had within a year, which was only five days, hence he used *ontɛgé* 'that little'. Aside from this demonstrative, emphasis for the small amount is also borne out by the adverb used in the previous clause, *yoɣő* 'only'. In (48b), the speaker commented on how prevalent it is for people to think that they would live to eighty or ninety years old. To emphasize that this happens so often, he used *óntosə* 'like that', together with the adverb *ɕəɕo* 'always'.

5.2.4 Verbal Demonstrative

The verbal demonstrative *onóvɯ* 'do like this' is contracted from the basic manner adverbial demonstrative *omənə́* 'like this' and the verb *nó-vɯ* 'to do (DOWN-do)'. Its verbal status can be seen from the fact that it can be followed by aspect markers or egophoric markers, which are the key properties of verbs (Section 4.3). Its major syntactic role is functioning as predicate, as is shown in (49):

(49) a. *ná-ndzo tsə, nó-tsü tʰo-dí tsʰɛ́ nó-vɯ, **ónovɯ***
DOWN-process FOC DOWN-milk AS-finish solid.sour.milk DOWN-make DEM
ŋo
EGO:SAP

'As to milk-processing, I made solid sour milk, I did things like that.'

b. *ɣənbə́ ɛ́-tʰə, gɛ́ nó-tü, rə kʰɯ́-rə, ɣóɣɑ*
cattle.dung DS-remove clod DOWN-break land NONS-plow cattle.fence
*nó-tɕɯ, **omənə́ nó-vɯ sö** nyi*
DOWN-set.up like.that DOWN-do PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'I removed cattle dung, broke up clods, plowed the land, set up cattle fences, (I) worked like that.'

Although cataphoric use of demonstratives in Munya is rare, one example can be given here, which involves a verbal demonstrative. In a story, three kids arrived in a strange country where the king was being chosen, and the story-teller began his account of how they chose the king with (50):

(50) *tí-si pi kə **omənə́ nó-vɯ** pi tʰóŋosə nyi*
UP-choose IMPF OBL DEM DOWN-do IMPF MIR EGO:AP

'As they choose the king, they choose (him) like this.'

The processes of choosing the king were then given, which constituted lining up clever kids in that country and bringing an elephant, and so on. (Details can be found in the text attached to the thesis.) In this example, the cataphoric demonstrative is a verbal manner demonstrative in its full form.

It can be seen from the discussion above that the basic manner demonstrative *omənə́* 'like this' gives rise to a fair amount of contracted demonstratives (altogether five), which are either verbal or adverbial. These demonstratives are all semantically related to manner ('like this/like that' for manner adverbial demonstratives and 'do like this/do like that' for verbal demonstratives), and can be termed *manner demonstratives*. This plethora of

manner demonstratives may have to do with the discourse style in Munya. In a narrative discourse, it is customary for the speaker to summarize what she or he has just said after a topic is finished, and this is typically done through manner demonstratives. For example, in (49b) above, after giving a list of works that she used to do when she was young, the speaker made a summary with a verbal manner demonstrative *ómənə nóvɯ* 'do like this'.

Another speaker ended his story with the sentence in (51), where he used two manner demonstratives in two clauses for summation:

(51) ***ómənə*** *dʑópu* *sɔ́-lö* *kʰɯ́-tɕɔ* *tsəkɯ́* ***ómənə*** *tʰə-vá* *sə*
DEM king three-CLF:GENR NONS-dawn and DEM AS-become PFV
nyi *tə́pi*
EGO:AP EVID:REP

'The three kings appeared like that and it came out like that, so it was said.'

This topic is further discussed in Section 15.4.2 under the heading of summary linkage.

5.3 Pronouns

Munya has two kinds of pronouns, common and reflexive. Common pronouns have three number distinctions (singular, dual and plural) and an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction. Some pronouns also have ergative and genitive case forms. Reflexive pronouns make fewer distinctions in number and clusivity than common pronouns, and are formally derived from common pronouns. Both common and reflexive pronouns can be reduplicated for emphasis. In what follows, the term 'pronoun' will be used to denote common pronouns unless otherwise specified.

5.3.1 Common Pronouns

In this section we characterize Munya pronouns from the perspectives of number, clusivity and case forms. There is a tripartite number distinction in Munya pronouns, singular, plural and dual. There is also an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singulars. The

absolutive case form is the base form, from which the ergative form and genitive form are derived. These forms are given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural	Dual
		Absolutive form	
1 inclusive	*ŋɯ́*	*yo-nə́*	*yo-ní-nə́*
1 exclusive		*ŋɯ-nə́*	*ŋɯ-ní-nə́*
2	*nɛ́*	*nɛ-nə́*	*nɛ-ní-nə́*
3	*otsə́*	*o-nə́*	*o-ní-nə́*
		Ergative form	
1 inclusive	*ŋí*	*yo-ní*	*yo-ní-ní*
1 exclusive		*ŋɯ-ní*	*ŋɯ-ní-ní*
2	–	*nɛ-ní*	*nɛ-ní-ní*
3	*otsí*	*o-ní*	*o-ní-ní*∼*o-tsí-ní*
		Genitive form	
1 inclusive	*ngɛ́*	*yo-nɛ́*	*yo-nɛ́-nɛ́*
1 exclusive		*ŋɯ-nɛ́*	*ŋɯ-nɛ́-nɛ́*
2	–	*nɛ-nɛ́*	*nɛ-ní-nɛ́*
3	*otsɛ́*	*onɛ́*	*o-ní-nɛ́*∼*o-tsí-nɛ́*

Different number forms are related to each other through derivation. The singular form is the basic form, from which the plural form is derived by attaching the plural marker *-nə*. For example, the second person singular is *nɛ́*, and the second person plural is *nɛ-nə́*. Different from the plural marker attached to common nouns, which is a clitic, the plural marker here should be analyzed as a suffix. This is because it forms both a grammatical and a phonological word—a pronoun—with preceding components. Note that the third person plural is formed somewhat differently, in that it is not derived by directly suffixing the plural marker, but by replacing the second syllable of the singular form with the plural marker, which results in *o-nə́* rather than **otsə́-nə*. The duals are derived from the plurals by adding the suffix *-ni* to the singular root, which means ‘two’.

Munya has an inclusive/exclusive distinction for first person plurals and duals. The exclusive forms are based on the first person singular *ŋɯ́*, and the plural and dual forms are respectively *ŋɯ-nə́* ‘we/us’ and *ŋɯ-ní-nə́* ‘we two/us two’. The inclusive forms contain the bound morpheme *yo-*, the origin of which is currently unknown.

Ergative and genitive are formed by combining the absolutive form with the ergative

case *i* and the genitive case *ɛ*. Since the two cases can fuse with personal pronouns and lead to some irregularities, the two case paradigms of pronouns are listed in Table 5.3. The second person singular form is not given because it cannot fuse with the two cases. The second person singular form and the ergative case/genitive case are two separate words, respectively *nɛ́ i* and *nɛ́ ɣɛ*. There is also a dative case, *le*, which never fuses with personal pronouns and always occurs as a CV syllable. For example, 'to me' is *ŋú le* and cannot be **ŋe*. This indicates that the fusion of pronouns with cases is phonologically conditioned: if the case only consists of a vowel, it can fuse with the pronoun, otherwise it cannot. This is also supported by an observation related to the genitive case. The genitive case *ɛ* has a free variant *ɣɛ*, which is phonologically a CV syllable. Just like the dative case, the full-syllable variant can never fuse with pronouns.

The fusion of the ergative case with singular forms is optional, so that we can have both *ŋú i* (unfused) and *ŋí* (fused), and *otsə́ i* and *otsí*. Case fusion with plural and dual forms are obligatory, therefore, for the second person plural, we only have *nɛní* and not **nɛnə́ i*. Finally, note that there are two equivalent forms for the third person dual ergative form, which are *oníní* and *otsíní*. *oníní* is formally transparent, but it is not very clear how *otsíní* came into being. One way of arriving at this form is by suffixing the morpheme *-ni* 'two' to the ergative form of the third person singular, *otsí*.

Considerable similarities with the ergative forms are observed in the creation of genitive forms. One is that case fusion with singular forms is optional but fusion with plural and dual forms are obligatory. Another one is that there are two third person dual forms, which are *onínɛ́* and *otsínɛ́*. *onínɛ́* is formed regularly by fusing the genitive case *ɛ* with the absolutive form *onínə́*, but *otsínɛ́* poses an issue. If we assume that it is formed by suffixing *-ni* 'two' to the third person singular, *otsə́*, following the analysis of the third person dual ergative form, we cannot explain how *otsə́* becomes *otsí*. There is currently no satisfactory explanation as to how this form came about.

There are two peculiarities in genitive case forms. One is that the fused form of first person singular, *ngɛ́*, is irregular. The other peculiarity lies in the first person dual forms. Here the suffix which means 'two' is *-nɛ* instead of the expected *-ni*. While this might strike us as an instance of vowel harmony, a similar vowel harmony phenomenon is not observed in other parts of the Munya morphophonology (cf. Section 3.2), this explanation

cannot be correct. Note also that this suffix does not become *-nɛ* for the second person dual genitive form but remains *nɛ-ní-nɛ́*. This may be the result of an effort to avoid three identical syllables occurring together.

A word that has pronominal function but is not listed in Table 5.3 is *ndʑú*. It roughly means ‘someone’ or ‘people’. It is not listed because it does not pattern with other pronouns and does not have dual forms. However, this word has three distinct but related functions: as a third person pronoun, as a generic pronoun, and as an indefinite pronoun.

When used as a third person pronoun, it can be juxtaposed with a noun that it refers to, as in (52a), or occur alone, as in (52b):

(52) a. *ɛɣő i* ***ndʑú i*** *tɕátɛ kʰó-lə ɑ-rá*
uncle ERG he ERG bike AS-ride DS-go

‘Uncle, he went downstream on a bike.’

b. *[tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ tɕe i lá mo-tá sə],* ***ndʑú i*** *ómənə tə́-tə*
D.M king=COLL.PL son ERG bride NEG-get PFV she ERG DEM UP-say
vɯ́ tsəkɯ́
do D.M

‘ “The son of the king’s family did not get his bride”, so said she (the daughter of another king’s family).’

In (52a), *ndʑú* is juxtaposed to its antecedent, the subject *ɛɣő* ‘uncle’, and they are both marked with the ergative case *i*. (52b) comes from a story. The son of a king’s family made a proposal for the daughter of another king’s family but was refused because of his unsatisfactory behavior. The original speaker of the speech report (in brackets) is the daughter of yet another king’s family. In this example she is anaphorically referred to with *ndʑú*.

When used as a generic pronoun, it does not have any antecedent and roughly means ‘people’. In this case, it can be pluralized:

(53) ***ndʑú=nə*** *tsəkú.ŋotʰónyí, tɕipú tʰə-vá pi, tőme tʰə-vá pi, táyɛ́*
people=PL D.M happy AS-become PFV rich AS-become PFV money
ndə́ ti
have PAR

'People have become happy, they have become rich, they have money.'

ndʑú can also function as an indefinite pronoun and then means 'someone'. Suppose one wants to have some dumplings but finds that all dumplings are gone and deduces that someone have eaten them, one can say:

(54) ***ndʑú=ni*** *mɔmɔ́ ɛ́-ndzə ra*
someone=PL+ERG dumpling DS-eat EVID:DIRECT

'Someone ate the dumplings.'

5.3.2 Reflexive Pronouns

Aside from common pronouns, Munya also has a set of reflexive pronouns. They are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Reflexive Pronouns

	Singular	Plural	Dual
1 inclusive	*ŋí*	*yo-nə́*	
1 exclusive		*ŋi-nə́*	
2	*né*	*ne-nə́*	
3	*tsé*	*tsé-nə*	*tse-ní-nə́*

Comparing reflexive pronouns with common pronouns, we can see that clusivity is the same for both types. That is, there is the inclusive/exclusive distinction for first person plurals and duals. However, the tripartite number distinction is only preserved in third person. Also, the singular reflexive forms can be roughly analyzed as deriving from the non-reflexive forms through vowel raising, so that the first person singular *ŋú* becomes *ŋí*, and the second person singular *nɛ́* becomes *né*. The relation between the third person singular reflexive and non-reflexive forms, however, cannot be satisfactorily accounted

for in this way. In particular, we don't know what happened to the demonstrative prefix *o-* in *otsə́* when it turns into the reflexive pronoun, *tsé*, but vowel raising can capture the relation between *-tsə́* and *tsé*.

Case marking is regular in singular reflexive pronouns, with no case fusion observed. (The first person singular ergative form is the same as the absolutive form, both are *ŋí*.) Case fusion for plural and dual forms works in the same way as that of common pronouns.

There is no formal distinction between reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. It is potentially ambiguous as to whether a reflexive pronoun is used reflexively or reciprocally when the subject is plural. This is illustrated in (55):

(55) *nɛní* ***nenə́*** *té* *rɑ*
2PL+ERG REFL/2NONSG see/1/2NONSG EVID:DIRECT

'You saw yourselves/You saw each other.'

In this example, the second person dual or plural reflexive pronoun, *nenə́*, can be interpreted as either having a reflexive sense or a reciprocal sense. In the former case it is coreferential with the subject and means 'yourselves' and in the latter case it means 'each other'.

The third person singular reflexive pronoun can be used as an auto-reflexive, i.e., without any antecedent. In this case, it is used for emphasis, and roughly means 'she herself/he himself' or 'by himself/by herself':

(56) a. *ngötʂʰí ŋó tə́-tə tsəkɯ́, ngötʂʰí=nə* ***tsénə*** *nbí*
chieftain be UP-say and chieftain=PL REFL/3PL sit

'(They) said I was the chieftain (but) the chieftains simply sat.'

b. ***tsé*** *ɣɛ rí tə-ró pi*
REFL/3 EXP smile UP-come IMPF

'He himself smiled/She herself smiled.'

In speech reports, when the subject of the main clause is coreferential with the subject/object of the subordinate clause, the subject/object of the subordinate clause should

be in the reflexive form. Compare:

(57) a. *otsí$_i$* ***[tsé$_i$*** *ɣɛ tɔ-tsɔ́ sö nyi]* *tə́-tə sə nyi*
3SG+ERG REFL/3 EXP UP-be.hungry PFV/1SG EGO:AP UP-say PFV EGO:AP
'He/she said he/she was hungry.'

b. *otsí$_i$* ***[ŋɯ́$_j$*** *ɣɛ tɔ-tsɔ́ sə nyi]* *tə́-tə sə nyi*
3SG+ERG 1SG EXP UP-be.hungry PFV EGO:AP UP-say PFV EGO:AP
'He/she said I was hungry.'

In (57a), the subject of the main clause is the third person singular pronoun, and is coreferential with the subject of the quoted clause, as indicated by the indexes. Therefore, the subject of the subordinate clause should take the reflexive form. In (57b), the two subjects are not co-referential, and the subject of the subordinate clause, which is in first person, can only refer to the current speaker himself or herself. This is an example of indirect speech report. Note also that in (57a), where the two subjects are co-referential, the person marking in the subordinate clause should be in the first person form (marked on the perfective auxiliary *sö*). Issues of speech report are further explored in Section 14.4.

The word *səsú/róró səsú* (some people pronounce it as *səsɯ́*) borrowed from Tibetan is semantically similar to a reflexive pronoun. It can mean 'oneself', 'individual' or 'by oneself'. Consider the two examples below:

(58) a. ***róró.səsú*** *ɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyírə, tó-tsʰe ɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyírə,*
REFL EXP D.M one-CLF:FAMILY EXP D.M
ndí mətsʰé tə́-tɕɯ-dʑo tsəkɯ́
think only UP-NEG-do D.M
'(Everyone) only thinks for themselves, only thinks for one family.'

b. ***róró.səsú*** *nó-ʈʂʰö,* ***róró.səsú*** *lɛ́kɛ́ tʰó-vɯ*
REFL DOWN-plow REFL work AS-do
'People plow by themselves, work by themselves.'

In (58a), *róró səsú* ‘oneself’ is marked by the experiential case and functions as an oblique argument (‘for oneself’). The subject, *méme* ‘everyone’, can be retrieved from the context and is omitted. In (58b), it is an adverb whose function is to modify the verb phrases and means ‘by oneself’. Note that it cannot be analyzed as an argument, because in that case, we would expect it to be marked by the ergative case, since the verbs in the two clauses are both transitive.

5.3.3 Pronoun Reduplication

Both common pronouns and reflexive pronouns can be reduplicated. Reduplicated pronouns are mainly used for emphasis. For example, if one wants to assert that something belongs to him or her, they can either use non-reduplicated forms, as in (59a) and (59b), or reduplicated forms, as in (59c) and (59d):

(59) a. *otsə* ***ŋɯ́*** *ɣɛ* *nyi*
DEM 1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is mine.’

b. *otsə* ***ŋí*** *ɣɛ* *nyi*
DEM REFL/1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is mine.’

c. *otsə* ***ŋɯ-ŋɯ́*** *ɣɛ* *nyi*
DEM 1SG-1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is MINE.’

d. *otsə* ***ŋi-ŋí*** *ɣɛ* *nyi*
DEM REFL/1SG-REFL/1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is MINE.’

The non-reduplicated pronouns in the first two examples are used for normal statements, but it can be argued that the assertion of ownership as expressed with the reflexive

pronoun in (59b) is stronger than the non-reflexive form in (59a). Now suppose that someone wrongly assumes that the thing in question belongs to someone else than the real owner, and the owner wants to emphasize that it actually belongs to him or her instead of anyone else, they can use the reduplicated forms, as shown in the second pair of examples. Here as above, the sense of emphasis in (59d) is again stronger than in (59c).

As another example, consider (60), where the first person inclusive pronoun is reduplicated:

(60) *hámutʂʰe=nə sé ɛá kʰu kʰɯ-ʑɯ́ hə́ hi nyi,*
logging.certificate=PL so county in NONS-apply go will EGO:AP
yoní-yoní *kʰɯ-ʑɯ́ hə́ hi nyi*
1PL.INCL+ERG-1PL.INCL+ERG NONS-apply go will EGO:AP

'Logging certificates would have to be applied for in town, we would have to apply all by ourselves.'

In this example, pronoun reduplication functions to emphasize that people would have to apply for the logging certificate all by themselves, without the help of anyone else.

5.4 Number Words

Number words in Munya are also a closed class. In this section we look at two types of number words, which are cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers, with the focus on the former. There are two ways of counting for each type, the native way and the Tibetan way. The native cardinal number system is largely lost. After discussing the formation of cardinal numbers, their morphosyntactic properties will be covered, including formation of numeral classifiers and quantifying nouns. Also discussed are the two ways of expressing approximate meaning with cardinal numbers.

5.4.1 Cardinal Numbers

There are two sets of number words in Munya, a native set and a Tibetan set. The native number words are morphologically prefixes, which are only found in numeral classifiers.

They form a grammatical and phonological word together with a numeral classifier. They exist only for numbers one to twenty in the western dialect but are still fully preserved in the eastern dialect. (Unfortunately, I do not have sufficient data for eastern dialect.) Tibetan number words can be used more freely, either with or without any classifier, and can be counted to any number. The use of Chinese number words is very restricted and mostly used when referring to telephone numbers. They do not play any active role in Munya grammar.

From the data available, it can be deduced that the native number system used to be decimal. Properties of this system include: single word for 1–10; use of addition to 10 for 11–19; use of multiplication by 10 for 20–99; single word for higher bases, typically '100', '1000', etc. The Munya number word for 100 is *tá-ra*. This form is obsolete and is not used in daily conversation anymore, but somehow my consultant remembers it. The Tibetan number system is also decimal based. Munya number words and some Tibetan number words are given in Table 5.5.

It is not hard to see from this table that Munya and Tibetan share some cognate number words, the obvious ones being those for 2, 3, and 5. The word for 6 (Munya *tɕʰü-* and Tibetan *ʈsú*) and 9 (Munya *ngɯ-* and Tibetan *gú*) are very similar and it is possible that they can be explained by some sound change rules. A systematic comparison of the number words in Tibeto-Burman languages can be found in H. K. Sun (2018).

In the limited data we have for Munya we find two morphemes for 'ten', with one being *ɛ-* (found from 10–12) and the other *ɣɔ-* (found from 13–20). There are some irregularities in the Tibetan number system that need to be noted. The base of multiplication, which is 10, is generally *tɕú*, but it is *ɕə* for numbers from 20 to 29. The latter can be explained as the result of lenition of the former (see Section 2.5). Sometimes the numbers multiplied by ten also show some vocalic change. For example, the number for 3 is *sɔ́*, and when it functions as the base for 30–39, it becomes *sö*, as in *sɔ́-tɕɯ* '30'. Similarly, *ŋá* '5' becomes *ŋɛ* when functioning as the base of multiplication.

Numbers involving both multiplication and addition are more complicated, in that they require a 'linker' between the multiplied part and the added part, and this linker can vary for every set of ten numbers. For example, 21 and 65 can be analyzed in the following way:

Table 5.5: Munya Number Words and Tibetan Number Words

Arabic digit	Munya Number Words	Tibetan Number Words
1	*to-*	*tɕí*
2	*nə-*	*ní*
3	*sɔ-*	*só*
4	*rə-*	*ʑí*
5	*ŋa-*	*ŋá*
6	*tɕʰü-*	*ʈsú*
7	*nyü-*	*dő*
8	*ɕo-*	*dʑé*
9	*ngɯ-*	*gú*
10	*ɛ-kő-*	*tɕɯ́*
11	*ɛ-tí-*	*tɕo-tɕí*
12	*ɛ-nə́-*	*tɕo-ní*
13	*ɣɔ-sɔ́-*	*tɕo-só*
14	*ɣɔ-rə́-*	*tɕɯ-ʑí*
15	*ɣɔ-ŋá-*	*tɕɯ-ŋá*
16	*ɣɔ-tɕʰű-*	*tɕɯ-ʈsú*
17	*ɣɔ-ní-*	*tɕɯ-dő*
18	*ɣɔ-ɕó-*	*tɕɯ-dʑé*
19	*ɣɔ-ngə́-*	*tɕɯ-gú*
20	*nə-ɣá-*	*ní-ɕə*
21	-	*ní-ɕə́-tse-tɕí*
22	-	*ní-ɕə́-tse-ní*
30	-	*ső-tɕɯ*
31	-	*ső-tɕɯ-ső-tɕi*
32	-	*ső-tɕɯ-ső-ni*
40	-	*ʑí-tɕɯ*
50	-	*ŋɛ́-tɕɯ*
51	-	*ŋɛ́-tɕɯ-ŋɛ́-tɕi*
60	-	*ʈsú-tɕɯ*
61	-	*ʈsú-tɕɯ́-re-tɕí*
62	-	*ʈsú-tɕɯ́-re-ní*
70	-	*dő-tɕɯ*
80	-	*dʑé-tɕɯ*
90	-	*gú-tɕɯ*
91	-	*gú-tɕɯ-gő-tɕi*
100	*ta-rá*	*dʑɛ́*
101	-	*dʑɛ́-tɕi*
102	-	*dʑɛ́-ni*
110	-	*dʑɛ-tɛ́-tɕɯ*
200	-	*ní-dʑɛ*
1,000	-	*tóntʂʰa*
10,000	-	*ʈʂʰíʈʂʰu*
100,000,000	-	*tonyé*

(61) a. *ní-ɕə́-**tse**-tɕí*
two-ten-and-one
'twenty-one'

b. *ʈʂú-tɕɯ́-**re**-ŋá*
six-ten-and-five
'sixty-five'

In this example, the linkers as respectively *-tse-* (for 'twenty-one') and *-re-* (for 'sixty-five').

5.4.2 Ordinal Numbers

There is a native way and a Tibetan way of forming ordinal numbers. The native way is with numeral classifiers, but the words for 'first' and 'second' are suppletive forms. The word for 'first' is *kɛmú*, which means 'before' or 'long time ago'. The word for 'second' is *otsə́ ɣɛ ʈʂó* (it POSS behind), which means 'behind it'. The word for 'third' is *tóntʂi ɣɛ ʈʂó*, in which *tóntʂi* is the general numeral classifier for 'two' and this word means 'behind of two'. Similarly, the word for 'fourth' is *sɔ́-lö ɣɛ ʈʂó* (three-CLF:GENR POSS behind). All other ordinal numbers are formed regularly in this way, which consists of a numeral classifier, a possessive marker, and the word for 'behind'.

Tibetan ordinal numbers are formed by adding the ordinal suffix *-pɛ* and the prefix *ɑ-* to cardinal numbers, with the latter being optional. The first cardinal number, *tónpu/ɑ-tónpu* 'first', is suppletive. The word for 'second' is either *ɑ́-ni-pɛ* or *ní-pɛ*, in which *ní* is the word for 'two' and *ɑ-* is the cardinal prefix and *-pɛ* is the cardinal suffix. All other ordinal numbers are formed according to this rule.

5.4.3 The Functions of Number Words

5.4.3.1 Forming Numeral Classifiers

The most prominent morphological function of number words is to form numeral classifiers, such as *to-tsʰé* 'one family of (one-CLF:FAMILY)' and *nə́-zɛ* 'two (long objects) (two-CLF:LONG)'. Both native and Tibetan number words can perform this function.

Syntactically, number words can modify nouns, but this function is restricted to Tibetan numbers. Nouns that can be modified by number words include, among others, measuring units, as in (62a), age, as in (62b), and the amount of money, as in (62c):

(62) a. *nɛnɛ́ póndzu kʰu kə ŋá i rətɕé ti dɛ́nbe*
2PL+GEN treasure.house in OBL gold LK knife PAR two.arms.length
tɕɯdʑé *tɛ́-zɛ mu*
eighteen one-CLF:LONG COP

'There is a gold knife in your treasure house that is as long as eighteen two arms' span.'

b. *onə́ sɔ́-lö tə́-ndzo tsəkɯ́ löŋő* ***tɕoní*** *tʰə-vá sə nyi*
3PL three-CLF:GENR UP-grow and year eleven AS-become PFV EGO:AP

'Those three kids grew up to twelve years old.'

c. *ʈʂʰə́ **ní** mətsʰé nə-mó-hi rɑ*
Chinese.yuan two only DOWN-NEG-allocate EVID:DIRECT

'We were only allocated two Yuan. (lit: Only two Yuan came down to us.)'

In all these examples, the number words follow the head noun they modify, which is similar to the behavior of adjectives.

5.4.3.2 Expressing Approximate Meaning

Number words can be stacked to express an approximate meaning, giving senses such as 'about' or 'around' a certain number. (A similar phenomenon is also found in Chinese.) This is shown in (63):

(63) a. *nbí mí=nə ti ɕíle tɕí-zə tɕí-zə* ***dʑétɕɯ gútɕɯ*** *ti*
live NMLZ=PL PAR rarely one-CLF:MAN one-CLF:MAN eighty ninety PAR
nbí pi nyi
live IMPF EGO:AP

'As to the people alive, it is rare to find them to live into their eighties or nineties.'

b. *tu-mú-ɕo* *tsəkɯ́* ***tó-nə-ki*** *tʰə-vá* *ra,* ***tó-ki***
UP-NEG-talk.about D.M one-two-year AS-become EVID:DIRECT one-year
né-ki *tʰə-vá* *ra*
two-year AS-become EVID:DIRECT

'They haven't talked about that for one or two years.'

The stacked number words do not have to be strictly consecutive. In (63a), the two number words are *dʑétɕɯ gútɕɯ* 'eighty ninety', which are consecutive integer multiples of ten. Stacked number words can also be used in numeral classifier constructions, as in (63b), where *to-nə-* 'one-two' are prefixed to the classifier *-ki* 'CLF:YEAR'. Numeral classifier constructions containing stacked number words can be expanded into two numeral classifiers with consecutive number words, which have the same meaning to the non-expanded forms. This form can be found in the second clause of (63b), where *tó-nə-ki* 'several years (one-two-CLF:YEAR)' is alternatively expressed as *tó-ki né-ki* 'several years (one-CLF:YEAR two-CLF:YEAR)'. Finally, the stacked number words do not have to be interpreted exactly in their literal sense. In the two examples above, the literal interpretation is appropriate for (63a), in that the speaker is indeed talking about living to eighty or ninety years old. In the second example, the stacked numeral classifiers should be understood as meaning 'several years' or 'a few years'.

5.5 Quantifiers

Quantifier is also a closed word class in Munya. Different from number words and numeral classifiers, which give a precise indication of quantity, quantifiers give a relative or imprecise indication of quantity. The inventory of quantifiers is listed in Table 5.6.

Quantifiers can either function as arguments or modify nouns, adjectives and verbs. These are illustrated in (64):

Table 5.6: Quantifiers

Quantifier	Meaning
talə́	half
tɕándə	all
tɕʰúŋo	all
méme	all, everyone
tɑhá∼*tɕihá*	a little
tɛ́gɛ∼*tɕígɛ*	a little
niní	a little
kərɛ́	a little
tósə	many
kɛ́ji	many
tópi	many, someone

(64) a. *nóno kə* ***pɛtʰá*** ***tɕihá*** *tə́-tɕʰə,* ***niní*** ***tɕihá*** *tə́-tɕʰə tsəkú,*
morning OBL white.sugar a.little UP-weigh a.little a.little UP-weigh D.M
yú sɛ́sə kə yú ***tɑhá*** *tə́-tɕʰə*
again the.next.day OBL again a.little UP-weigh

‘In the morning (he would) weigh out a little bit of white sugar, weigh out a tiny little bit, again on the next day he would weigh out a little bit.’

b. *sɑsá* ***tɕigɛ́*** *nó-vü*
clever a.little DOWN-do/2SG

‘Be a little clever.’

c. *kə́mi tɕápá tɕʰənə́* ***kɛ́yi*** *ndʑú nyi*
thief bandit still a.lot COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

‘There are still lots of thieves and bandits.’

In (64a) the speaker was talking about how an old man he used to live with had tsampa with sugar in the morning, at the time when he was young and white sugar was scarce. The first occurrence of *tɕihá* ‘a little’ functions as the modifier of the head noun *pɛtʰá* ‘white sugar’. In the other two occurrences, it is used nominally, as the object of the verb *tə́tɕʰə* ‘to weigh’. Note that in the second occurrence, the two quantifiers meaning ‘a little’, *niní* and *tɕihá*, are used together in order to highlight the sense of a small quantity.

(64b) is a command construction. Here the quantifier *tɕigɛ́* 'a little' modifies the adjective *sɑsá* 'clever'. The function of the quantifier here is to tone down the command. In (64c), the quantifier *kɛ́yi* 'a lot' modifies the verb *ndʑɯ́* 'to exist'. Here it cannot be analyzed as modifying the NP *kə́mi tɕápá* 'thieves and bandits' as the NP and the quantifier are separated by the adverb *tɕʰənə́* 'still'.

When a head noun is modified by both an adjective and a quantifier, the quantifier should follow the adjective. This behavior is similar to that of numeral classifiers. Compare:

(65) a. *məní kíko* ***tó-lö***
person big one-CLF:GENR
'a tall person'

b. *lɛ́kɛ́ kʰɛ́kʰɛ́* ***tósə***
work other many
'many other works'

This similarity is not coincidental. In fact, among the eleven quantifiers given in the table, at least three, *tɛ́gɛ*∼*tɕigɛ́* 'a little', *tɑhá*∼*tɕihá* 'a little' and *tósə* 'many', can be demonstrated that they originate from numeral classifiers. Both *tɛ́gɛ*∼*tɕigɛ́* 'a little' and *tósə* 'many' are still used as numeral classifiers. For *tɛ́gɛ*∼*tɕigɛ́* 'a little', the difference in form resides in the difference in the number prefixes, with *to-* 'one' being the native number word, in which /o/ becomes /ɛ/ through vowel harmony rule, and *tɕi* 'one' being the Tibetan number word. *-gɛ* is a root of general numeral classifier. As a numeral classifier, the root *-sə* in *tó-sə* 'many' means 'full of', as in *tɕɯ́ pʰulá tó-sə* 'a bowl-full of water (water bowl one-CLF:FULL)'.

Although *tɑhá*∼*tɕihá* 'a little' is not found in use as a numeral classifier, the way we analyzed *tɛ́gɛ*∼*tɕigɛ́* 'a little' is still applicable. *tɑ-* can be analyzed as a native number word which means one (*to-*), in which /o/ becomes /ɑ/ through vowel harmony, and *tɕi-* 'one' is still the Tibetan number word. Whether *tópi* 'many, someone' can be analyzed in this way is uncertain. While the first syllable *to* may possibly be the native numeral for 'one', *tópi* 'many, someone' does not have the alternative form **tɕipi*. Nor can *tópi* 'many, someone' be used as a numeral classifier, thus there is not enough evidence in

support of analyzing *tópi* ‘many, someone’ as originating from a numeral classifier. This notwithstanding, we can conclude that in Munya, some quantifiers are grammaticalized from numeral classifiers.

5.6 Postpositions

A postposition is a word that typically comes after a noun or a noun phrase (called its *complement*) and that often denotes spatial, temporal or other semantic relations between its complement and the rest of the context. The postpositions in Munya are listed in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Postpositions

Functional type	Postposition	Meaning/Function
Spatio-temporal postpositions	*pu*	on, above, to
	le	on (surface), outside
	kʰu/kɔ	in
	ngɤ́tɕʰü∼tɕʰü	under
	ngə́lo	in the middle of
	tɕʰóro∼tɕʰó	at
	tsəkɯ́	from
	pɛ	to, until
	tsə	for (a period of time)
Cases	*i*	ergative, instrumental
	ɣɛ	experiential, genitive
	le	dative
	pu	allative
	tɕʰi	comitative
	ti	comparative
	kə	oblique
Focus marker	*tsə*	marking the focus

Based on their functional differences, three kinds of postpositions can be delimited, which are spatio-temporal postpositions, case postpositions and the focus marker. A spatio-temporal postposition specifies the spatio-temporal relation in which its complement is involved with respect to the context while a case postposition marks the syntactic/semantic role of its complement. It can be seen from the table that two postpositions, *pu* and *le*, belong to both types. As a spatio-temporal postpositions, *pu* means ‘on’ or ‘to’

but can also be used as an allative case, and the postposition *le* ‘on’ is also a dative case. These postpositions will be discussed separately below.

5.6.1 Spatio-temporal Postpositions

5.6.1.1 Syntactic Properties

Some postpositions can denote both spatial and temporal relations. These include *pu* ‘on’, *kʰu* ‘in’, *tsəkɯ́* ‘from’, and *pɛ* ‘to, until’. The examples in (66) serve to show that *kʰu* ‘in’ can be used both as a spatial postposition, as in (66a), and a temporal postposition, as in (66b):

(66) a. *tsʰű* ***kʰu*** *kə* *tsəkɯ́* *ʈʂíɣu* *putsʰí* *tó-lö*
lake in OBL D.M born.on.the.year.of.monkey kid one-CLF:GENR
né-dɛ *tʰú-hi* *sə* *nyi*
DOWN-throw AS-will PFV EGO:AP

‘A child born on the year of monkey needs to be thrown into the lake.’

b. *nyü-sí* ***kʰu*** *kə* *tʰo-dé* *ra*
seven-CLF:DAY in OBL AS-finish/1/2NONSG EVID:DIRECT

‘(We) finished (the work) in seven days.’

Notice also that in (66a), the postpositional phrase *tsʰű kʰu* ‘in the lake’ is marked by the oblique case, which means that they function as arguments, just like nouns.

Another nominal property of postpositional phrase is seen when it modifies a noun. When a noun functions as the modifier of another noun, they should be linked by *ɣɛ* (as in 67a), likewise a noun-modifying postpositional phrase and its head noun, which is illustrated in (67b):

(67) a. *ɛkö-sí* ***ɣɛ*** *tɕʰə́ʑi*
ten-CLF:DAY LK limit

‘ten days’ limit’

b. *yonɛ́ ʂɛ́=nə kʰu* ***ɣɛ*** *məní*
1PL.INCL+POSS village=PL in LK people

'the people in our villages'

Not only postpositional phrases but also postpositions show nominal properties. For example, some spatial postpositions can function as oblique arguments and be used without any complement, such as *le* 'out of' and *kʰu* 'in' in (68):

(68) *tɕé tó-lö tú-tɕə tsəkɯ́* ***le*** *tsəkɯ́ ngɯ́-dze pu tə́-hə ro*
house one-CLF:GENR UP-build and outside D.M nine-stair on UP-go go
nó-vɯ sə nyi, ***kʰu*** *ngɯ́-dze pu nó-hə ro*
DOWN-make PFV EGO:AP inside nine-stair on DOWN-go go

'A house was built, and outside (the house) nine stairs go up, and inside (the house) nine stairs go down.'

In this example the two postpositions (*le* 'out of' and *kʰu* 'within') are not taking any complement, but it can be deduced from the context, which is *tɕé* 'house'. So even though semantically postpositions require a complement (it has to be 'in' or 'out of' something), syntactically they can stand alone. The two postpositions provide a spatial setting for the situation described by the clause and function as an oblique argument.

5.6.1.2 Semantics

As a spatial postposition, *pu* means 'on':

(69) *rívɯ luwɛ́ pá* ***pu*** *tə́-tso*
hare blind lawn on UP-jump

'A blind hare jumps on the lawn. (A metaphor in Munya, which roughly means a person of ignorance thinks he knows everything.)'

When used after a temporal noun phrase, it means 'in':

(70) *löŋő sőtɕɯ ʑɯ́tɕɯ* ***pu*** *tɛtső tɕé tə-dʑó sŏ nyi*
year thirty forty in not.until house UP-build PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'The house wasn't built until I was in my thirties or forties.'

As a spatial postposition, *le* is normally used after *nbú* 'mountain', in which case it means 'on'. It can also mean 'outside', cf. example (68).

Two postpositions can be translated as 'in' in English, which are *kʰu* and *kɔ*. They are differentiated by the different complements they can take. *kʰu* can take container-like complements, such as *tɕé* 'house', *tsʰű* 'lake', *pʰúla* 'bowl' and *vɯlő* 'stomach'. The complements that *kɔ* can take include *mɯ́* 'sky', *ɕá* 'mouth' and *tɛɯ́* 'river'.

ngɤ́tɕʰü 'under' is interchangeable with its short form *tɕʰű*. Two examples are given below:

(71) a. *ɣu rərá tsə ɣɛ* ***ngɤ́tɕʰü*** *kə kʰɯ́-və tsəkɯ́ nbí sə nyi*
grass long FOC LK under OBL NONS-hide D.M sit PFV EGO:AP

'He hide under the long grass and sat there.'

b. *tí-ʈsö mətsʰé, tsʰə́* ***ngɤ́tɕʰü*** *nyi*
UP-stir make.sure salt be.under EGO:AP

'Make sure you stir up (your noodles) — the salt is underneath.'

Note that in the second example, *ngɤ́tɕʰü* functions as the predicate, meaning 'be under'.

ngəló means 'in the middle of', and the relation denoted can be both spatial (72a) and sequential (72b):

(72) a. *dʑótsʰü* ***ngəló*** *kə tsəkɯ́ ʈsá i dzú tɛ́-zɛ tómu*
ocean middle OBL D.M cliff LK fortress one-CLF:LONG top
tʰó-tɕɯ sə
AS-COP:INANIMATE PFV

'(He) lived in a fortress built in a cliff in the middle of the ocean.'

b. *tsəkɯ́ tsénə tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyi* ***ngəló*** *ɛ́-ndzə pi nyi*
D.M REFL.PL D.M middle DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP

'We will be eaten up next before the other group (lit. in the middle).'

The second example comes from a story. Here people are telling how their kings, now possessed by a demon, are eating up the people in the country. A group of people will be eaten before them, another group will be eaten after them, and they will be eaten in between. Here the postposition modifies the adverb *ɛ́ndzə* 'to eat'.

A somewhat peculiar postposition is *tɛʰó/tɛʰóro*. Different from other postpositions, it does not denote any specific spatial relation, and can be roughly translated as 'at'. When marked after a locational, it can be followed by the oblique case *kə* but not by other postpositions. This is illustrated with the two examples below:

(73) a. ***náu tɛʰó*** *ɣɤ́-hə tsəkɯ́ kʰɯ́-tɛorö ŋo*
forest at US-go and NONS-look/1SG EGO:SAP

'(I) went upstream to the forest and had a look.'

b. ***nbotó tɛʰóro****, okʰó tínə nyɯ́-mu*
top.floor at there anybody NEG-COP

'On the top floor (of the house), nobody was there.'

In some cases it seems to have a generic meaning like 'place', as can be seen from some locational nominal compounds such as *koritɛʰó* 'upstream' and *kovütɛʰó* 'downstream'. It is also a component of the place interrogative word, as in (74):

(74) *hó-****tɛʰo*** *hé sü nyi?*
INTRG-place go PFV/2SG EGO:AP

'Where did you go?'

tsəkɯ́ 'from' and *pɛ* 'to, until' are illustrated in (75) below. *pɛ* 'to, until' can be used after another postposition (75b):

(75) a. *ndű* ***tsəkú*** *Chengdu* ***pɛ***
Kangding from Chengdu to

'from Kangding to Chengdu'

b. *löŋő tʂú-tɕú-re-ʑí* ***pu pɛ*** *hé sö* *nyi*
year six-ten-and-four on to go PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'(I) went (to work) until the age of sixty-four.'

(75a) shows that *pɛ* 'to, until' can occur after a noun in the same way as other postpositions, and (75b) shows that it can also occur after a postpositional phrase headed by *pu* 'on'.

Finally, the postposition *tsə* 'for (a period of time)' is exclusive in that it can only take temporal complements, such as *sɔ-sí tsə* 'for three days (three-CLF:DAY for)'.

5.6.2 Cases

Case markers in Munya are also postpositions. Because the case marking system is discussed in details in Chapter 8, these cases are only briefly mentioned here.

i can function as both the ergative case and the instrumental case:

(76) *[pʰőpɛ=nɛ tɕe]$_A$* ***i*** *ndzəɣó* ***i*** *[tá-dʑɔ]$_O$* *tə́-tɕə vú́ tsəkú́*
rich.man=COLL.PL son ERG pot.brush INS one-VCLF:THROW UP-do do and

ndzí *okʰó tʰó-sə sə nyi*
leopard DEM AS-die PFV EGO:AP

'The son of the rich man's family tossed the pot brush at the leopard, and the leopard died there.'

In this example, the first *i*, which is marked after the transitive subject *pʰőpɛ=nɛ tɕe* 'the son of the rich man's family', is an ergative case. The second *i* marks *ndzəɣó* 'pot brush', which is an oblique argument and acts as the instrument.

ɣɛ acts as both the genitive case and the experiential case. As a genitive case it marks a possessor, and when functioning as an experiential case, it can mark both a beneficiary

and an experiencer:

(77) a. *[otsə́]$_{CS}$* ***ɣɛ*** *[tsʰərǒ ɣɤ́-tsʰə ri]$_{CC}$ té tɕɛ́-ndə*
3SG GEN wood US-burn NMLZ at.all NEG-have

‘He did not have any wood for burning at all.’

b. *[tʰíu=nɛ ngötʂʰí=ni]$_A$* ***[ngɛ́]$_O$*** *kʰɔ-ɣɔ́ vɯ́ nyɯ́-ŋa*
PN=COLL.PL chieftain=PL+ERG 1SG+EXP NONS-help do NEG-will

‘The chieftain of tʰiu village would not help me.’

c. ***[ngɛ́]$_S$*** *tə-ŋé pi*
1SG+EXP UP-be.ill IMPF

‘I’m ill.’

In (77a), the predicate is a possessive copula, and the relation between the copula subject *otsə́* ‘he’ and the copula complement *tsʰərǒ ɣɤ́tsʰi ri* ‘wood for burning’ is one of possession, hence the genitive case marks the possessor. In (77b) and (77c), *ɣɛ* is fused with the first person singular pronoun, which respectively functions as the O and S of the two clauses. In (77b), the O is the beneficiary of the action of helping. In (77c), the S is the experiencer of the event of being ill.

The dative case *le* can be used to mark the recipient of a ditransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb:

(78) a. *[mómó]$_A$ i mətsʰé [ŋɯ́]$_E$* ***le*** *[mé tósə]$_O$ tʰi-tɕʰɯ́ ɣá nyi*
mum ERG certainly 1SG DAT medicine many AS-give will EGO

‘Mum will certainly make me drink lots of medicine.’

b. *[nɛ́]$_A$ i [ŋɯ́]$_O$* ***le*** *té kʰɯ-má-seŋa rɑ*
2SG ERG 1SG DAT at.all NONS-NEG-listen.to EVID:DIRECT

‘You did not listen to me at all.’

In (78a), *le* marks the recipient of the verb *tʰi-tɛɯ́* 'to give (AS-give)'[1], which is *ŋɯ́* 'I'. In (78b), it functions as the object of the verb *kʰɯ-séŋa* 'to listen to (NONS-listen.to)'.

The allative case *pu* introduces the goal of movement or of an action, in which case it means 'to' or 'for':

(79) a. *tsʰű́dze* ***pu*** *nó-ndü* *nyi*
PN to DOWN-go EGO:AP
'(They) are going down to tsʰű́dze.'

b. *lɛ́kɛ́* *lénɛ* ***pu*** *tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyi* *hóti* *nə́* *hə́* *hi* *nyi*
work affair ALL D.M where also go will EGO:AP
'(I) would go anywhere for work.'

The comitative case *tɛʰi* means 'together with':

(80) *[ŋɯ́]$_S$* *otsə́* *vɛ́ndɛ* ***tɛʰi*** *nbí*
1SG DEM old.man COM stay
'I stayed with that old man.'

The comparative case *ti* is marked on the standard of comparison:

(81) *ŋɯ́* ***ti*** *[nɛ́]$_S$* *kɛ́-a-ɣɤ* *sü*
1SG SC 2SG more-DS-be.late PFV/2SG
'You are later than me. (lit. Compared with me, you are more late.)'

[1]Munya does not have a word that is satisfactorily equivalent to the verb 'give' in English. There are three verbs which contain the meaning of 'giving', and which verb to use is determined by the nature of the gift: If the gift is something edible, one should use *tʰó-mu* 'AS-give (edible)', if it is drinkable, the verb should be *tʰí-tɛʰə* 'AS-give(drinkable)', and if it is neither edible nor drinkable, one should use *tʰo-kʰɛ́* 'AS-give (neither edible nor drinkable)'. The first two verbs can be used either as a ditransitive verb or a transitive verb. When *tʰó-mu* 'AS-give (edible)' is used as a transitive verb, it can be translated as 'feed', as in *kʰɯ́ le tʰó-mu* 'feed the dog (dog DAT AS-give(edible))'. When *tʰí-tɛʰɯ* 'AS-give (drinkable)' is used transitively, it means 'make drink'. Incidentally, *tʰí-tɛʰɯ* 'AS-give (drinkable)' is morphologically related to the verb *ɛ́-tɛʰɯ* 'drink', both of which share the same root *-tɛʰɯ* and differ only in the directional prefix. But this relation is not found between *ɛ́-ndzə* 'eat (DS-eat)' and *tʰó-mu* 'AS-give (edible)'. Interestingly, this tripartite distinction for verbs of giving is also found in Ersu, another Qiangic language. S. H. Zhang (2013: 422) documented the following three verbs of giving, which are *tʰə-tɛʰi* 'away-give: give (often something to others)', *tʰə- tsʅ* 'away-feed: feed others (often with solid things)', and *tʰə-ku* 'away-feed: feed others (often with liquid things)'. Whether this kind of distinction is a feature of Qiangic languages in general is a question for further study.

Note that in this example, the perfective marker takes the second person singular form, indicating that the subject is *nɛ* 'you', and not the standard of comparison, *ŋɯ́* 'I'. In this comparative construction, the standard of comparison obligatorily precedes the subject, and the order between them cannot be switched.

The oblique case marks peripheral arguments that denote location or time, as is shown in (82a) and (82b):

(82) a. *ŋɯ́ rə-kí pu **kə** mó tʰó-sə sə nyi*
1SG four-CLF:YEAR at OBL mum AS-die PFV EGO:AP

'Mum died when I was four.'

b. *tsʰɯ́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́ **kə** ɣu tósə tʰó-i sə nyi*
lake POSS side OBL grass many AS-COP:UPRIGHT PFV EGO:AP

'There was lots of grass on the bank of the lake.'

c. *ʈʂəɣö tó-lö **tɕɔ́tsí pu** kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́ tʰo-dí sə nyi*
spider one-CLF:GENR desk on NONS-arrive AS-finish PFV EGO:AP

'A spider went up on the desk.'

Different from other case postpositions, the oblique case *kə* is not obligatory. In (82c), for example, the local argument *ʈʂɔ́tsí pu* 'on the desk' is not marked by this case. Note also the in (82a), *kə* is marked after *pu* 'on', which itself is a postposition.

5.6.3 The Focus Marker

Like other postpositions, the focus marker *tsə* is also only found after nominals. Its function is to put an argument at the focus of discourse:

(83) *ʈʂʰə́ɵtɕi-u sɔ́-zə **tsə** okʰú ná-ra sə*
PN-person three-CLF:MAN FOC DEM DOWN-go PFV

'Three ʈʂʰötɕi villagers went down there.'

More discussion on this marker can be found in Section 6.2.4.

5.7 Interrogative Words

Interrogative words are words that are used to ask content questions. Such words in Munya belong to different categories, so that words in this class can be noun-like, verb-like, adjective-like and adverb-like. They are nevertheless recognized as an independent word class because they share the same function and form a small inventory. These words are listed in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Interrogative words

Interrogative words	Meaning	Syntactic function	Word class
ɛ-zə́	'what'	Argument	Noun-like
ɛ-nə́	'who'	Argument	Noun-like
ɛn-tólö∼ɛntɛ́gɛ	'how, like what'	Verbal modifier	Adverb
ɛ-rí	'why'	Predicate	Verb-like
ɛ-tí∼tsəmə́	'how many'	Argument/noun modifier	Noun-like/adjective-like
ɛ-tʰá	'do what'	Predicate	Verb-like
ɛ-tʰəvá	'what become of'	Predicate	Verb-like
hóti∼hótɛʰo	'where'	Argument	Noun-like
hótsə	'which'	Argument	Noun-like
zəmóho	'when'	Argument	Noun-like

Morphologically, interrogative words tend to have the interrogative prefix *ɛ-*. Depending on their meaning, these words can have diverse syntactic functions. Interrogative words are identical in form to indefinite words. These are further discussed in Section 12.1.

5.8 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are a set of words that are used after main verbs to express secondary concepts (in the sense of Dixon 2012b: 394–5) such as 'can', 'will', 'dare' and the grammatical concepts of aspect, evidentiality and egophoricity. These words are generally monosyllabic. They are in many respects similar to verbs, and some of them are either grammaticalized from verbs or can function as verbs. Like verbs they can take interrogative and negative prefixes. Some of them show person-number inflections or can take directional prefixes. The directional prefix that they take tends to be *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker', the meaning of which is bleached. Just as there are non-control verbs, there are also non-control auxiliaries. These auxiliaries are listed in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9: The List of Auxiliaries in Munya

Auxiliary	Meaning	Inflection	Directional prefix	Function as verb
pi	imperfective auxiliary	+		
sə	perfective auxiliary	+		
ti	stative aspect auxiliary			
ra	direct evidential			
ŋo	egophoric		*tʰo-* 'AS'	+
ndá	used to			
tɕʰí	causative auxiliary	+		
vú	do	+	*tʰo-* 'AS'	+
rə	be time to do something			
ri	will			
hi	will, need to, should		*tʰu-* 'AS'	+
ɣa	will, desire			+
ro	go	+		+
hə	go	+		+
yü	want		*tu-* 'UP'	
nɯ	dare	+	*tʰo-* 'AS'	
ŋa	be fine		*tʰo-* 'AS'	+
ndə	must			+
tsʰu	can, be enough		*tʰo-* 'AS'	+
tʰa	can (physically)			
ku	can (physically)			
tsʰi	can			
rɔ	can (morally)			

The first five auxiliaries listed in the table are grammatical words. The first two aspect auxiliaries can inflect for the person-number of the subject. The stative aspect can be used after stative verbs and adjectival predicates. The direct evidential marker and the egophoric marker can only occur after verbal predicates. These markers are illustrated in (84):

(84) a. *hóti nbí* ***pɛ***

where sit IMPF/2SG

'Where are you going to sit?'

b. *ŋú í-ni* ***sö*** *nyi*

1SG DS-rest PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'I'm taking a rest.'

c. *tɕʰú tu-ɕó tʰo ŋɯ́ ɛ-ɕó* ***ti***
next UP-talk if 1SG DS-be.tired STA

'If I keep talking I will get tired.'

d. *dʑópu tʰó-sə* ***ra***
king AS-die EVID:DIRECT

'The king died.'

e. *né i ti ɛzə́ hɛ́* ***ŋo***
2SG ERG anything what want/2SG EGO:SAP

'Is there anything that you want?'

Detailed discussion on these auxiliaries can be found in Chapter 8.

ndá means 'used to' or 'have the experience of doing something'. In the following example it is prefixed with the interrogative marker:

(85) *né tʂənfú kʰú tɕʰó hə́* ***ɛ́-ndə***
2SG government in place go INTRG-used.to

'Have you ever went to the place where the government is located?'

The functions of the causative marker *tɕʰí* is discussed in Section 7.4.

vɯ́ 'do' is very often found after main verbs but do not make much semantic contribution to the clause:

(86) a. *yoní mənyɛ́ sú tə́* ***vɯ́*** *hi nyi tsəkɯ́*
1PL.INCL+ERG Munya language speak do will EGO:AP D.M

'We will speak Munya.'

b. *óyo-u=nɛ yazá.rɔ́za kólo kʰɯ-ɕó* ***vɯ́*** *sə nyi*
PN-people=PL+EXP several.years.ago hard NONS-come.out do PFV EGO:AP

'The Oyo villagers had a hard time several years ago.'

vú́ ‘do’ is used after a control verb (*tə́* ‘to speak’) in (86a) but a non-control verb (*kʰɯɐ́ó* ‘to come out, to happen to’) in (86b). In both examples it can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the two clauses.

After prefixed with *tʰo-* ‘AS’, it can function as a transitive verb meaning ‘do’:

(87) *lɛ́kɛ́ ndʐɛ́.məndʐɛ́ **tʰo-vú́** sö nyi*
work all.kinds.of AS-do PFV/1SG EGO:AP
‘(I) did all kinds of work.’

rə means ‘to be the time to do something’:

(88) *tɕɛ́ ɛ́-tɕʰɯ **nyú-rə***
tea DS-drink NEG-be.time.for
‘It is not yet the time for having tea.’

The three auxiliaries, *ri*, *hi* and *ɣa*, can all be translated as ‘will’ in English. *ri* is used to predicate that something will happen:

(89) a. *otsə́ pəsə kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́ **ri***
3SG today NONS-arrive will
‘He will arrive today.’

b. *ná-ndʑa **ɛ́-ri***
DOWN-rain INTRG-will
‘Will it rain?’

hi has a weak sense of obligation, and can also be translated as ‘should’ or ‘need to’. It can also function as a motion verb that means ‘come’ or ‘go’ (90b), or be used in a command construction (90c) (More on this in Section 13.3).

(90) a. *yoní* *sívɯ* *nó-vɯ* ***hi*** *nyi* *mətsʰé*
1PL.INCL+ERG good DOWN-do should EGO:AP only
'We should only do good things.'

b. *mé* *mɯ́mɯ* *kərɛ́* ***hi*** *rɑ*
afternoon wind a.little come EVID:DIRECT
'There was a little wind this afternoon.'

c. *yoní* *mɔmɔ́* *ni-rə́* ***hi***
1PL.INCL+ERG momo DOWN-share will
'Let us share this momo (dumpling).'

ɣɑ usually denotes a prospect for an undesirable event, like getting arrested if one does something illegal, getting ill, etc. (91a). It can also mean 'desire' or 'can't help wanting to do something', in which case it is a non-control auxiliary. Note the experiential case on the subject in (91b):

(91) a. *otsí* *tsé* *ɣɛ* *tə-ŋé* ***ɣɑ́*** *sɔ́* *pi*
3SG+ERG REFL/3 EXP UP-get.ill will think IMPF
'He thinks he will get ill.'

b. ***ngɛ́*** *mekʰú* *ɕíɕɔ* *rotű́* ***ɣɑ*** *tólö*
1SG+EXP home always go.back want PAR
'I wanted to go back home all the time.'

Both *ro* 'go' and *hə* 'go' are motion verbs that are grammaticalized into auxiliaries. They are treated in detail in Chapter 9.

yü 'want' is also a non-control auxiliary verb. It is also the only auxiliary that takes the directional prefix *tu-* 'UP' instead of *tʰo-* 'AS':

(92) *ngɛ́ ɣʏ ɛ́-ndzə* ***tú-yü*** *ti*
1SG+EXP fish AS-eat UP-want STA

'I want to eat fish.'

nʉ́ means 'dare' and can inflect for the person-number of the subject. In the following example, it shows the first or second person non-singular form:

(93) *yoní sí kə tsəkʉ́.ŋotʰónyí zarə́ nə kʰʉ́-ndza*
1PL.INCL+ERG day OBL D.M shadow even NONS-cross.over
nyú-ne *nó-vɯ*
NEG-dare/1/2NONSG DOWN-do

'We do not even dare to cross over (his) shadow at day time.'

ŋa 'be fine' can also act as both an auxiliary verb (94a) and an independent verb (94b). In the latter case it needs to take the directional prefix *tʰo-* 'AS':

(94) a. *yonínə tsəkʉ́.ŋotʰónyi mózə nú-vɯ* ***ŋa***
1DU.INCL D.M mother.and.son DOWN-make be.fine

'We can be mum and son.'

b. *ʈʂʰöntʂʰő nó-vɯ tsəkʉ́ lʉ́tʰɔ* ***tʰá-ŋa***
diligent DOWN-make and crops AS-be.fine

'(I) worked diligently and the crops grew well.'

ndə is grammaticalized from an existential copula. As an auxiliary it conveys the speaker's certainty about a state of affairs:

(95) *otsí ti tó-lö sɔ́ pi* ***ndə***
3SG+ERG something one-CLF:GENR think IMPF must

'He must be thinking something.'

The last five auxiliaries, *tsʰu*, *tʰɑ*, *ku*, *tsʰi* and *rɔ* can all be translated as ‘can’ in one way or other, but each also has its own specific meaning. *tsʰu* has two related senses, ‘be enough’ and ‘have the ability to’. When used in the first sense it can act as a non-control verb and as an auxiliary. Consider the examples below:

(96) a. *ngɛ́ **tʰó-tsʰu** rɑ*
1SG+EXP AS-be.enough EVID:DIRECT

‘I have had enough (food).’

b. *löŋő níɛɯ tólö tɕʰənə́ tɕʰő kʰu-ʈsú **tsʰú** ti*
age twenty PAR still Dharma NONS-practice be.enough STA

‘Twenty years is after all enough for practicing Dharma.’

c. *nɛ́ tʰo-hə́ nyɯ́-hi, tsénə tʰo-hé **tsʰú** tə́ sə*
2SG AS-go NEG-need REFL/3PL AS-go/1/2NONSG can say PFV

‘ “You don’t have to go, we can go there/it would be enough for us to go,” they said.’

(96a) can be used when someone is full after eating. In this clause *tʰó-tsʰu* ‘be enough’ acts as the non-control predicate. In (96b) *tsʰu* functions as an auxiliary and also means ‘be enough’. (96c) comes from a story, where a demoness wants to send troops to a country, but her generals ask her to stay, as they can do the job. As the translation shows, in this context *tsʰu* can both be interpreted as meaning ‘can’ (volunteering to do something) or ‘be enough’.

When *tsʰu* means ‘can’ and is negated, it means ‘be not allowed to’ or ‘be forbidden’:

(97) *ʤɯtsɛ́ kɯ́tɕɑ nó-vɯ ri **nyɯ́-tsʰu**, məní nó-so **nyɯ́-tsʰu**, məní*
property steal DOWN-do NMLZ NEG-can person DOWN-kill NEG-can person
*tə́-da **nyɯ́-tsʰu***
UP-hit NEG-can

‘One cannot steal other people’s properties, cannot kill other people or hit other people.’

tʰɑ and *ku* are similar, and mean ‘have the physical capacity to do something’, such as can work, can lift up a heavy object, or can eat a large amount of food:

(98) a. *pɛtɕí ŋɯ́ i kərɛ́ nó-tʂʰö **tʰɑ́** tʰə́-va rɑ*
soon 1SG ERG a.little DOWN-plow can AS-become EVID:DIRECT

‘Soon after I was able to plow.’

b. *dʑó tə́-tɕʰɯ **ku** ti*
stone UP-carry can STA

‘(I) can lift up the stone.’

The meaning of *tsʰi* is similar to the above two auxiliaries, except that it tends to be negated. In that case it means ‘cannot do something because a certain part of the body hurts or because one is ill’. An example is given below:

(99) *tsəkɯ́ rí=nə ɛ́-bo tsəkɯ́ tɤ́rɤ nó-vɯ **nyɯ́-tsʰi***
D.M hand=PL DS-abrade and tsampa DOWN-make NEG-can

‘(My) hands were abraded and (I) couldn’t even make tsampa.’

rɔ is also commonly used with a negative prefix, giving *nyɯ́rɔ*, which means ‘cannot do something because one feels bad about it, because it is morally wrong or blasphemous.’ In a conversation, the speakers talked about how people from a village used to learn dancing from a woman. But at the day when the villagers were dancing in a monastery during a religious festival, she intentionally led them to dance in the wrong way. Commenting on this unfortunate event, a speaker said:

(100) *ótsə mɛndɛ́ i ómənə sɑná nó-vɯ sə nyi, óntolö*
DEM old.woman ERG DEM black.heart DOWN-make PFV EGO:AP DEM
*kʰɔ́ **nyɯ́-rɔ** ti*
at.all NEG-can STA

‘That old woman did such a horrible thing like that, one definitely cannot do that.’

5.9 Particles

Particles in Munya are a set of short grammatical words which cover a broad set of functions and meanings, including nominalization, modality, egophoricity, evidentiality, and speaker's attitude, in addition to regulating the flow of discourse. They do not have any morphological categories, cannot function as arguments, predicates or modifiers. Some particles in Munya have overlapping functions with auxiliaries. For example, the narrow scope egophoric marker *ŋo* is an auxiliary but the wide scope egophoric *nyi* is a particle. Similarly, the direct evidential *rɑ* is an auxiliary but the reported evidential *tə́pi* is a particle. The most fundamental grammatical difference between auxiliaries and particles is that the former can take an interrogative or a negative prefix but the latter cannot. The particles currently identified are listed in Table 5.10.

There are five types of particles in Munya, which are the discourse marker, the adverbial markers, the nominalizers, the clause linkers and the clause final particles. As a discourse marker, *tsəkʉ́* can occur at the beginning of a clause, at the end of a clause, or after a nominal element. Its properties are discussed in Section 15.2. The three adverbial markers, *tólö*, *ɛ* and *ti*, can be optionally used after adverbs, and are already treated in Section 4.5. Nominalizers are discussed in Section 6.5. Clause linkers, as the name suggests, are used to join together two clauses. Their meanings and functions will be discussed in Section 14.5. Clause final particles vary a great deal in meanings and functions, and generally cannot be followed by other word classes (but can be followed by another clause final particle). In what follows we look at the functions of these particles separately.

The egophoric marker *nyi* indicates that the information provided by the speaker is not shared by the addressee. It can be used after an adjectival predicate or the perfective or imperfective marker, but not directly after a verb. This is illustrated in (101).

(101) *ŋɯnɛ́* *nə* *yazá.róza* *tɕé* *nó-pʰo* *sə* ***nyi***
1PL.EXCL+EXP also several.years.ago house DOWN-break.into PFV EGO:AP

'Several years ago our house was also broken into.'

Table 5.10: The List of Particles in Munya

Type	Particle	Meaning/Function
Discourse particle	*tsəkʉ́*	
Adverbial particles	*tólö*	marked after an adverb
	ɛ	marked after an adverb
	ti	marked after an adverb
Nominalizers	*mí*	agentive nominalizer
	ró	local, temporal, and person nominalizer
	tsə́	state and object nominalizer
	tólö	object nominalizer
	rí	activity, object nominalizer
Clause linkers	*tsəkʉ́*	and, then
	rə	as soon as
	kə	when (when the marked clause is affirmative)
	le	when (when the marked clause is negative)
	tʰo	if
	mətsʰé	because, otherwise
	sa∼sára	although, but
	rə	and
	sü∼si	or
	nə	also
	nə	even if
Clause final particles	*nyi*	egophoric
	tə́pi	reported evidential
	tʰoŋ́sə	mirativity
	tólö	state
	pu∼pʰu	certainty
	mətsʰé	certainty
	lőŋo	certainty
	rásə∼rəvásə	probably
	nyúso	probably
	dɛdʑʉ́mɛ	probably
	ɛmuri	possibility
	məɕɛ́	uncertainty
	pa	possibility, invitation
	kɔ	exclamation
	o	politeness effect

The reported evidential *tə́pi* is used to mark that the information source is hearsay. In the following example, the reported evidential follows the egophoric marker *nyi*:

(102) *otsə́ ɣɔ́sə* *kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́* *pi* *nyi* ***tə́pi***
3SG the.day.after.tomorrow NONS-arrive IMPF EGO:AP EVID:REP

'It is said that he will arrive the day after tomorrow.'

The mirative marker *tʰoŋósə* expresses sudden realization or counter-expectation on the part of the speaker. A speaker thought that noodles sprinkled with vinegar are not delicious, but after tasting them, she said:

(103) *reré* ***tʰoŋósə***
delicious MIR

'It turns out that (it) is delicious.'

The three particles mentioned above will be discussed in more details in Chapter 8.

tólö is grammaticalized from a numeral classifier, and as a particle it can only be used after adjectival or nominal predicates, denoting a kind of state or relation. It can optionally be followed by the stative aspect *ti* (104b and 104c), making it the only particle that can be followed by a non-particle word:

(104) a. *tɕɯ́ i-ɣé* *pi* *le* *tɕótɕo* ***tólö***
river DS-flow IMPF DAT be.the.same.as PAR

'(It keeps changing) like the flowing of the river.'

b. *[otsə́]$_A$ [yaró tʰo-yɛ́ mí]$_O$* ***tólö ti***
DEM quickly AS-use.up NMLZ PAR STA

'It runs out very quickly (referring to a battery).'

c. *ɣə́ndə kə́kə* ***tólö ti***
book be.good.at PAR STA

'(He) is very knowledgeable.'

This particle is further considered in Section 11.4.

pu/pʰu (in free variation) can be seen as a modal particle. It can only be used in a declarative clause that denotes a realis event. Its function seems to add certainty to the statement:

(105) *tsəkú löŋő sőtɛɯ sődö pu ge tʰə-vá sə nyi* ***pʰu***
D.M year thirty thirty-four at private AS-become PFV EGO:AP PAR

'It must be when I was thirty four years old that the land was contracted to the individuals.'

Similarly, *mətsʰé* and *löŋó* also denote the speaker's certainty towards a situation, and can optionally occur in non-final positions of a clause (106c):

(106) a. *yonə́ tʰó-sə hi nyi* ***mətsʰé***
1PL.INCL AS-die will EGO:AP certaintly

'We will inevitably die.'

b. *otsə́ pə́sə kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́ pi* ***lőŋo***
3SG today NONS-arrive IMPF certainly

'He will certainly arrive today.'

c. *mómo i* ***mətsʰé*** *ŋɯ́ le me tósə tʰí-tɕʰɯ ɣa nyi*
mum ERG surely 1SG DAT medicine many AS-give will EGO:AP

'Mum will surely make me take lots of medicine.'

For other functions of *mətsʰé*, see Section 14.5.

The next three particles, which are *rásə*, *nyúso* and *dɛdʑɯ́mɛ*, indicate that the situation being evaluated has a high probability of being true. Their semantic differences are unclear to me at the moment. Examples illustrating these words are given in (107):

(107) a. *tɕʰú nə-má-ndʑa tʰo kɛ́-ŋa* ***rásə***
then DOWN-NEG-rain if more-be.good possibly

'If it did not rain it would probably be better.'

b. *otsə́ pə́sə kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́ pi* ***nyúso/dɛdʑúme***
3SG today NONS-arrive IMPF possibly/possibly

'He will probably arrive today.'

məɕɛ́ is also a modal particle. The degree of certainty conveyed by this particle is lower than the previous three, and it can be translated as 'be unsure of'. When this particle is used, the verb can take the interrogative prefix:

(108) *tʰa-á-ŋa rɑ* ***məɕɛ́***
AS-INTRG-be.right EVID:DIRECT unsure

'I am not sure (if the story I just told) was right or not.'

pɑ also has a modal sense and roughly means 'maybe'. But its major function is not to express the speaker's uncertainty towards a proposition, but to elicit confirmation from the addressee, a function which is similar to that of a tag question. Because of this, the clause marked by *pɑ* often has a weak sense of questioning and is often answered affirmatively. Seeing that her cat is trying to scratch me, the speaker said:

(109) *nɛ́ pu ʈʂʰə́ʈʂʰə mərə́ tə-tsə́ pi* ***pɑ***
2SG ALL mostly anger UP-come IMPF PAR

'Maybe it has got angry at you, right?'

It can also be used in an imperative construction, as an invitation to the addressee to join the speaker to do something. After having breakfast, a speaker thought it was time for the families to start working, and said:

(110) *kʰɔ́-rə hi* ***pɑ***
NONS-start will PAR

'Shall we start?'

Both the use and the pronunciation of this particle are very similar to the Chinese clause final *ba* (吧).

o is a clause final particle whose function is to make the utterance sound less direct or domineering. This word is often drawn out and pronounced with a rising pitch. Nowadays with the popularity of smartphones, Munya people learned to send voice messages to each other through an App called Wechat. In this kind of context, a predominant number of sentences tend to be marked with this particle, regardless of its type. In face-to-face conversations, this particle is often used to tone down a command. The following example is said by a grandmother to her granddaughter before she is going to school:

(111) *ʈʂʰöntʂʰő́ nó-vü* ***o***
well.behaved DOWN-do/2SG PAR

'Be good.'

Two particles that are listed in the table but are not discussed are *ɛmúri* and *kɔ*. The former may also be a modal particle and the latter could be used to express exclamation. Due to a lack of data and any suitable example, they cannot be characterized precisely for now.

5.10 Summary

In this chapter we discussed eight closed word classes, which are demonstratives, pronouns, number words, quantifiers, postpositions, interrogative words, auxiliaries and particles. These word classes are defined mainly based on their common functions. Demonstratives can deicticly refer to person or thing, location, manner and action. Based on their syntactic properties, demonstratives can be further classified as nominal demonstratives, manner adverbial demonstratives and verbal demonstratives. There are two types of pronouns, which are common pronouns and reflexive pronouns. Pronouns distinguish number, clusivity and case forms, and can be reduplicated for emphasis. Munya has two sets of number words, a native set, which is largely lost, and a set borrowed from Tibetan. Number words can be distinguished as cardinal number words and ordinal number words. Quantifiers in Munya behave like adjectives, and some quantifiers can be shown to be grammaticalized from numeral classifiers. Postpositions are marked after nominals. Three types of postpositions can be recognized based on their semantics,

which are spatio-temporal postpositions, cases and the focus marker. Interrogative words are used to form content questions. They tend to share the interrogative prefix *ɛ-*. Auxiliaries express secondary concepts and certain grammatical concepts. Many words in this class show a certain degree of verbal properties. Particles do not have any morphological changes or play any syntactic roles. Based on their functions they can be divided into five types, which are discourse marker, adverbial markers, nominalizers, clause linkers and clause final particles.

Chapter 6

Nouns

6.1 Overview

In this chapter we look at four topics related to nouns: the structure of noun phrases (Section 6.2), plurality (Section 6.3), numeral classifiers (Section 6.4), and nominalization (Section 6.5). A noun phrase maximally consists of a head noun, one or more pre-head modifier and one or more post-head modifier. Nouns can be marked for plurality. Aside from the most commonly used plural marker =*nə*, Munya also has four other plural morphemes. Numeral classifiers in Munya can be categorized into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers, and some of them developed a range of other functions. Munya has six nominalizing particles, which have distinguishable but also overlapping functions.

6.2 The Structure of Noun Phrases

The elements of a Munya noun phrase can be broken down into three parts, which are the pre-head modifiers (M), the head and the post-head modifiers. Their positional relationships can be represented as follows:

Pre-head M	**Head**	**Post-head M**
Demonstrative	Head noun	Adjective
Nominal		Numeral classifier
Possessive phrase		Number word
Relative clause		Quantifier

A noun phrase can consist solely of a bare noun:

(112) ***gɛ́*** *nó-tü,* ***rə́*** *kʰɯ-rə́,* ***ɣɔ́ɣɑ*** *nó-tɕɯ,* *ómənə*
clod DOWN-break land NONS-cultivate cattle.fence DOWN-put.up, DEM
nó-vɯ *sö* *nyi*
DOWN-do PFV/1SG EGO:AP
'I broke up clods, cultivated land, put up cattle fences, I worked like that.'

The three nominals in this example, which are *gɛ́* 'clod', *rə́* 'land' and *ɣɔ́ɣɑ* 'cattle fence', all occur in bare form.

In what follows we discuss the combinatorial patterns of head noun and modifiers.

6.2.1 Pre-head Modifiers and the Head Noun

Pre-head modifiers include demonstratives, nominals, possessive phrases and relative clauses. The four kinds of pre-head modifiers are illustrated in (113):

(113) a. ***otsə́*** *tá*
DEM hat
'this hat'

b. ***[loŋő*** ***tó-ki]*** *ɣɛ* *tsʰərő*
year one-CLF:YEAR LK wood
'one year's wood'

c. ***[dʑópu=nɛ*** ***tɕe]*** *ɣɛ* *tsíngə*
king=COLL.PL son POSS clothes
'the clothes of the son of the king's family'

d. ***[síwuro pá=ni ndʑúndʑɯ vú sə] ɣɛ*** *tsʰalá kʰu-yɛ́*
PN person=PL+ERG have.fun do PFV REL dance NONS-watch
pó nyi
IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

'I'm watching the dancing performance which Siwuro villagers did while having fun.

(113a) contains a demonstrative modifier, (113b) a complex nominal modifier, and (113c) has a possessive modifier. In (113d), the head noun ***tsʰalá*** 'dance' is modified by a relative clause, which is marked by the relativizer ***ɣɛ***.

Pre-head modifiers can be divided into two levels. Demonstratives, possessive phrases and relative clauses are the first-level modifier. They occur at the left periphery of a noun phrase, and are mutually exclusive. This means a noun phrase can have no more than one first-level modifier. The nominal modifier is the second-level pre-head modifier. It can either modify a head noun alone, as in (113b), or be preceded by a first-level pre-head modifier.

In (114), at the first sight it seems that the head noun *pándzö* 'treasure house' is modified by two first-level modifiers—a relative clause and a possessive phrase. However, notice that NP1 is actually nested within NP2 instead of being coordinated with it. Hence, the relative clause modifier only modifies *dʑópu* 'king', and the head noun of NP2, *pándzö* 'treasure-house', has only one modifier, i.e., the possessive phrase.

(114) ***[[sə́nbu tʰó-ndʑɯ sə ɣɛ dʑópu]***$_{NP1}$***=nɛ́ pándzö]***$_{NP2}$ *kʰu kə*
demon AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV REL king=COLL.PL treasure.house in OBL
nə́pu mú
treasure COP

'There are treasures in the treasure house of the king's family who once had demons.'

Second-level pre-head modifiers are not mutually exclusive, and a head noun can be modified by multiple second-level modifiers. In (115), the head noun ***kʰɛ́*** 'words' is modified by three nominals, all marked by the linker ***ɣɛ***:

(115) *ŋí* *okʰó* ***kɛmú*** ***ɣɛ*** *tsəkɯ́ ŋotʰónyi,* ***yonə́*** ***mənyɛ́*** ***ɣɛ*** *tsəkɯ́ ŋotʰónyi,*
1SG+ERG DEM past LK D.M 1PL+INCL Munya LK D.M

lösú ***ɣɛ*** *kʰɛ́* *tó-nə-tsʰi* *tú-dö*
tradition LK words one-two-CLF:WORDS UP-say/1SG

'I will say a few words about our Munya people's past traditions here.'

The linker ***ɣɛ*** has three related functions. In (113b) and (115) it links nominal modifiers with the head noun, in (113c) it is a possessive marker that links the possessor with the possessee, and in (113d) it links the relative clause with the head noun. The commonality of the functions of ***ɣɛ*** seems to be to link a pre-head modifier with its head noun. Therefore, it can be analyzed as one polysemous grammatical morpheme. It is worth mentioning that the Chinese *de (的)* also has similar functions.

6.2.2 Post-head Modifiers and the Head Noun

Post-head modifiers include adjectives, numeral classifiers, number words and quantifiers. These are illustrated in (116):

(116) a. *ɣu* ***rərə́***
grass long

'long grass'

b. *putsʰí* ***sɔ́-zə***
child three-CLF:MAN

'three children'

c. *ʈʂʰə́* ***ní***
Chinese.yuan two

'two yuan'

d. *tɕúˊ* ***tósə***
water much

‘much water’

Like pre-head modifiers, post-head modifiers can also be divided into two levels. The first-level post-head modifiers are adjectives. They are first-level in the sense that it immediately follows the head noun it modifies and can be followed by any of the other three kinds of modifiers. For example, one can add a quantifier to (116a) and get (117):

(117) *ɣu* *rərə́* *tósə*
grass long much

‘much long grass’

The other three types of post-head modifiers are on the second level and mutually exclusive. This may be because they are functionally the same, i.e., they all denote the number information of the head noun referent, and this information only needs to be given once in a noun phrase.

Although a head noun can be modified by more than one first-level post-head modifier, this type of expression is rarely found in my corpus. When a head noun is modified by more than one adjective, the two modifiers need to be connected by *yú* ‘and’. This is shown in the elicited example in (118):

(118) *tɕé* *kíko* *yú* *sívɯ* *tó-lö*
house big and good one-CLF:GENR

‘a big and good house’

yú ‘and’ can be dislocated to the beginning of a noun phrase. (119) is also elicited, and is semantically equivalent to (118):

(119) ***yú*** *tɕé* *kíko* *sívɯ* *tó-lö*
and house big good one-CLF:GENR

‘a big and good house’

Since multiple adjectival modification is a rare phenomenon in Munya, the issue of how different types of adjectives should be ordered in a noun phrase cannot be dealt with here.

6.2.3 Noun Phrases with Pre- and Post-head Modifiers

A noun phrase can have a pre-head and a post-head modifier at the same time. There do not seem to be any collocational constraints on the co-occurrence of pre-head modifiers and post-head modifiers. However, one phenomenon that stands out is that, when a head noun is modified by both a relative clause (which is a pre-head modifier) and a post-head modifier, the relative clause needs to follow the post-head modifier. Compare the two examples in (120):

(120) a. *otsə́ putsʰí sɔ́-lö*
DEM child three-CLF:GENR
'these three children'

b. *okʰó tsʰərɔ́ tɛ́-zɛ* ***tʰá-la sə*** *mú*
there wood one-CLF:LONG AS-fall PFV COP
'There is a fallen tree over here.'

In (120a), the head noun *putsʰí* 'child' is modified by both a demonstrative, which is a pre-head modifier, and a numeral classifier, which is a post-head modifier. The two modifiers occur in expected positions. This is different for (120b), where the head noun *tsʰərɔ́* 'wood' is modified by a relative clause, *tʰála sə* 'fallen PFV', which is also a pre-head modifier, and a numeral classifier. In this example, the relative clause occurs at the right periphery of the noun phrase instead of the left. This may reflect a tendency to put heavy modifiers towards the end of an NP.

6.2.4 More on Nominal Demonstrative Phrases

In some Qiang dialects, a nominal demonstrative can occur on both sides of the head noun (cf. T. Gao and Zhou 2018; C. L. Huang 2003; Zheng 2016)[1]. (121) comes from Longxi Qiang (Zheng 2016: 88):

(121) ***tɕí-*** *mù* ***-tɕí***
DEM- person -DEM
'This person'

Similarly, in Mawo Qiang and Ronghong Qiang, a nominal demonstrative needs to follow the head noun, but one can add another demonstrative to the left periphery. The following example comes from Ronghong Qiang (C. L. Huang 2003):

(122) ***tsə*** ***kᶻuə*** *tse:* *kᶻuə* *ʁuʁu-m* *eze* *ŋuə*
DEM dog DEM dog crazy-NMLZ one be
'This dog is a crazy dog.'

C. L. Huang (2003) argues that using the extra demonstrative puts information focus on the first demonstrative. Hence in this example, the focus is on 'this' or 'this dog', rather than on 'a dog'.

Note that although both Longxi Qiang and Mawo Qiang/Ronghong Qiang allow double demonstratives, there are some differences between them. In Longxi Qiang, only the extra demonstrative occurs on the left side of the head noun, while in Ronghong Qiang, both the demonstrative and the head noun occur there. Secondly, the forms of the two demonstratives are identical in Longxi Qiang but slightly different in Ronghong Qiang. The default demonstrative is *tse:*, but the one marking information focus is *tsə*.

Superficially, such a phenomenon seems to exist in Munya as well. Recall that in Munya the nominal demonstrative is *otsə́* 'this' and is a pre-head modifier. There is a postposition, *tsə*, which can only occur after the head noun. Consider the example in (123):

[1] An anonymous examiner pointed out that such phenomenon is also found in Galo and many languages spoken in India and Nepal.

(123) ***ótsə*** *puts^{h}í sɔ́-lö* ***tsə*** *tɕ^{h}iníndzu ndʑándʑa*
DEM child three-CLF:GENR FOC very close

'Those three children are very close.'

In this example, the head noun *puts^{h}í* 'child' is modified by a pre-head demonstrative and marked by *tsə* at the same time. Inspired by the analyses proposed for Qiang, and considering the formal similarity between the demonstrative *otsə́* 'this' and *tsə*, one might attempt to analyze *tsə* as a post-head demonstrative. However, such an analysis is untenable, as there are fundamental differences between *otsə́* 'this' and *tsə*. In the rest of this section I will try to show that *tsə* can be more plausibly analyzed as a focus marker rather than a demonstrative.

Firstly, in a text, nominal demonstratives in Munya are mostly used as markers of definiteness. In other words, a noun cannot be modified by a demonstrative when occurring for the first time. However, there is no such constraint on the use of *tsə*. Consider the example below:

(124) *ndəhɯ́ t^{h}o-kó t^{h}o-dí tsə́ pu kə tsəkɯ́ ɣɔɣɔ́ rá* ***tsə*** *t^{h}o-kó; tsəkɯ́*
pea AS-cut AS-finish NMLZ on OBL D.M slowly wheat FOC AS-cut D.M
rá t^{h}o-kó t^{h}o-dí kə tsəkɯ́ yɑyʉ̋ ***tsə*** *ɑ́-kɔ*
wheat AS-cut AS-finish OBL D.M potato FOC DS-dig

'After peas have been harvested then slowly (people) will harvest wheat, and after wheat has been harvested (people) will dig potatoes.'

In this example, the speaker is talking about the sequence of harvesting crops. The two nominals marked by *tsə* are *rá* 'wheat' and *yɑyʉ̋* 'potato', both of which are new information occurring for the first time in the context. Note also that when *rá* 'wheat' occurs again in the second sentence, it is not marked by *tsə*. The behavior of *tsə* is thus contrary to that of the nominal demonstrative *otsə́* 'this'. It is possible that here *tsə* marks the topic in the discourse, as the two arguments marked by *tsə* both occur in a matrix clause, and it is the focus of the narration.

The second piece of evidence against analyzing *tsə* as a demonstrative is that it can be used after a real demonstrative:

(125) *mɯ́ kʰu-ɕé ro ɣɛ dʑɔ́ tó-lö tʰó-ndə sə, ótsə*
fire AS-preserve go REL stone one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ABSTRACT PFV DEM
tsə *mɯ́ɻəʈʰɛ*
FOC fire.preserving.stone
'There used to be a stone for preserving fire, and that is fire-preserving stone.'

Here *otsə́* 'this' functions as a complete NP substituting for *dʑɔ́* 'stone' in the previous sentence, while *tsə* seems to mark it as the focus of the clause.

Thirdly, while in some Qiang dialects an additional demonstrative can co-occur with the default demonstrative, it is not entirely clear if the additional demonstrative can occur without the default demonstrative. At least according to C. L. Huang (2003), the structure of a demonstrative phrase in northern Qiang dialects can be N Dem or Dem N Dem, but not Dem N. In other words, the additional demonstrative cannot be the sole demonstrative in a noun phrase. This is not what we see in Munya, where *tsə* can be used without the default demonstrative. This is illustrated with the two examples below (also see example 124):

(126) a. *ʈʂʰőtɕi-u só-zə* ***tsə*** *ókʰu ná-rɑ sə*
PN-person three-CLF:MAN FOC DEM DOWN-go PFV
'Three ʈʂʰőtɕi villagers went down there.'

b. *tsəkɯ́ tá* ***tsə*** *mɯ́mɯ i ɣɤ́-dɛvə*
D.M hat FOC wind ERG US-blow.off
'A wind blows off the hat.'

This indicates that *tsə* in Munya behaves differently from the double demonstrative construction found in some Qiang dialects.

To conclude, demonstratives can only occur in pre-head position when modifying a head noun in Munya. The post-posed focus marker *tsə* found after noun phrases is not a

demonstrative but can be more plausibly analyzed as a focus marker.

6.3 Plurality

Nouns in Munya do not have many inflectional categories. Nouns do not inflect for case, gender or some other grammatical categories that are commonly found in other languages. A prominent nominal category is number, which can be expressed by either plural marker or numeral classifiers. This section will focus on the expression of plurality. After discussing the form and functions of the plural marker =*nə*, we will then look at other plural formatives, which are formed on the basis of the plural marker and have different plurality related senses.

6.3.1 The Morphemic Status and Functions of the Plural Marker =*nə*

Morphologically speaking, the plural formative =*nə* is a clitic. This can be illustrated by the fact that they display low selectivity with regard to the choice of their host. Consider the examples in (127):

(127) a. *tɕətsə́***=*nə***
livestock=PL

'livestock'

b. *há-nyu-kɛ***=*nə***
formative-NEG-know/2SG=PL

'those whom you don't know'

c. *otsə́ kíko***=*nə***
DEM big=PL

'those who are older'

d. *mənyɛ́ sú tə́ vúᵘ mí***=*nə***
Munya language speak do NMLZ=PL

'Munya speakers'

The formative =*nə* is attached to a noun in (127a), a verb in (127b), an adjective in (127c), and a nominalizing particle in (127d). Moreover, both (127c) and (127d) are phrases rather than words. Being able to attach to both words and phrases and to hosts of diverse categories indicates that =*nə* is a clitic.

The core function of =*nə* is marking plurality, its meaning being roughly 'more than one'. The grammatical distinction between count and mass nouns as shown through plural marking is not very obvious. A survey of the corpus shows that =*nə* can be used after words that are commonly recognized as mass nouns, such as 'grass', 'white sugar', 'food'. It can also mark abstract nouns, such as *lɛ́kɛ́* 'work', *tsuə́yɛ* 'homework' and *sétɕü* 'policy'. In (128), =*nə* marks *tɕɯ́* 'water':

(128) *ndʑúndʑɯ ró hə́ sé nyi, okʰó sőndʐökɔ təpi ro, okʰó*
play go go PFV/1/2NONSG EGO:AP DEM PN called place DEM
tɕɯ́=nə ɣɛ tɕʰó
water=PL LK place

'(We) went to play, at a place called sőndʐökɔ, a place of substantial water.'

Another function of =*nə* is marking two coordinated nominals. Consider the examples in (129):

(129) a. *[[dʑópu=nɛ tɕe]$_{NP1}$ rə [pʰőpɛ=nɛ tɕe]$_{NP2}$**=ni**]$_{NP3}$ tə́-pʰɛdʑa vɯ́*
king=COLL.PL son and rich.man=COLL.PL son=PL+ERG UP-follow do
sə nyi
PFV EGO:AP

'The son of the king's family and the son of the rich man's family followed behind and went up (to the lake).'

b. *tsəkɯ́ [mɛ́ndɛ vɛ́ndɛ**=ni**]$_{NP}$ tə tsəkɯ́ ɣɤ tí-hɛ*
D.M grandmother grandfather=PL+ERG say SRI door UP-open
nyɯ́-pe
NEG-IMPF/1/2NONSG

'The grandmother and the grandfather said: "We are not opening the door".'

In both examples, the plural formative is fused with the ergative case *i*, giving =*ni*. In (129a), the two noun phrases, NP1 and NP2, are connected by the coordinate marker *rə* 'and'. The macro NP, NP3, is then marked by =*nə*. In (129b), although the two nouns are simply juxtaposed, they are still marked by =*nə*, as they are in a semantically coordinating relationship.

6.3.2 Other Plural Formatives

Aside from =*nə*, there are four plural formatives which are formed on the basis of =*nə* and denote various senses related to plurality. These plural formatives include =*ronə́*, an associative plural, =*nɛ*, a collective associative plural, =*mə́nə*, an illustrative plural, and =*nə́tɕʰo*, a place associative plural.

6.3.2.1 Associative Plural

The associative plural =*ronə́* denotes the persons or things that are related to the noun it marks. The meaning of *ro* in this formative is not transparent. Following the predication of Moravcsik (2003), the formative is most commonly used after nouns with human referent:

(130) a. *ŋɯ́ ɛpú**=ronə́** tɕʰí nbí sö nyi*
1SG uncle=ASSC.PL COM sit PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'I'm sitting with uncle and other people.'

b. *mómó**=roní** ɣənbɯ́ á-to pi nyi*
mum=ASSC.PL+ERG cattle.droppings DS-remove IMPF EGO:AP

'Mum and others are removing cattle dung.'

In (130a), =*ronə́* refers to the uncle's family members. Depending on the context the referents can also be his friends, neighbors or anyone who happens to be sitting with him at the time the sentence is uttered. In (130b), the referents of the associative plural are those who were also removing cattle dung together with mum.

Although the nouns marked by =*ronə́* tend to be human nouns, nouns with non-human referents are also occasionally found. For example, in *nbő=ronə́* 'candy=ASSC.PL', the associative plural would refer to food or snacks that are similar to candies.

6.3.2.2 Collective Associative Plural

The collective associative plural marker =*nɛ* is analyzable as the fused form of the plural marker =*nə* and the possessive marker *ɛ́*, and it has both a possessive sense and a collective sense (which is not unrelated to plural sense). The possessive sense lies in the fact that it means 'of or relating to', and structurally =*nɛ* requires both a possessor and a possessee. The collective sense can be seen from the fact that the possessor, after being marked by =*nɛ*, is a group instead of a single entity. =*nɛ* is often used after a proper name and means 'of or relating to the group of'. Two examples are given in (131):

(131) a. *nbotí=**nɛ*** *tɕé*
family.name=COLL.PL house
'the house of Nboti's'

b. *tʰíwu=**nɛ*** *ngötʂʰí*
village.name=COLL.PL chieftain
'the chieftain of Thiwu village'

In both examples =*nɛ* is used after a proper name—the name of a family in (131a) and the name of a village in (131b). The groups denoted by the two names function as the possessor.

Perhaps the collective associative sense of this plural marker is most obviously seen when it is used after common nouns. Although it has been mentioned above that as a collective associative plural marker, =*nɛ* can be analyzed as the fusion of the plural marker

and the possessive marker, it has the non-compositional associative meaning that is not found in the temporarily fused *=nɛ*. Compare the pair of examples below:

(132) a. *dʑópu**=nɛ*** *tɕe*
king=COLL.PL son

‘the son of the king’s family’

b. *mənɨ**=nɛ*** *tɕé*
person=PL+GEN house

‘people’s house’

Note how *=nɛ* is analyzed differently in the two examples. It is a collective associative plural marker in the first example but a fusion of the plural marker and the possessive marker in the second example. This is because the phrase means ‘the son of the king’s family’ in (132a) and not ‘the son of kings’. In (132b), *=nɛ* is a fusion of the plural and possessive marker and does not have the collective associative meaning. The possessor is multiple people, not a collective group.

6.3.2.3 Place Associative Plural

There is a place associative plural marker, *=nətɕʰo*, which is most commonly used after place nouns, and means the area around the place denoted by the marked noun. This marker can also occur after temporal nouns, and refers to a period of time around that denoted by the marked noun. As with other plural markers, this formative also contains the plural marker *nə*. The other component, *tɕʰo*, is a morpheme which means ‘place’. This is why it is called a place associative plural.

In (133a), *=nətɕʰo* is used after a place noun and in (133b) it is used after a temporal noun:

(133) a. *nɛ́ kɔsə́ kʰu**=nətɕʰo** ndɛ́ kə ɛzə́ sú tə́ vɯ́ pɛ*
2SG shop in=PLA.PL go/2SG OBL what language say do IMPF/2SG
nyi?
EGO:AP

'When you go to the shops and nearby places, what language do you speak?'

b. *ŋɯ́ melɛ́kʰɛ**=nətɕʰo** ɣɤ-tɕʰí*
1SG dusk=PLA.PL US-flee

'I fled upstream at some time around dusk.'

6.3.2.4 Similative Plural

Another marker that also has the plural sense is *=mə́nə*, which is a similative plural. It is used for non-exhaustive listing or giving examples. Consider (134):

(134) *onə́ pú tsəkɯ́ tɕántʂua**=mə́nə**, tsəkɯ́ yadú**=mə́nə**, ɣɔyʉ́*
DEM+PL on D.M certificate.of.merit=SIM.PL D.M mug=SIM.PL, face
*páre**=mə́nə**, ómənə tópi ndə́ nyi*
towel=SIM.PL DEM many COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

'Because of that (hard work), I got many certificates of merit, mugs, towels and many other things like that.'

In this example, the speaker listed three kinds of things that he was awarded for working hard, each of which is marked by the similative plural marker *=mə́nə*. This marker is used because there are other awards than those listed here and he was just giving examples.

In the above example the nouns that are marked by the similative plural marker are coordinated. This plural marker can also be used when listing a series of activities, in which case the coordinands are verb phrases:

(135) a. *dʐó=**mə́nə*** *tə-tɕɯ́, kʰɛ́=**mə́nə*** *tu-dó, tsəkɯ́ tʂəmɛ́=**mə́nə***
story=SIM.PL UP-do words=SIM.PL UP-talk D.M Buddhist.scripture=SIM.PL
nú-dɛ *tsəkɯ́ tɕɯ́tɕɯ* *tɛ́gɛ* *nbí*
DOWN-chant D.M long a.little stay

'(On New Year's Eve,) people tell stories, talk to each other, chant Buddhist scriptures and stay up until very late.'

b. *lɛ́kɛ́=**mə́nə*** *tʰó-vɯ, mɯ́ ná-ndʑa pi kə ndzə́=**mə́nə*** *kʰi-tsə́ ro*
work=SIM.PL AS-do sky DOWN-rain IMPF OBL food=SIM.PL NONS-cook go
kʰɔ-ɣɔ́ *vó*
NONS-help REQ

'Please come and help with some work, and when it rains, help with cooking.'

In (135a), the speaker is giving examples of the things that people normally do on New Year's Eve. In (135b), the speaker is talking about things that other people asked him to help with. As can be seen from the two examples, when listing activities with verb phrases, *=mə́nə* needs to be marked after nouns instead of the whole verb phrase. This type of similative plural seems to be typologically unusual (cf. Moravcsik 2017).

6.4 Numeral Classifiers[2]

Numeral classifier is the only noun categorization device in Munya. Different classifiers categorize nouns on different dimensions. Based on semantics, numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. This will be discussed in Section 6.4.1. Munya numeral classifiers have developed a plethora of other functions. This will be the topic of Section 6.4.2.

6.4.1 Classification

Classifiers in Munya are bound roots. A classifier forms a phonological and a grammatical word together with a number prefix. Most numeral classifiers follow the head nouns they

[2]A modified version of this section has been published as Bai (2019).

modify. The only exception found thus far is the numeral classifier modifying *ro* 'place', which is *-kʰɛ* 'CLF:PLACE'. This numeral classifier should precede the head noun instead of following it, e.g. *tɛ́-kʰɛ́ ro* 'a place (one-CLF:PLACE place)'.

Based on their semantics, numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal numeral classifiers and mensural numeral classifiers. Sortal classifiers classify nouns based on the inherent properties of their referents, such as animacy and shape, while mensural classifiers classify nouns based on their situations (Aikhenvald 2003: 115), such as what kind of container the objects are held in, or how the objects are measured.

Classifiers in Munya can also be categorized in this way as well. The two types of numeral classifiers are listed in 6.1.

Table 6.1: Two Types of Numeral Classifiers in Munya

Classifier	Semantics of head noun	Example(s) of head noun
	SORTAL	
-lö/-gɛ	general	animal, stone, car, idea
-zə	human	person
-vɛ	thin object, flying object	paper, coat, bird, mosquito
-zɛ	long object	stick, road, snake, fish, trousers, letter
-pʰɔ	plant	flower, grass, crops
-u	dinner	dinner, food
-tsa	performance	song, dance, story
-tsʰi	words	words, chat, a stretch of discourse
-kʰɛ	place	place
-si	day	day
-ki	year	year
-ndu	drop of liquid	water, oil, tear
	MENSURAL	
	Container	
-kʰɔ́ɐo	box	barley powder
-pʰúla	bowl	water, rice

-tɕʰápɑ	handful	grass, grain
-ɕɑ	mouth	water, tea, food
-sə	container	water, tea
		Group
-tsʰe	family	king, relative
-té	group	animal, people
-tɕʰɛ	pair	shoes, couple
		Length
-de	two arms span	horse, knife
-ɣɔ	one palm span	cloth
		Weight
-dʐɛmɛ	half a kilo	meat, vegetable, grain, person
		Kind
-kɑ	kind, sort	work, affair, food

6.4.1.1 Sortal Classifiers

The most frequently used classifiers are the two general classifiers *-lö* and *-gɛ*. The two classifiers can be used interchangeably. They are general in two senses. Firstly, they are used to cover the objects outside the domain of other sortal classifiers, such as livestock, stones, abstract concepts, and newly introduced artifacts, such as mobile phone or car. In this sense, they can be considered 'residual classifiers'. Secondly, they can replace certain (but not all) sortal classifiers, such as the classifier for human, *-zə*. In this sense, they can be considered as 'neutral classifiers' (cf. Zubin and Shimojo 1993).

One notable fact about the general classifiers *-lö* is that when the number word is 'two', a suppletive form should be used, which is *tóndʐɛ*, instead of **nə-lö* 'two-CLF:GENR'. The first syllable in *tóndʐɛ*, 'to', is probably the number word for 'one', but the meaning of *ndʐɛ* is not synchronically clear. No other numeral classifiers have suppletive forms.

Sortal classifiers usually classify nouns based on the animacy and physical properties of their referents (Aikhenvald 2003: 286). These distinctions are also made in Munya. Munya has a classifier for human, *-zə*, but lacks a corresponding general classifier for

animals or non-human objects. Although *-vɛ* can classify birds and flying insects, it cannot classify other animals, such as cattle or worms.

Some classifiers classify nouns based on the shape of their referents . *-zɛ* is used for long objects. Besides classifying flying objects, *-vɛ* can also classify thin objects, such as paper or a coating.

Munya has several sortal classifiers which classify nouns that are nature based. *-pʰɔ* classifies plant, *-u* classifies a meal or food that is eaten as a meal, *-tsa* can classify performance, such as dance, song, or story. *-tsʰi* is used to classify words or a stretch of discourse. Its use is very limited, in the sense that its head noun can only be *kʰɛ* 'words, talk, or a stretch of discourse'. Similarly, *-kʰɛ* 'CLF:PLACE' is only found to classify *ro* 'place'.

There are at least three classifiers for time. Aside from *-si* 'CLF:DAY', there are also classifiers of *-ki* 'CLF:YEAR' and *-li* 'CLF:MONTH'. *tɕʰə́tsʰü* 'hour' is classified by the two general classifiers. A common way to count day, month, and year in Munya is to use Tibetan loans as head nouns and native words as classifiers, e.g., *nímɛ sɔ-sí* 'three days (day three-CLF:DAY)', *dɛ́ nə́-li* 'two months (month two-CLF:MONTH)' and *löŋő tóki* 'one year (year one-CLF:YEAR)', where *nímɛ* 'day', *dɛ́* 'month' and *löŋő* 'year' are all borrowed from Tibetan.

It is hard to determine whether the classifier for 'drop', *-ndu*, should be grouped with sortal classifiers or mensural classifiers. Since all the head nouns it classifies are in principle liquids, hence share a common semantic feature, it can be regarded as a sortal classifier. However, it can also be argued that *-ndu* 'CLF:DROP' classifies its head noun based on how the referent is measured, i.e., by drop. In this sense it can be seen as a mensural classifier.

The same head noun can be classified in different ways, depending on which aspect of the referent one wants to highlight. For example, the numeral classifier for *ɣu* 'grass' can be *tá-pʰɔ* 'one-CLF:PLANT' if one wants to emphasize grass as a kind of plant but it can be classified alternatively by *tɛ́-zɛ* 'one-CLF:LONG' if the focus is on its long shape.

Some sortal classifiers can be used to achieve certain pragmatic effects. Farm plants in the field can be referred to as *lɯ́tʰɔ tá-pʰɔ* 'farm.plants one-CLF:PLANT' if one thinks that the crops are growing very well. They can also be described as *lɯ́tʰɔ tɛ́-zɛ* 'farm.plants one-CLF:LONG' if one finds the crops to be sparse and yellowish and suspects that they

may not yield a good harvest.

The origins of sortal classifiers are hard to pinpoint. The one for plant, *-pʰɔ*, may come from the word for 'tree', which is *tsʰəpʰɔ́*. One general classifier, *-lö*, may come from the word for 'head', which is *ɣálö*. It is probable that as these nouns grammaticalize into classifiers, their phonetic forms are shortened and, in the end, only the second syllable remains.

6.4.1.2 Mensural Classifiers

Mensural classifiers can be further divided into five sub-types, which are classifiers of container, group, length, weight and kind.

There are two ways to use container classifiers. One is to directly use the term for a specific container as a classifier, as in (136a); the other way is to form a 'numeral classifier complex' with *tó-sə* 'one-CLF:FULL' and a word for container, as in (136b) and (136c):

(136) a. *tɕɯ́ **tá-pʰula***
water one-CLF:BOWL

'one bowl of water'

b. *tɕɯ́ pʰúla **tó-sə***
water bowl one-CLF:FULL

'one bowl of water'

c. *mənί tʂʰintʂʰé **tó-sə***
person car one-CLF:FULL

'one car full of people'

The second pattern is more productive than the first one. Almost all container words can be used in the second pattern, but only a few container words can be used in the first pattern, which are listed in Table 6.1. Container words that can be directly used as classifiers tend to be culturally salient. The objects that those container words denote are used all the time in daily life. Except for *-sə* 'CLF:FULL', all the four container classifiers listed Table 6.1 can be used as free morphemes.

Other mensural classifiers have no special properties and will not be discussed in detail.

6.4.1.3 Pseudo-classifiers

Not all morphemes that can take number prefixes are classifiers. The only example of such a morpheme that I have found thus far is *-tsa* (homophonous with the classifier for performance), which means 'the storey or floor of a house'. Combined with a number word, they can be used after a noun, as in *tɕé tá-tsa* 'one-floor house (house one-floor)'. Though superficially similar to numeral classifiers, this pseudo-classifier differs fundamentally from real classifiers.

Firstly, the order of the numeral classifier and the head noun is rigid–the numeral classifier generally follows the head, but the pseudo-classifier can either precede or follow the head (the factor(s) determining the word order remain a matter for further research). Example (137) below illustrates *tá-tsa* 'one-storey' being used before the head noun *tɕé* 'house':

(137) *okʰó pɔ́kɔʂə tó-lö tɕɯ́ nyi,* ***tá-tsa*** ***tɕé***
DEM store.room one-CLF:GENR COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP one-storey house
mə́nə
like

'There was a store room over there, it was a one-storey house.'

Secondly, the major functions of numeral classifiers are counting and categorization, while the major function of the pseudo-classifier is modification. The counting function can be seen from the fact that as the number word changes, the number of referents of the head noun changes accordingly. For example, *putsʰí tó-lö* 'one kid (kid one-CLF:GENR)' and *putsʰí sɔ́-lö* 'three children (child three-CLF:GENR)' differ in the number of children. However, in the case of *tɕé tá-tsa* 'one-storey house (house one-storey)', changing the number words does not lead to any change in the number of referents of the head noun, hence *tɕé tá-tsa* 'house one-storey' and *tɕé sɔ́-tsa* 'house three-storey' differ in the number of floors but not in the number of houses.

Thirdly, a head noun can take only one numeral classifier, but more than one modifier, including the pseudo-classifier. Example (138) shows how the pseudo-classifier can co-occur with a modifier and a real numeral classifier:

(138) *yoní* ***tɕé*** *tɛ́-gɛ* *tə́-dʑo,* ***tɕé*** ***kɛɛ́*** ***tsʰǘ-zɛ***
1PL.INCL+ERG house one-CLF:GENR UP-build house pillar.space six-CLF:LONG
sɔ́-tsa ***tɛ́-gɛ*** *tə́-dʑo*
three-storey one-CLF:GENR UP-build

'We built a house, a house of six pillar spaces and three storeys.'

The head noun, *tɕé* 'house', is first modified by a noun phrase consisting of a head noun and a numeral classifier, which is *kɛɛ́ tɕʰǘ-zɛ* 'six pillar.space (pillar.space six-CLF:LONG)', then by a pseudo-numeral classifier, *sɔ́-tsa* 'three-floor'. The numeral classifier quantifying the head of this NP, *tɕé* 'house', is *tɛ́-gɛ* 'one-CLF:GENR', which appears at the right periphery of the phrase.

6.4.2 The Functions of Numeral Classifiers

The basic functions of numeral classifiers are quantification and classification. They are also frequently found to have such discourse-pragmatic functions as denoting specificity, definiteness, and functioning as anaphoric markers (Aikhenvald 2003: 318-333).

For ease of discussion, a distinction can be made between the inherent and the extended functions of numeral classifiers in Munya. Discourse-pragmatic functions and stacking two consecutive number words on one classifier for expressing approximate meaning, are the inherent functions of numeral classifiers in Munya. By 'inherent function', I mean that numeral classifiers are still numeral classifiers when they are performing these functions, and these inherent functions can vary from language to language.

When numeral classifiers are used for extended functions, they are no longer numeral classifiers anymore. This can be seen from three aspects. Firstly, when performing the extended functions, they do not require any head noun. In other words, their functional scope is not limited to a noun phrase. Secondly, the only number word that they can co-occur with is 'one' and no others. Thirdly, even if their functioning scope is a noun

phrase, the 'classifiers' do not change when the modified head noun changes. These uses indicate that the numeral classifiers have become lexicalized or grammaticalized when performing extended functions.

Four extended functions have been identified for Munya numeral classifiers, which are working as quantifiers, adverbs, nominal and manner adverbial demonstratives, and complementizing strategy. These will be discussed in turn after inherent functions have been examined.

6.4.2.1 Discourse Functions

In Munya, quantifying a head noun with a numeral classifier alone indicates that the nominal referent of the head noun is indefinite. Example (139) below is taken from a story:

(139) *otsə́ tɕʰó tsəkʉ́ **tá** **tó-lö** tə́-ro sə nyi*
DEM place D.M tiger one-CLF:GENR UP-come PFV EGO:AP

'A tiger came out from there (a lake).'

In this example, since *tá* 'tiger' is mentioned for the first time in the story, it is modified by a numeral classifier *tó-lö* 'one-CLF:GENR'.

After the noun referent is established in the discourse, it can either be tracked with a demonstrative, or simply occur in bare form if the noun is singular. (140) comes from the same story, but after (139):

(140) *kʰɤ́-vɤ tsəkʉ́ **tá** tə́-ʈsɛ sə nyi*
NONS-hide and tiger UP-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'While (they were) hiding, the tiger came.'

6.4.2.2 Stacking Number Words to Express an Approximate Meaning

Sometimes a numeral classifier construction can contain two consecutive number words and a single classifier to denote the sense of estimation or approximation (cf. 5.4.2). The

stacked number words are normally ‘one’ and ‘two’, but other numbers are also acceptable, as long as they are less than ten and are consecutive. An example is given below in (141):

(141) *tɕʰú ŋí kʰɛ́ **tó-nə-tsʰi** tú-dö*
then 1SG+ERG words one-two-CLF:WORDS UP-speak/1SG

‘I will say a few words.’

This is the first sentence of a five minutes long monologue, so apparently the number words here mean more than ‘one or two’. Depending on the context, the number words can also be taken at face value, i.e., they can refer to the exact number.

A numeral classifier construction containing two consecutive number words can be expanded into two numeral classifier constructions:

(142) *tu-mú-ɕo tsəkɯ́ tó-nə-ki tʰə-vá rɑ, **tó-ki***
UP-NEG-say D.M one-two-CLF:YEAR AS-become EVID:DIRECT one-CLF:YEAR
***nə́-ki** tʰə-vá rɑ*
two-CLF:YEAR AS-become EVID:DIRECT

‘They haven’t said (those things) for one or two years.’

In this example, the speaker first used a stacked form, which is *tó-nə-ki* ‘one or two years, a few years’, then he repeated the last part of the previous clause and used an expanded form, *tó-ki nə́-ki* ‘one or two years, a few years’.

6.4.2.3 Quantifiers

There are close relationships between numeral classifiers and quantifiers, and sometimes it can be hard to disentangle them (Aikhenvald 2003: 116). In Munya, some numeral classifiers can be used as quantifiers. These include *tɛ́-gɛ/tɕí-gɛ* ‘a little (one-CLF:GENR)’, *tó-sə* ‘many (one-CLF:FULL)’ and *tɑhá/tɕihá* ‘a little’. Note that *tɑhá/tɕihá* ‘a little’ was not listed in Table 6.1, because synchronically they can no longer be used as numeral classifiers. There are two reasons to believe that they may originate from a numeral classifier. Firstly,

it is still possible to analyze it as *tɑ-há*, with *tɑ-* being derived from the underlying form of *to-* 'one' through vowel harmony. Secondly, *tɑhá* has an equivalent form, *tɕihá*, in which *tɕi* can be analyzed as the Tibetan number word for 'one'. This parallels the alternation of *tó-lö* and *tɕí-lö* 'one-CLF:GENR'. Hence *tɑhá* 'a little' arguably originates from a numeral classifier, although it has lost that function. (143) illustrates *tɕi-gɛ́* 'one-CLF:GENR' being used as a quantifier:

(143) *í-ni ri **tɕigɛ́** ndə́ nyi mətsʰé*
DS-rest NMLZ a.little COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP only

'We could only take very little rest.'

Here the head noun *ini ri* 'rest' is a nominalized verb which is quantified by *tɕigɛ́* 'a little'. Note that *tɕigɛ́* cannot be analyzed as a numeral classifier, because, as stated at the beginning of this section, *tɕi-* 'one' cannot be replaced with other number words (except for *to-*, the native number word for 'one'). Neither can *-gɛ* be changed to other classifiers as the head noun changes. Also, the whole quantifying expression acting as an erstwhile numeral classifier has its own, non-compositional meaning, 'a little'. (144) is an example of *tɑhá* 'a little' being used as a quantifier, modifying *ɣásu* 'Chinese':

(144) *ɣásu **tɑhá** tə́-vü*
Chinese a.little UP-speak/2SG

'Speak some Chinese.'

The numeral classifier construction *tó-sə* 'many (one-CLF:FULL)'', where *-sə* is a classifier for container, can also function as a quantifier:

(145) *putsʰí **tósə** i dɯnbɯ́ tɛ́-zɛ no-tətú pi*
child many ERG stick one-CLF:LONG DOWN-fight.for IMPF

'Many children are fighting for a stick.'

It should be pointed that not all quantifiers in Munya evolved from numeral classifiers. Besides the quantifiers discussed above, other quantifiers, such as *kɛ́yi* 'many' and *níni* 'a little bit' are plainly not of numeral classifier origin (cf. Section 5.5).

6.4.2.4 Adverbs

Numeral classifiers can modify adjectives, verbs, and quantifiers. In this case they are categorized as adverbs. Numeral classifiers that can be used in this way include *tɕígɛ/tɛ́gɛ* 'a little', *tɑhá* 'a little', and *tólö*. *tólö* can also be used after adverbs, as an adverbial marker. In (146) below, *tólö* links together an adverb, *tɕʰítɕʰa* 'very' and *ɛɕó* 'be tired' and can be omitted:

(146) *ŋɯ́nə lötɕʰó nyi kə, [tɕʰítɕa* ***tólö*** *ɛ-ɕó ri]$_{CS}$ mé ti*
1PL.EXCL young EGO:AP D.M very PAR DS-be.tired NMLZ NEG STA

'We were very young, and we were not very tired.'

In this example, the predicate of the second clause is *mé*, which is a monovalent copula negator, and it takes a complement clause as its S subject. The head of this CS, *ɛɕó* 'be tired', is a verb. It is modified by an adverbial phrase *tɕʰítɕa tólö* 'very'. This whole verb phrase is then nominalized by *ri*, producing an NP subject.

Adverbs originating from numeral classifiers can also modify adjectives. (147) comes from a telephone conversation, when a father was telling his daughter, who works in the capital of Tibet, Lhasa, to be mindful (of bad people, for example):

(147) *sɑsá* ***tɕigɛ́*** *nó-vü*
clever a.little DOWN-do/2SG

'Be a little bit clever'

In this example, *tɕigɛ́* 'a little', together with the adjective *sɑsá* 'clever', modifies the verb *nóvü* 'do/2SG'. It is possible that it is being used here to 'tone down' the command so as to make it sound less direct. But it is also possible that *tɕigɛ́* functions as a link between the verb and the adjective, just like *tólö* in (146), and does not have much semantic content.

The semantic contribution of this kind of adverb is more prominent when modifying quantifiers:

(148) *kɛ́yi* ***tahá*** *rəkʰɯ́ vo*
many a.little fill.up REQ

'Please fill it up with some more (food) for me.'

In this example, the quantifier *kɛ́yi* 'many, a lot' is modified by *tahá* 'a little'. It is used here to weaken the strength of the command, with the aim of 'softening it and making it less palatable and less threatening.' (Aikhenvald 2010: 400).

6.4.2.5 Nominal and Manner Adverbial Demonstratives

In Munya, numeral classifiers can be used as both nominal demonstratives and manner adverbial demonstratives. The nominal demonstrative use is the inherent function of numeral classifiers, while the manner adverbial demonstrative is the extended function of numeral classifiers. (149) is an example of a numeral classifier being used as a nominal demonstrative:

(149) *otsə́ i tsʰaná i tá-tɕɔ tə́-tɕɯ vɯ́ tsəkɯ́* ***sɔ́-lö*** *tsə*
3SG ERG pot.pad INS one-VCLF.HIT UP-do do D.M three-CLF:GENR FOC
tʰó-sə nyi
AS-die EGO:AP

'He gave one hit with the pot pad and all those three (beasts) died.'

It is necessary to distinguish this demonstrative use of numeral classifiers from numeral classifiers used in a headless noun phrase. In both cases there is no head noun in the NP, and the crucial difference lies in whether or not the head noun is retrievable from the context. If the head noun can be recovered, then the numeral classifier has an antecedent, as in (149), and should be analyzed as a nominal demonstrative. If the head noun cannot be recovered, then the numeral classifier functions as an NP. The second case is illustrated in (150):

(150) *ɕá ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ kɛ́npu=nə tʰɯ́ nyi, ɕá ɣɛ tsəkɯ́*
township POSS D.M officer=PL go EGO:AP township POSS D.M
*húliwuyuɛ tʰɯ́ nyi, tsəkɯ́ ʂé kʰú **tɕí-zə** ró pi nyi*
forest-keeper go EGO:AP D.M village in one-CLF:MAN go IMPF EGO:AP

'The officers of the town would come, the forest keeper of the town would come, and one person of the village will go (with them).'

The speaker was talking about a situation in the old days, when logging without permission could be a serious crime. Each year the officers and the forest keepers from the township would go to inspect the villages. They would be accompanied by one villager from the village they were inspecting. Notice that in the last clause, the subject *tɕí-zə* 'one person (one-CLF:MAN)' consists of only a numeral classifier. It is not used anaphorically, because the NP consisting of *tɕí-zə* 'one person (one-CLF:MAN)' has no antecedent. But the referent of that NP can be deduced based on context and the semantics of the classifier.

The difference between the nominal demonstrative use of numeral classifiers and the nominal use of numeral classifiers is not a formal one, and one can only rely on context to determine whether the numeral classifier in question has an antecedent or not.

Numeral classifiers can also be used as manner adverbial demonstratives. Since this was already covered in Section 5.2, it is not repeated here.

6.4.2.6 Complementation Strategy

The general numeral classifier *tólö* can be used as markers of a complement clause. When performing this function, the complement taking verb is typically *ndə́*, a copula which means 'exist' or 'be'. An example is given below:

(151) *[rosɛ́ vá tó-lö tʰə-vá ri **tólö**]$_{CoCl:CS}$ tɕɛ́-ndə*
soon butter one-CLF:GENR AS-come.out NMLZ COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

'It is not the case that a chunk of butter comes out very soon.'

In this example, the complement taking verb, *ndə́* ‘exist’, is negated. The complement clause is everything that precedes the copula. The predicate in the complement clause, *tʰəvá* ‘to become, to come out’, is nominalized. The whole clause is marked by *tólö*.

As a complementizer, *tólö* can be used directly after a noun phrase:

(152) *[dʑópu sɔ́-zə* ***tólö]***$_{CoCl:CS}$ *tɕɛ́-ndə,* *dʑópu tó-zə*
king three-CLF:MAN COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT king one-CLF:MAN
mətsʰé tɕɛ́-ndə
only NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘There is no such thing as three kings (lit: three-king-ship does not exist), there is only one king.’

The two clauses of this example both have a copula as their predicate. The copula subject of the first clause consists of a noun phrase *dʑópu sɔ́zə* ‘three kings’. It is changed into a complement clause by *tólö*, which roughly means ‘three kings-ship’ or ‘the fact there being three kings’. By contrast, the copula subject in the second clause is a noun phrase composed of a head noun (*dʑópu* ‘king’) and a numeral classifier (*tó-zə* ‘one-CLF:MAN’). Note also that the predicate is in negated form. This is because the adverb *mətsʰé* ‘only’ requires that the verb be negated.

To summarize, Munya numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers based on their semantics, and these classifiers can have a wide array of functions, both inherent ones and extended ones. Inherent functions include introduction of new referents and anaphoricity. Extended functions include functioning as quantifier, adverb/adverbial marker, demonstratives and complementizing strategy.

6.5 Nominalization

Nominalization is understood here as the process of deriving a nominal from any non-nominal element. This is necessarily a broad characterization, but it is well-suited to capture the nominalization phenomena in Munya. This is because, in terms of grammatical category, a nominalizable element in Munya can be verbal or adjectival (though predom-

inantly the nominalized elements are verbal). And more importantly, in terms of level of unit, the nominalized element can be a word, a phrase and quite frequently, a clause.

Nominalization is, therefore, by no means a pure morphological process in Munya—it spans across morphology and syntax. In forming nominalizations, verbs, verb phrases and clauses are in many cases treated on a par. Nominalizers in Munya have to follow the element they apply to, and in terms of word class they are all particles. This is because, while they are monosyllabic and normally not used alone, they are not phonologically dependent on the previous word. Nominalizations based on verbs preserve the verb's argument structure.

In the following sections, nominalization will be discussed based on functional types. These include agentive nominalization, local/temporal nominalization, state/object nominalization, activity/object nominalization and free-standing nominalization.

6.5.1 Agentive Nominalization

The agentive nominalizer *mí* derives the S/A argument from the erstwhile verb, and the derived nominal roughly means 'one which "verbs"'. *mí* is a widely found cognate that means 'person' in Tibeto-Burman languages. Three examples of agentive nominalization are given below[3]:

(153) a. *[rəká]* ***mí***
walk NMLZ

'walker'

b. *[katɐʰá kʰu-ʈʂə́]* ***mí***
bad NONS-do NMLZ

'(a person who) does bad things/bad people'

c. *[tsé ɣɛ tɐ́é tu-kú rəká]* ***mí***
REFL/3SG POSS house UP-carry.on.back walk NMLZ

'(the one who) walks carrying its own house on the back (i.e., a snail)'

[3] In this section, the nominalized element will be marked off with square brackets and the nominalizer will be boldfaced.

The nominalized element can be a verb, as in (153a), but oftentimes it is the entire verb phrase that is nominalized. In (153b), the verb phrase contains an object. In (153c), the verb phrase is a serial verb construction consisting of a transitive verb (*tu-kú* 'to carry on back') and an intransitive verb (*rəká* 'to walk'), and the object of the transitive verb (*tsé ɣɛ tɕé* 'its own house').

Nominals derived through agentive nominalization have the properties of canonical nouns–they can take a numeral classifier, as in (154a), or a plural marker, as in (154b):

(154) a. *[ɣɤ kʰɯ-tső]* ***mí*** *sɔ́-zə* *tʰo-ndʑɯ́* *sə*
fish NONS-catch NMLZ three-CLF:MAN AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV
'There were three fishermen.'

b. *[ɛ́-ndzə]* ***mí****=nə* *ŋɯní* *no-sé* *ŋo*
DS-eat NMLZ=PL 1PL.EXCL+ERG DOWN-kill/1/2NONSG EGO:SAP
'We have killed those (beasts) who eat (people).'

6.5.2 Local/Temporal Nominalization

The particle *ró* can convert a verb or a clause into a nominal of location or time. In the two examples below, *ró* functions as a local nominalizer in (155a) and a temporal nominalizer in (155b). In both examples, the nominalized element is a clause:

(155) a. *[putsʰí tósə i tá tó-lö no-tə́tu pi]* ***ró***
child many ERG hat one-CLF:GENR DOWN-fight.for IMPF NMLZ
kʰɯ́-tʂɛ sə nyi
NONS-arrive.at PFV EGO:AP
'(They) arrived at a place where many children were fighting for a hat.'

b. *[ŋɯnɛ́ mó tʰó-sə pi]* ***ró*** *kərɛ́ háko ti*
1PL.EXCL+GEN mum AS-die IMPF NMLZ a.little know/1SG STA
'I know a little bit of the time when our mum died.'

ró can also be used as a free noun, meaning ‘place’ or ‘time’:

(156) a. *tɛ́-kʰɛ́* ***ró***
one-CLF:PLACE place

‘a place’

b. *tsətsɛ́* ***ró***
small time

‘young time/youth’

In Munya, numeral classifiers and adjectives follow the head noun they modify (see section 6.2.2). But notice here the numeral classifier in (156a) and the adjective in (156b) precede *ró*. *ró* seems to be a peculiar noun in Munya, and no other noun is found to have such a property.

Another nominalizing function of *ró* is to derive a nominal which refers to a person. The derived nominal functions as an oblique argument of the nominalized verb. Compared to its function as a local/temporal nominalizer, this function is not very common. Two examples are given below:

(157) a. *okʰó huófo tó-lö nə́ ndʑɯ́ nyi, zoyí.lɛ́mɛ*
DEM living.Buddha one-CLF:GENR also COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP lama
[kʰɤ́́-seŋa] ***ró*** *tó-lö ndʑɯ́ nyi*
NONS-listen.to NMLZ one-CLF:GENR COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

‘There is also a living Buddha there, a lama whom we can listen to.’

b. *nɛ́ i [ndʑúndʑɯ]* ***ró*** *kɛ́yi í-ndʑɛ nyi*
2SG ERG have.fun NMLZ many INTRG-have/2SG EGO:AP

‘Do you have many people to have fun with?’

In (157a), the derived nominal *kʰɤ́seŋa ró* ‘(the one) to listen to (listen NMLZ)’ modifies *zoyí lɛ́mɛ* ‘lama’; in (157b), the derived nominal *ndʑúndʑɯ ró* ‘(the one) to have fun with (have.fun NMLZ)’ functions as the head noun of a noun phrase and is modified by *kɛ́yi*

'many'. Note that although grammatically it is possible to analyze *ró* in (157b) as a local or temporal nominalizer, so that *ndʑúndʑɯ ró* means 'places to have fun' or 'time to have fun', my consultant told me that here it means 'friend' or 'the person to have fun with'.

6.5.3 State/Object Nominalization

State nominalization derives a nominal from an adjective and object nominalization derives a nominal from a clause. For object nominalization, the derived nominal is the O argument of the erstwhile verb or verb phrase. Two nominalizers will be discussed here, which are *tsə́* and *tólö*. Both of them can be used for object nominalization, but only *tsə́* can be used for state nominalization.

We first look at the functions of *tsə́*. (158) gives an example of a state nominalization marked by *tsə́*:

(158) *tsəkɯ́ kɛmú kəmitá ɣɛ nentsʰű tʰo-ŋó tʰó, [tőme]* ***tsə́*** *tőme,*
D.M before Nationalist.Party GEN situation AS-be if be.rich NMLZ rich
[nyontɕʰɤ́] ***tsə́*** *nyontɕʰɤ́*
poor NMLZ be.poor

'As to the situation of the Nationalist Party years before, the rich (people) were rich and the poor (people) were poor.'

In this example, two adjectives, *tőme* 'rich' and *nyontɕʰɤ́* 'poor', are nominalized by the following *tsə́*, and the derived nominal respectively means 'the rich (people)' and 'the poor (people)'. Note that the same adjective also functions as predicate in each clause.

When *tsə́* functions as an object nominalizer, the nominalized element tends to be a clause, and the derived nominal denotes the object of the verb in the nominalized clause. In most cases, the nominalized clause needs to take an aspect marker:

(159) a. *[ngötʂʰí=ni tu-ɕó sə]* ***tsə́*** *ŋí kʰu-tʂə́ po nyi*
chieftain=PL+ERG UP-say PFV NMLZ 1SG+ERG NONS-do IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

'I do what the chieftains said.'

b. *[ndʑú=ni tə́-tə pi]* ***tsə́*** *há-u-kɛ ŋo?*
people=PL+ERG UP-say IMPF NMLZ formative-INTRG-know/2SG EGO:SAP
'Can you understand what people say?'

In (159a), what the derived nominal denotes is '(the words which) the chieftains said', which functions as the object of *tuɕó* 'say'. In (159b), the derived nominal denotes '(the words which) people say', which functions as the object of *tə́tə* 'say'. Both nominalized clauses end with an aspect marker.

An exception is found when the nominalized clause has a copula predicate:

(160) *[méme ró ndʐɔkʰɔ́ ndə́]* ***tsə́*** *pʰutʰoŋhuá nyi*
every place use COP:ABSTRACT NMLZ Mandarin EGO:AP
'(The language) that is useful everywhere is Mandarin.'

In this example, the predicate of the nominalized clause is *ndə́* 'to exist'. Here, the derived nominal functions as the copula subject of the copula clause ((the language) that is useful everywhere) rather than the copula complement. Also, there is no aspect marker after the copula. But this has to do with the behavior of copula verbs rather than the constraints on nominalized copula clauses, as in Munya, copula clauses do not take any aspect marker. (See Chapter 10 for more information.)

As an object nominalizer, *tsə́* is often used after the verb phrase *tə́ pi* 'call IMPF'. The latter two words occur together so frequently that they can even be analyzed as a single word, meaning 'be called'. More often than not *tə́ pi tsə́* is used after a noun and the construction means 'the person/thing that is called "noun".' This construction tends to be used when the noun in question is mentioned for the first time in the discourse, especially when it is a proper noun, or when the noun is a relatively new term to the interlocutor, or when a speaker wants to make the noun the focus of the discourse. (This seems to be related to the other function of *tsə́*, i.e., as a topic marker. See the discussions in section 6.2.4.):

(161) *[ɛ́ri tə́ pi]* ***tsə́*** *té* *tʂʰɛtʂʰɛ́* *tó-lö* *tɕɛ́-ŋo*
PN say IMPF NMLZ at.all be.beautiful one-CLF:GENR NEG-be

'The person that is called ɛ́ri is not beautiful at all.'

This sentence comes from a monologue, where the person called *ɛ́ri* was newly mentioned, and the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know her.

When performing this function, *tsə́* can be replaced by the erstwhile general numeral classifier *tó-lö* 'one-CLF:GENR':

(162) *tsəkɯ́* *ŋɯnə́ni* *hú* *[tɕíwitɕu* *tə́* *pi]* ***tólö*** *ɛ́-tɕʰɯ,* *tɕʰənə́*
D.M 1DU.EXCL+ERG night cocktail say IMPF NMLZ DS-drink also

pútɕʰa *ɛ́-tɕʰɯ*
Tibetan.wine DS-drink

'At night the two of us drank a thing called cocktail, and we also drank Tibetan wine.'

Note that here *tólö* should be analyzed as nominalizer instead of a numeral classifier, because it has lost its prototypical numeral classifier function: no other number word can be used except for *to-* 'one', no other classifier can be used, and the whole numeral classifier can be replaced by *tsə*.

tə́ pi tólö 'say IMPF NMLZ' construction can nominalize a clause:

(163) *lɛ́kɛ́* *ɛzə́* *ɕíɕi,* *[ma-ŋá* *sə]* *tə́* *pi* ***tólö*** *té* *nó-vɯ* *mɑ-ndá*
work what every NEG-good PFV say IMPF NMLZ at.all DOWN-do NEG-used.to

'No matter what work it was, I never did any work which was said not to be good.'

When the nominalized element is a clause, as in this example, it seems more reasonable to analyze *tə́ pi tólö* as a whole as a complex nominalizer, because *tə́ pi* does not belong to the nominalized clause.

The object nominalizing function of the general numeral classifier, *tólö*, is thus very restricted. This is because it can only be used together with *tə́ pi* 'say IMPF'. When

tə pi ‘say IMPF’ takes a noun argument, the argument functions as the object of *tə* and *tólö* nominalizes the clause (the template would be *[N tə pi] tólö* ‘the person/thing that is called “N”’). When *tə pi tólö* ‘say IMPF’ nominalizes a clause, it functions as a complex nominalizer (the template would be *[clause] tə pi tólö*).

6.5.4 Activity/Object Nominalization

Munya also has a multi-functional nominalizer *rí*. The element nominalized by this marker can either denote an activity or an object. Aside from this, the marker also plays a role in forming relative clauses and complement clauses.

In the two examples below, *rí* functions as a nominalizer of activity. The nominalized element is a single verb in (164a) and a verb phrase in (164b):

(164) a. *[tʰó-sə]* ***rí*** *tsə́ dʑɛtɕʰúdʑɛ ɛ-tʰǘ nyi*
AS-die NMLZ FOC one.hundred.percent DS-come EGO:AP
‘Death will certainly come.’

b. *tɕʰú [nbətʂá á-kɔ]* ***rí*** *tʰə-vá pi kə nbətʂá*
then caterpillar.fungus DS-dig NMLZ AS-come.out IMPF OBL caterpillar.fungus
á-kɔ ró tə́-hə
DS-dig go UP-go
‘Then when (the time for) digging caterpillar fungus comes (lit. when caterpillar fungus-digging comes out), (I would) go up and dig caterpillar fungus.’

rí can also function as an object nominalizer, in which case the nominalized element denotes the O argument of the nominalized verb. Some nouns are derived from this kind of nominalization, such as *ndzə́-ri* ‘food, things for eating (eat-NMLZ)’ and *tɕʰú-ri* ‘drinks, things for drinking (drink-NMLZ)’. When used as an object nominalizer, the object of the nominalized verb can either be absent, as in (165a) and (165b), or present, as in (165c) and (165d):

(165) a. *tɕétsə́=nə tɕʰí [no-tsʉ́] **rí**=nə no-tsʉ́*
livestock=PL COM DOWN-milk NMLZ=PL DOWN-milk

'I milk the cows (lit. I milk the things that are for milking with the cows).'

b. *okʰó [á-kɔ] **rí** ndə́ nyi*
DEM DS-dig NMLZ COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

'There are things to dig up (i.e., tree roots) over there.'

c. *otsə́ ɣɛ [tsʰərə́ ɣɤ-tsʰə́] **rí** té tɕɛ́-ndə*
3SG GEN wood US-burn NMLZ at.all NEG-have

'He didn't have any wood to burn.'

d. *[tsənbó tú-yü] **rí** mé, ɛ́-ndzə-ri mé*
shoes UP-wear NMLZ NEG DS-eat-NMLZ NEG

'There were neither shoes to wear nor food.'

When the object of the nominalized verb is not overtly mentioned, the referent of the derived nominal sometimes needs to be deduced from the context. In (165a) it is possible to infer that *notsʉ́ rí* 'things for milking (milk NMLZ)' means 'milk (a noun)' based on *tɕətsə́* 'livestock' and *notsʉ́* 'milk (a verb)' mentioned in the same sentence. However, for (165b), one can only know that *ɑkɔ́ ri* 'things for digging (dig NMLZ)' means 'tree root' based on previous context.

rí also plays a part in the formation of relative clauses and complement clauses. Consider the structure of the relative clause in (166):

(166) *nɛ́ i tsəkʉ́ [nó-sɑ **rí**]$_{RC}$ ɣɛ [tsʰərə́ tʰí-ngə **rí**]$_{RC}$ ɣɛ*
2SG ERG D.M DOWN-cremate NMLZ REL wood AS-pick NMLZ REL

tɕʰɛ́tɕʰɛ kʰʉ́-vü
preparation NONS-do/2SG

'You make preparations for the wood to be used for cremation.'

There are two relative clauses in (166), and both contain the nominalizer *rí*. The first relative clause consists of the verb *nósɑ* 'cremate' and *rí*, which modifies *tsʰərő* 'wood'. In the second relative clause, the common noun is *tɕʰɛ́tɕʰɛ* 'preparation'. It is modified by *tsʰərő tʰíngə rí* 'picking wood (wood pick NMLZ)'. Both relative clauses are marked by the relative marker *ɣɛ*.

Example (167) shows how *rí* also plays a part in the formation of a complement clause:

(167) *[lɛ́kɛ́ ŋaŋá vɯ́ **rí**]*$_{CoCl:O}$ *mo-tő* *rɑ*
work well do NMLZ NEG-can/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'(I) was not able to work well.'

The complement clause here functions as the object of the complement taking verb *tő* 'I can' and is nominalized by *ri*. The relation between nominalization, relativization, and complementation is further explored in Section 14.3.

6.5.5 Free-standing Nominalization

Some Tibeto-Burman languages allow free-standing nominalization (also called 'non- embedded nominalization', see Matisoff 1972), which is a nominalized sentence not embedded in any larger structure. This type of construction seems to have different functions in different languages. Matisoff (1972) argues that in Lahu, the function of such a construction lies in that 'the verbal event is being objectified, reified, viewed as an independent fact, endowed with a reality like that inhering in physical objects'. The situation seems to be similar in a dialect of Qiang (Longxi Qiang), in the sense that 'free-standing nominalization in the Longxi variety is used for certainty identification based on the speaker's assessment' (Zheng 2016: 399). In Belhare (Bickel 1999), the function of independently used nominalizations is focus-marking. In Kham (Watters 2009), such structure marks 'backgrounding' or 'stage setting' in a discourse.

The situation in Munya seems to be special in that free-standing nominalization is not marked by a single nominalizer, but by *rí tólö*, with *rí* being a nominalizer and *tólö* being an erstwhile general numeral classifier. As with non-embedded nominalization in other languages, *rí tólö* occurs at the end of a clause:

(168) *kʰɯ́-ndzo ri té me, [omənə́ tsəkɯ́ ndʑuwɛ́ hə́]* ***rí tólö***
NONS-stop NMLZ at.all NEG DEM D.M change go NMLZ PAR

'(It) does not stop at all, (it) changes like this.'

Example (168) comes from a sermon, when a lama was explaining the Buddhist term *impermanence* 'mi rtag pa' to the public. Using the non-embedded nominalization gives a sense of affirmation to the statement. The function of non-embedded nominalization in Munya is thus similar to its use in Lahu and Longxi Qiang. It shows the speaker's certainty of the propositional content of that clause, or indicates that what is stated is a fact.

There is evidence showing that free-standing nominalization in Munya comes from complement clauses, as we find that such a construction can sometimes be embedded in a complement clause headed by the copula predicate *ndə́*:

(169) *[tɕɛ́ tsəkɯ́ kʰɔ-yű́* ***rí]***$_{CoCl:CS}$ ***tólö*** *ndə́ nyi*
tea D.M NONS-ladle.up.and.pour.back NMLZ COMP COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

'(When making butter tea), one needs to ladle it up and pour it back (lit. Ladling up and pouring back tea exists (when one makes butter tea)).'

(Detailed analyses of this construction are given in Section 14.2.2.)

Another piece of evidence for this observation comes from forming negation in this construction. A free-standing nominalization clause cannot be negated directly. If it is to be negated, the clause needs to be transformed into a complement clause, with the copula *ndə́* as the complement-taking verb, and the negator being prefixed to the copula:

(170) *vá tsəkɯ́ [té rosɛ́ vá tó-lö tʰə-vá ri]*$_{CoCl:CS}$ *tólö*
butter D.M at.all soon butter one-CLF:GENR AS-come.out NMLZ COMP

tɕɛ́-ndə
NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

'As for butter, it is by no means the case that a chunk of butter comes out very fast (lit. a-chunk-of-butter-coming-out-very-soon does not exist).'

Thus, non-embedded nominalization in Munya is marked by sentence-final *rí tólö*, which is the truncated form of a complement clause. This is because they can be optionally embedded in a clause headed by the complement-taking copula verb *ndə́*, but when negated, they are obligatorily embedded in such a clause.

The different nominalizing techniques discussed above are summarized in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2: Nominalizations in Munya

Nominalizer	Function	Unit of operation
mí	agentive	phrase and clause
ró	local/temporal	phrase and clause
	personal	phrase
tsə́	state	phrase
	object	clause
tólö	object	clause
rí	activity	phrase, clause
	object	phrase
rí tólö	free-standing	clause

6.6 Summary

In this chapter we covered the structure of noun phrases, plurality, numeral classifiers and nominalization devices. An NP in Munya can simply consist of a bare noun or a range of pre-head and post-head modifiers. Pre-head modifiers include demonstratives, nominals, possessive phrases and relative clauses, and post-head modifiers are adjectives, numeral classifiers, number words and quantifiers. Numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. Some numeral classifiers developed extended functions, including quantification, acting as adverbs or adverbial markers, functioning as nominal and manner adverbial demonstratives, and complementation strategy. There are six types of nominalization in Munya, which are agentive nominalization, local/temporal nominalization, state/object nominalization, activity-object nominalization, and free-standing nominalization.

Chapter 7

Verbal Morphology

7.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the morphological aspects of verbs, including directional prefixes (Section 7.2), patterns and forms of person-number inflection (Section 7.3), causatives (Section 7.4) and pluractionality (Section 7.5). There are seven directional prefixes in Munya, which are marked on verbal roots. Aside from denoting directions, these prefixes can also make finer-grained semantic distinctions and derive verbs from nouns and adjectives. Verbs can also inflect for the person-number of subjects through vocalic change. The most common inflectional paradigm is first person singular, second person singular and first or second person nonsingular. While nonsingular forms are regular, the final vowels can be very different for other inflectional forms. Causatives can be formed in both transitive clauses and intransitive clauses, either through internal modification or periphrastic means. As with many other languages, pluractionality is realized through reduplication, and meanings expressed through this category include repetition of action, action carried out by multiple persons, and reciprocal actions.

7.2 Directional Prefixes

Having directional prefixes is a major typological feature of Qiangic languages (H. K. Sun 2016: 202–215), and Munya is no exception. There are seven directional prefixes in Munya, the meanings and forms of which are listed in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Directional Prefixes

Directional prefixes	Examples		
	'to arrive at'	'to go'	'to look'
ɛ- 'downstream'	*ɛ́-tʂɛ*	*a-rá*	*ɛ́-tɛori*
ɣɤ- 'upstream'	*ɣɤ́-tʂɛ*	*ɣɤ-rá*	*ɣɤ́-tɛori*
tə- 'up'	*tə́-tʂɛ*	*tə-rá*	*tə́-tɛori*
no- 'down'	*nɛ́-tʂɛ*	*na-rá*	*nó-tɛori*
tʰo- 'away from the speaker'	*tʰó-tʂɛ*	*tʰa-rá*	*tʰó-tɛori*
ngɯ- 'towards the speaker'	*ngɯ́-tʂɛ*	*ngɯ-rá*	*ngɯ́-tɛori*
kʰɯ- 'non-specific'	*kʰɯ́-tʂɛ*	-	*kʰɯ́-tɛori*

Some researchers, such as B. F. Huang (1993: 136) and Ikeda (2008) recognize another directional prefix in Munya, which means 'in a circle'. This directional prefix is transcribed as *ro-* by Huang and as *rɯ-* by Ikeda. The examples given in B. F. Huang (1993: 137-138), together with my data, are listed in Table 7.2. (The tonal markers of Huang's data are irrelevant for the present discussion and have been omitted for ease of reference.)

Table 7.2: Verbs With the 'in a circle' Prefix

B. F. Huang 1993	My transcription	Gloss
rəto	*rətó*	to discuss, to have a meeting
rəkhuə	*rəkʰə́*	to put (food, water) into a container
rozə	*rótsə*	to join hands, to dance
rora	*rətó*	to sow
	rəká	to walk, (cars) to run
	rəmú	to get dark
	rədʑə́	to put onto, to stay, to set up

Huang comes up with some explanations for the motivation of using this prefix. It is used before 'discuss' because people have to gather together to discuss something, and it is used on the second verb in Table 7.2 since the container holding water or food is generally a round bowl. The third verb in Table 7.2 refers to the fact that people generally dance in a circle. However, the other verbs, such as *rətó* 'sow' and *rəká* 'walk', do not seem to involve any action of circling around, and for none of these verbs can this prefix be replaced by other well-recognized directional prefixes. My corpus contains very few verbs that take this prefix.

This means this 'prefix' is non-productive. What's more, unlike other directional pre-

fixes, which tend to be polysemous and can have other grammatical functions, this 'prefix' does not have any other functions. It is therefore not recognized as a productive directional prefix in the grammatical system of Munya, but as an unproductive formative.

Verbs vary as to how free or obligatory it is for them to take directional prefixes. Some verbs cannot take any directional prefix, such as *nbí* 'to sit, to live', *kʰí* 'to go to sleep' and *sɔ́* 'to think'. Some verbs can either take directional prefix(es) or not. *tə́-tə* 'say (UP-say)', which can only take this directional prefix, can be optionally realized as *tə́*. *hə́* 'go' can take all seven directional prefixes. There are still some verbs for which it is obligatory to take certain directional prefix(es), such as *nó-sɑ* 'to kill (DOWN-kill)' (not **sɑ* 'kill'), which only takes this directional prefix, and *kʰɯ́-ʈʂɛ* 'to arrive (NONS-arrive)' (not **ʈʂɛ* 'arrive'), which has to take one of the seven directional prefixes.

Which directional prefix and the number of directional prefixes that a verb can take is in many cases motivated by the semantics of the verb root, but there is also a considerable degree of idiosyncrasy. For example, verbs of motion, such as *hə́* 'to go' and *tʰó-tso* 'to run (AS-run)', can take six directional prefixes. The only prefix they cannot take is the one for non-specific direction, *kʰɯ-*. If one does not want to specify the direction, one does not use any directional prefix for *hə* 'to go', but have to use the directional prefix for 'away from the speaker', *tʰo-*, for *tʰó-tso* 'to run (AS-run)'.

Non-motional verbs that inherently have direction as a component of their semantics can also take multiple directional prefixes, such as *kʰɯ́-ʈɕori* 'to look (NONS-look)'. This verb can take all seven directional prefixes, and either *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker' or *kʰɯ-* 'non-specific direction' can be used if one does not want to specify the direction. The situation for *kʰɤ-séŋa* 'to listen (NONS-listen)' is slightly different. This verb can also take all seven prefixes, but the meaning of *kʰɤ-séŋa* 'NONS-listen' is different from the meaning of *tʰa-séŋa* 'AS-listen'. *kʰɤ-séŋa* 'to listen (NONS-listen)' is used when one does not want to specify the direction, and *tʰa-séŋa* 'AS-listen' means 'to ask around'.

Verbs of small-scale motion can only take a restricted number of directional prefixes. For example, *ná-səsɑ* 'to brush' generally takes the directional prefix *nɑ-* 'DOWN' because the action of brushing tends to be conducted downward. This verb cannot stand without a directional prefix, and would be *á-səsɑ* 'to brush (DS-brush)' or *tʰá-səsɑ* 'to brush (AS-brush)' if no direction is specified. Although some verbs do not encode direction as a

component of their semantics, they also need to take a directional prefix. The meaning of directional prefixes in those verbs is bleached, and it seems that the function of directional prefixes in those verbs is to indicate the verbhood of those verbs instead of denoting directions. Examples include *no-mí* 'to dream (DOWN-dream)', *ɛ́-ndzə* 'to eat (DS-eat)', *ɣɤ́-tɕo* 'to stick to (US-stick to)', *tʰá-la* 'to fall (AS-fall)', and *kʰɤ́-tɤ* 'to buy (NONS-buy)'.

7.2.1 The Forms of Directional Prefixes

It can be seen from Table 7.1 that the vowels in directional prefixes are not fixed. For example, while 'to look downstream' is *ɛ́-tɕori*, 'to go downstream' is *a-rá* instead of **ɛ-rá*. Likewise, while 'to look down' is *nó-tɕori*, 'to go down' is *na-rá* instead of **no-rá* and 'to arrive (after going down)' is *nɛ́-ʈʂɛ* instead of **nó-ʈʂɛ*. This is because the vowels in the directional prefixes are subject to vowel harmony. The patterns of vowel harmony affecting directional prefixes were treated in Section 3.2.

7.2.2 The Meanings of Directional Prefixes

Munya directional prefixes are polysemous and polyfunctional. They can denote other directions than the ones given in Table 7.1, and can have other functions besides denoting direction.

7.2.2.1 *ɛ-* 'downstream' and *ɣɤ-* 'upstream'

ɛ- 'downstream' can also mean 'outward' or 'in the direction of sunset' and *ɣɤ-* 'upstream' can also mean 'inward' or 'in the direction of sunrise'. Therefore, when a river is not available as reference for specifying direction, one can still resort to the position of the sun. That these three senses are coalesced in one form may not be due to chance. In my fieldwork location, the river flows through the village and out of the valley from east to west, so that the direction of sunset, downriver, and outward (of valley) all coincide. That may well be the reason for the three senses of the prefix.

7.2.2.2 *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker' and *ngɯ-* 'towards the speaker'

tʰo- 'away from the speaker' can also mean 'towards the river' and *ngɯ-* 'towards the speaker' can also mean 'towards home'. For example, *ngɔ́-tɕɔ* 'to drive (cattle) (TS-drive)' generally means 'to drive (cattle) back towards home', instead of 'to drive (cattle) towards the speaker'.

7.2.2.3 *tə-* 'up' and *no-* 'down'

tə- 'up' also means 'clockwise' and *no-* 'down' also means 'counterclockwise'. Examples include: *tí-ku* 'to circle or fence in a clockwise direction', *ní-ku* 'to circle or fence in a counterclockwise direction', *tí-ɣɛ* 'to surround in a clockwise direction', *ní-ɣɛ* 'to surround in a counterclockwise direction', *tə́-kuɛ* 'to walk around clockwise', *nó-kuɛ* 'to walk around counterclockwise', and *tʰó-kuɛ* 'to walk around (AS-walk around)'.

7.2.2.4 Making Finer-Grained Semantic Distinctions With Directional Prefixes

Some verbs that do not lexicalize direction as a component of their meaning can also take different directional prefixes. In this situation, directional prefixes normally do not denote the sense of direction but are used to make finer-grained semantic distinctions.

For example, the verb for 'wash' can be *ná-ɣɔ* 'DOWN-wash', *tʰá-ɣɔ* 'AS-wash' and *tə́-ɣɔ* 'UP-wash'. *ná-ɣɔ* 'DOWN-wash' is used when the things being washed are clothes, face or feet; *tʰá-ɣɔ* 'AS-wash' is used when washing bowls or pots, because only the inside part of these objects are washed. *tə́-ɣɔ* 'UP-wash' is used when washing one's face, because one needs to move the hands upward. Similarly, the verb for 'sweep' can be *ɛ-rəri* 'DS-sweep' or *no-rəri* 'DOWN-sweep'. The first one is used when the object is the floor in the room, and the second one is used when the object of sweeping is the yard. Another example is the verb for 'burn'. If the object of burning is wood, the verb would be *ɣɤ́-tsʰə* 'US-burn', but if the object is *tsampa* (which is the major staple of Tibetan people and is burnt as offerings to gods), the verb would be *nó-tsʰə* 'DOWN-burn'. These indicate that directional prefixes can be used to categorize the object of action.

Using directional prefixes to make finer-grained semantic distinctions is also reported in Ersu (S. H. Zhang 2013: 428) and Ronghong Qiang (C. L. Huang 1997). In Ersu, the

verb root *-ka* can have different meanings when combined with different directional prefixes. *da-ka* means 'to hit', where *da-* means 'upward' but *na-ka* means 'to kill', where *na-* indicates 'downward'. Similarly, *da-ntsʰa* means 'to drag' and *na-ntsʰa* means 'to repair'. In Ronghong Qiang, *ə-quɑ* 'inward-turn' means 'to turn off light' while *hə-qua* 'outward-turn' means 'to close the door'; *zə-ngə* 'TS-put on' means 'to put on clothes' while *ɦə-ngə* 'DOWN-put on' means 'to cover up with a quilt'.

7.2.3 The Origin of Directional Prefixes

Directional prefixes in Munya originate from adverbs denoting direction. This can be seen by comparing the set of directional adverbs with directional prefixes, given in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: The Correspondence Between Directional Adverbs and Directional Prefixes

Direction	Directional adverb	Directional prefix
upstream	*ɣɤnyú*	*ɣɤ-*
downstream	*ɛnyú*	*ɛ-*
upward	*tənyú*	*tə-*
downward	*nonyú*	*no-*
towards the speaker	*ngɯnyú*	*ngɯ-*
away from the speaker	*tʰonyú*	*tʰo-*
nonspecific direction	—	*kʰɯ-*

In this table, the first six prefixes can be analyzed as the result of truncating the last syllable *nyu* from the corresponding directional adverb. The origin of the last directional prefix, *kʰɯ-* 'NONS', however, is currently unknown, as it does not have a corresponding directional adverb.

A verb taking a directional prefix can sometimes be further modified by a directional adverb. The prefix and the adverb need to have the same value of direction. Consider the two examples below:

(171) a. *tsəkɯ́* ***ɛ́nyu*** ***ɛ́-ro*** *tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ méme i tɕʰúkö*
D.M downstream DS-come D.M D.M everybody ERG New.Year.Water
tsəkɯ́ mətó tahá ɣɤ́-tə pi nyi
D.M cook.stove some US-sprinkle IMPF EGO:AP

'After coming back (after fetching water from the river), people will sprinkle some New Year Water (note: water fetched from the river on the first day of the year) on to the cooking stove.'

b. *lə́tʰɔ.tőntʰɔ* ***ngɯnyú*** ***ngí-ʂu*** *le kʰɔ́-rə pi nyi*
crops towards.the.speaker TS-harvest DAT NONS-start IMPF EGO:AP

'People will start harvesting crops.'

(171a) describes the ritual of fetching 'New Year Water' from the river on the morning of New Year's Day. Using *ɛ́nyu* 'downstream' and *ɛ-* 'DS' indicates that people go upstream to fetch water, then go back home by going downstream. In (171b), the directional adverb and directional prefix mean 'towards the speaker', as crops need to be carried home after harvesting. The purpose of using a directional adverb here may be to add emphasis to the sense of directionality.

7.2.4 The Derivational Function of Directional Prefixes

Aside from coding direction, directional prefixes can be used to derive verbs from nouns and adjectives. Some examples are given in Table 7.4.

From the examples given in the table, it can be seen that except for *ɣɤ-* 'upstream', all directional prefixes can be used as verbalizers. The choice of directional prefixes is semantically motivated for verbs such as *tə́-tso* 'to become hot (UP-hot)' and *nó-ni* 'to lessen (DOWN-little)'. However, this motivation is not that obvious for such verbs as *á-ndza* 'cool down (DS-cold)' and *ngɯ́-pa* 'to become damp (TS-damp)'.

In some cases directional prefixes can also have an excessive meaning. This is done by prefixing a directional prefix, typically *tʰo-* 'DS', and less commonly *kʰɯ-* 'NONS', to an adjective. Some examples are listed in Table 7.5.

Table 7.4: Verbs Derived from Nouns and Adjectives With Directional Prefixes

Base word	Derived verb
Nouns	
tá ‘hat’	*tə́-ta* ‘to put on (hat) (UP-put on)’
tsíngə ‘clothes’	*tə́-ngə* ‘to put on (clothes) (UP-put on)’
ndzə́ ‘food’	*ɛ́-ndzə* ‘to eat (DS-eat)’
mí ‘name’	*tʰó-mi* ‘to be called (AS-name)’
Adjectives	
rərə́ ‘long’	*ɛ-rə́* ‘to become long (DS-long)’
ndzándza ‘cold’	*á-ndza* ‘to cool down (DS-cold)’
hɤ́hɤ ‘loose’	*á-hɤ* ‘to loosen (DS-loose)’
tsótso ‘hot’	*tə́-tso* ‘to become hot (UP-hot)’
rára ‘dry’	*tə́-ra* ‘to dry up (DS-dry)’
niní ‘a little’	*nó-ni* ‘to lessen (DOWN-little)’
ndɛndɛ́ ‘old’	*tʰɛ-ndɛ́* ‘to become old (AS-old)’
pɑpá ‘damp’	*ngɯ-pá* ‘to become damp (TS-damp)’

Table 7.5: Formation of Excessiveness

	Adjective	Derived form	
big	*kíko*	*tʰi-kó*	to be too big
red	*níni*	*tʰo-ní*	to be too red
little	*tsətsɛ́*	*tʰɛ-tsɛ́*	to be too little
hot	*tsótso*	*tʰó-tso*	to be too hot
narrow	*tsʰetsʰé*	*kʰɯ́-tsʰe*	to be too narrow
wide	*dedé*	*kʰɯ́-de*	to be too wide

It can be seen from the table that only one syllable of the adjective is retained when the excessiveness counterpart is formed.

7.3 Person-number Inflections

The person-number information of subject in Munya is indexed on verbs through ablaut (which is also termed apophony, stem modification, vowel alternation). For a few verbs the person-number information on object is also indexed. Two issues will be discussed here, which are inflectional classes and inflected verb forms.

7.3.1 Inflectional Classes

Taking the third person verb form as the base (there is no number distinction on verbs for the third person), the most common paradigm is the one in which verbs inflect for first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person non-singular. There are also some less common paradigms. For example, some verbs have two inflected forms, and some have four. For ease of discussion, verbs are grouped into classes based on the number of inflectional forms they have: Class I verbs have three forms and take the largest number of inflections, Class II verbs have two forms and are relatively rare, and Class III verbs have four, five or six inflectional forms (they are grouped together because there are only a handful of such verbs).

Before we go on to discuss different inflectional patterns, a terminological note is in order. Compared with the tripartite number distinction in pronouns, the dual number is not marked on verbs. It is treated on a par with plural. Hence when it comes to verbal number system, I use the term *non-singular* instead of *plural* to avoid confusion with the *plural* used in the pronoun system.

7.3.1.1 Class I Verbs

Class I verbs have three sets of forms. A selection of examples is given in Table 7.6. Since the two aspectual auxiliaries also have three inflections, they are given in the table as well.

Table 7.6: A Selection of Class I Verbs

Basic form	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG	
tá	*tő*	*tɛ́*	*té*	to see
ndű	*ndő*	*ndɛ́*	*ndé*	to go
ɛ́-tɕʰɯ	*ɛ́-tɕʰo*	*ɛ́-tɕʰű*	*ɛ́-tɕʰe*	to drink (DS-drink)
tʰo-dí	*tʰo-dő*	*tʰɛ-dɛ́*	*tʰo-dé*	to finish (AS-finish)
nú-vɯ	*nó-vo*	*nó-vü*	*nó-ve*	to do (DOWN-do)
tu-tɕɯ́	*tu-tɕó*	*tu-tɕɛ́*	*tu-tɕé*	to be full (UP-be.full)
i-ndʑű	*i-ndʑó*	*i-ndʑɛ́*	*i-ndʑé*	to have (DS-have)
pi	*po*	*pɛ*	*pe*	imperfective marker
sə	*sö*	*sü*	*se*	perfective marker

The three sets of forms listed in the table are divided into 1SG, 2SG and 1/2NONSG

forms. Other inflectional paradigms are also found, albeit very rarely. These verbs are listed in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7: Some Irregular Class I Verbs

Basic form	Paradigms and Inflected Forms			
	1SG	1NONSG	2	
hí	*hɔ́*	*hé*	*hɛ́*	to want, to need
	1	2SG	2NONSG	
nú-dʒo	*nó-dʒo*	*nɛ́-dʒɛ*	*nó-dʒe*	to close (DOWN-close)
	1	2SG	2NONSG/3	
	udú	*ɛdɛ́*	*udɛ́*	to throw
	1SG	2SG/3SG	1/2/3NONSG	
	kʰɔ́-lə	*kʰɔ́-lö*	*kʰɔ́-le*	to drive

The first verb in Table 7.7 is *hí* ‘to want, to need’. It inflects for 1SG, 1NONSG, and 2SG/NONSG, with the basic form identifiable as 3SG/NONSG. In the second paradigm, illustrated with *nu-dʒó* ‘to close (DS-close)’, there is no number distinction in the first person, but there is such a distinction in the second person. Verbs in the third and fourth paradigms do not have any basic form, and no inflectional relationships can be established between different forms. In the third irregular paradigm, illustrated with *udu* ‘to throw/1SG’, no number distinction is made in the first person, the second person singular has a dedicated form, and the second person non-singular shares the same form with the third person form. In the fourth paradigm, the first person singular has one form, the second person singular and third person singular share one form, and all non-singular forms share one form.

7.3.1.2 Class II Verbs

Class II verbs have two sets of forms. Their inflectional paradigm can be described with reference to the common paradigm of Class I verbs, except that for this class of verbs one of the three sets of forms is coalesced with the other one. Some examples are given in Table 7.8.

The explanation for why a certain set of verb forms is ‘missing’, when comparing it with the standard paradigm of Class I verbs, can in many cases be sought from the phonolog-

Table 7.8: Class II Verbs

Basic form	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG	
tʰó-pʰo	*basic form*	*tʰó-pʰɛ*	*tʰó-pʰe*	to run (AS-run)
tu-ɕó	*basic form*	*tu-ɕɛ́*	*tu-ɕé*	to tell (a story) (UP-tell)
tɛ-ndő	*basic form*	*tɛ-ndá*	*tɛ-ndé*	to make (a mistake) (UP-make)
tʰɑ-kʰá	*tʰɑ-kʰɔ́*	*basic form*	*tʰɑ-kʰé*	to be afraid (AS-be.afraid)
tɛ́-pʰɑ	*tɛ́-pʰo*	*basic form*	*tɛ́-pʰe*	to split (wood) (UP-split)
kʰu-yɛ́	*kʰu-yő*	*basic form*	*kʰu-yé*	to watch (NONS-watch)
tʰɛ-tʰá	*tʰɛ-tʰɔ́*	*basic form*	*tʰɛ-tʰé*	to manage to (AS-manage.to)
nɛ́-lɑ	*nɛ́-lɔ*	*basic form*	*nɛ́-le*	to pour (DOWN-pour)
kʰɯ́-nkʰe	*kʰɯ́-nkʰö*	*kʰɯ́-nkʰɛ*	*basic form*	to win (NONS-win)
ɛ́-dʑo	*ɛ́-dʑö*	*ɛ́-dʑɛ*	*basic form*	to turn off (DS-turn.off)

ical perspective. The vowels in the root of the basic forms can determine the presence or absence of certain forms. For example, in the case where 1SG inflection is missing, the vowel in the final syllable of the base tends to be /o/ or /ö/, which are the vowels in the 1SG forms. In other words, the vowel in the final syllable of the basic form can 'block' the inflection for 1SG. This blocking effect is also found on *kʰɯ́-nkʰe* 'to win (NONS-win)', for which the dedicated 1/2NONSG form is missing, because the inflected form would be identical to the basic form. The 2SG form is missing in *kʰu-yɛ́* 'to watch (NONS-watch)' for the same reason. The situation is different for other verbs without the dedicated 2SG form. Verbs missing this form are generally those for which the vowel in the root is /ɑ/, such as *tʰɑ-kʰá* 'to be afraid(AS-be.afraid)' and *nɛ́-lɑ* 'to pour (DOWN-pour)'. Currently there is no explanation for this.

7.3.1.3 Class III Verbs

Class III verbs include four-form verbs, five-form verbs, and six-form verbs. The only two four-form verbs found in my corpus are given in Table 7.9. Their inflectional paradigm is 1SG, 1NONSG, 2SG and 2NONSG.

Table 7.9: Four-form Verbs

Basic form	1SG	1NONSG	2SG	2NONSG	
nu-lé	*no-lő*	*no-lé*	*nɛ-lɛ́*	*nɛ-lé*	to get (DS-get)
tə́-ngə	*tə́-ngo*	*tə́-nge*	*tə́-ngü*	*tə́-ngɛ*	to put on (UP-put.on)

Currently only one five-form verb ('to give') and one six-form verb ('hit') are found. In

Table 7.10: Five-form Verb

Syntactic role	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG	3	
Subject Object	*tʰo-mó* *tʰu-mó*	*tʰo-mű*	*tʰo-mé*	*tʰu-mə́*	to give (AS-give)

Table 7.11: Six-form Verb

Syntactic role	1SG	1PL	2	3	
Subject Object	*tə́-dɔ* *tɔ́-du*	*tə́-dɛ* *tɔ́-de*	*tə-da*	*tɔ́-da*	to hit (UP-hit)

order to specify how each form is derived, we can posit the basic form for *tʰu-mə́* 'give/3 (AS-give)' as *tʰó-mə* (which does not occur in the table and is set up for descriptive purpose), and the basic form for *tə́-da* 'hit/3 (UP-hit)' as *tə́-da* (the second person form) or *tɔ́-da* (the third person form). The inflectional forms of the two verbs are respectively given in Table 7.10 and Table 7.11.

The five-form verb and the six-form verb inflect for both person-number and grammatical functions. The crucial point is that no matter how many forms a verb has, only one combination of syntactic role and person-number can determine the form of the verb. These combinations are ranked on different levels of priority. In the case of *tɔ́-da* 'to hit (UP-hit)', the rank of priority is (in descending order):

1SG subject >1SG object >1PL subject>1PL object>2>3.

The following illustrates how to choose certain forms with the five-form verb, *tʰu-mə́* 'give (AS-give)'. One begins by considering if any argument of the verb (be it subject or object) is present in the 1SG form. If there is one such argument, then one asks if the argument is the subject or the object. If the argument is the subject, the form of the verb would be *tʰomó*; if that argument is the object, the form of the verb would be *tʰumó*. If none of the arguments are present in the 1SG, one asks if any of them is in the 2SG form. If there is an argument in that form and that argument is the subject, then the form of the verb would be *tʰomű*. If the 2SG argument is the object, it does not determine the form of inflection, therefore one keeps asking what is the person-number of the subject, is it the 1/2NONSG form, or the third person form? If, for example, the subject is in the third person and the object in the 2SG, the verb would take the third person form *tʰumə́*, because a 2SG

object has no effect on inflection.

7.3.2 Inflectional Forms

The inflectional forms discussed here will be those in the regular paradigms of Class I and Class II verbs. The inflections of irregular Class I verbs and Class III verbs are not discussed because, for irregular Class I verbs, their inflectional patterns are so haphazard that one can hardly make any generalizations; and for Class III verbs, there is simply not enough data (only two four-inflection verb, one five-inflection verb, and one six-inflection verb) from which we can make valid generalizations.

The forms we will focus on are thus 1SG, 2SG, 1/2NONSG, and the third person form. Although it has been pointed out in the last section that in many cases the third person form is the basic form, some verbs do inflect for the third person by changing the vowel in the directional prefix to /u/ and thus deserves some mention.

7.3.2.1 The 1/2NONSG Form

Inflection for the 1/2NONSG is the most regular one. The 1/2NONSG form of a selection of frequently used verbs are listed in Table 7.12.

Table 7.12: The 1/2NONSG Forms of a Selection of Verbs

Basic form	1/2NONSG form	
nbí	*nbé*	to sit
ɛ́ndzə	*ɛ́ndze*	to eat
kʰɯʈʂɛ́	*kʰɯʈʂé*	to arrive
naɣɔ́	*naɣé*	to wash
indʑű	*indʑé*	to have
tá	*té*	to see
tʰópʰu	*tʰópʰe*	to give up
tʰópo	*tʰopé*	to run
túyü	***túyɛ***	to put on (shoes)
kʰɯtú	***kʰitú***	to be affected (with disease)

It is plain that the 1/2NONSG form is derived by changing the vowel in the base root into /e/. The inflection is not affected by the quality of the vowel in the basic form (the vowels in the base are all different), and there are very few irregularities. The only two irregular forms thus found are boldfaced in Table 7.12.

7.3.2.2 The 1sG Forms

The 1sG forms of a selection of verbs are listed in Table 7.13. There are four sets of this paradigm, which are respectively the *o*-set, the *ö*-set, the *ɔ*-set and the *ɑ*-set. The *o*-set and the *ö*-set are more productive than the other two.

The vowels of a specific inflected set do not seem to be strongly conditioned by those in the basic form. We can tell this by comparing the *o*-set verbs with the *ö*-set verbs. While the vowel in the root base are both /i/ for *pi* 'imperfective auxiliary' and *tʰodí* 'finish', the 1sG form is *po* (in *o*-set) for the former but *tʰodő́* (in *ö*-set) for the latter. Nor can meaningful generalizations be made for verbs in the *ɑ*-set. The only generalization we can make is for the *ɔ*-set verbs. We can say that if the vowel in the root base is /ɑ/, then the vowel in 1sG form will be /ɔ/. But *ɛtʰű́* 'come downstream' is an exception.

7.3.2.3 The 2sG Forms

A selection of the 2sG forms of some verbs are shown in Table 7.14.

The productive sets of forms are the *ü*-set and the *ɛ*-set, but again, there are some irregularities. As can be seen from the table, aside from /ɛ/ and /ü/, the vowel can also be /ɑ/ or some other unpredictable vowels. The *ɛ*-set is the most productive one. Many verbs inflect for this set regardless of what the vowel is in the root base. While the *ü*-set is also common, for these verbs the vowels in the root base tend to be non-low vowels (/i/, /u/ or /ü/ and /ə/) (but the last ü-form verb, *nɑɣɔ́* 'to wash', is an exception). For verbs of the *ɑ*-set, the inflected and the basic forms are identical. Finally, there are some irregular forms which do not seem to form any pattern.

7.3.2.4 The Third Person Forms

Some verbs inflect for the third person by changing the vowel in the initial syllable (the directional prefix) into /u/. While not all verbs have this property, for those verbs that do inflect for third person, the forms are very consistent.

A selection of examples is given in Table 7.15. For those verbs that show third person inflection, one needs to compare the third person form with other forms to be able to identify the inflectional pattern of the third person form. Through comparison, one can

Table 7.13: The 1SG Forms of a Selection of Verbs

Basic form	1SG form	
	the o-set	
pi	*po*	imperfective auxiliary
indʑɯ́	*indʑó*	to have
kʰuú	*kʰuó*	to scorch
hákö	*háko*	to know
tutɛɯ́	*tutɛó*	to be full (after eating)
	the ö-set	
tʰodí	*tʰodő́*	to finish
ndű́	*ndő́*	to go
kʰɯtʂsé	*kʰɯtʂő́*	to spray
kʰɯtʂsɛ́	*kʰɯtʂő́*	to arrive
tá	*tő́*	to see
ɛ́dʑo	*ɛ́dʑö*	to turn off (light)
sə	*sö*	perfective auxiliary
	the ɔ-set	
tʰɑkʰá	*tʰɑkʰɔ́*	to be afraid
nɛ́lɑ	*nɛ́lɔ*	to pour
tʰá	*tʰɔ́*	to be able to
ɛtʰű́	*ɑtʰɔ́*	to come downstream
	the ɑ-set	
nɯ́	*ná*	to dare
sɔ́	*sá*	to want
tʰɔ́lə	*tʰɔ́lɑ*	to release’
kʰɔ́sü	*kʰɔ́sɑ*	to braid

Table 7.14: The 2SG Forms of a Selection of Verbs

Basic form	2SG form	
	the ɛ-set	
nbí	*nbɛ́*	to sit
hákö	*hákɛ*	to know
kʰɯtʂɛ́	*kʰɯtʂɛ́*	to arrive
nukó	*nukɛ́*	to build (a wooden house)
kʰɛtɔ́	*kʰɛtɛ́*	to share with
tutɕɯ́	*tutɕɛ́*	to be full (after eating)
tá	*tɛ́*	to see
	the ü-set	
tʰíndi	*tʰíndü*	to push
tʰitɕú	*tʰitɕű*	to bring
tʰópʰu	*tʰópʰü*	to give up
kʰɔ́sü	*kʰɔ́sü*	to light up (a fire)
ɛ́ndzə	*ɛ́ndzü*	to eat
sə	*sü*	perfective auxiliary
ɣɤtsʰə́	*ɣɤtsʰű́*	to burn
naɣɔ́	*naɣű́*	to wash
	the ɑ-set	
tʰɛtʰá	*tʰɛtʰá*	to succeed
tʰɛpʰá	*tʰɛpʰá*	to split (wood)
nɛlá	*nɛlá*	to pour out
tʰá	*tʰá*	to be able to
	Irregular forms	
tʰólə	*tʰólö*	to untie
ró	*rí*	to come
tə	*tətɕi*	to wake up
hə́	*hu*	to go

furthermore postulate a basic form from which all inflected forms can be derived.

Table 7.15: The Third Person Forms of a Selection of Verbs

Basic form	3	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG	
nóvɯ	*núvɯ*	*nóvo*	*nóvü*	*nóve*	to do
təvɯ	*túvɯ*	*təvɯ*	*təvü*	*təve*	to be (the king)
ngúɯtɕʰɯ	*ngútɕʰɯ*	*ngúɯtɕʰo*	*ngúɯtɕʰü*	*ngúɯtɕʰe*	to bring here
tətɕɯ	*tútɕɯ*	*tətɕo*	*tətɕü*	*tətɕe*	to put up
nódʑo	*núdʑo*	*nódʑo*	*nɛ́dʑɛ*	*nódʑe*	to shoot a picture
tʰotɕó	*tʰutɕó*	*tʰotɕű*	*tʰotɕɛ́*	*tʰotɕé*	to use
rədʑə́	*rudʑə́*	*rədʑó*	*rədʑű*	*rədʑé*	to arrange

Finally, the vowels in the four inflected forms discussed above are summarized in Table 7.16.

Table 7.16: The Inflectional Forms of Munya Verbs

	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG	3 (if any)
Root vowel	/o/, /ö/, /ɔ/ or /ɑ/	/ɛ/ or /ü/	/e/	-
Prefix vowel				/u/

7.3.2.5 Inflections of Polysyllabic Verbs

So far we have restricted our discussion of verbal inflections to disyllabic verbs. This is because most verbs in Munya are disyllabic, and there are only a handful of polysyllabic verbs. The currently known polysyllabic verbs are listed in Table 7.17.

Table 7.17: The Inflectional Forms of Polysyllabic Verbs

Basic form	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG	
hákʰukö	*hákʰuko*	*hákʰɛkɛ*	*hákʰuke*	to know
kʰɯ-tsáto	*kʰɯtsáto*	*kʰɯtsátɛ*	*kʰɯtsáte*	to be careful
kʰɤ-séŋa	*kʰɤséŋo*	*kʰɤséŋa*	*kʰɤséŋe*	to listen to
kʰú-tɐori	*kʰútɐorö*	*kʰútɐɛrɛ*	*kʰútɐore*	to look at
tə-mənyé	*təmənyí*	*təmənyú*	*təmənyé*	to move
nu-sépɛ	*nusópö*	*nusépɛ*	*nusépe*	to retrospect
mopósö	*mɛpésü*	*mopísə*	*mopése*	won't
tʰo-kʰəɐíri	*tʰokʰəɐőrö*	*tʰokʰəɐérɛ*	*tʰokʰəɐére*	to pull

Indexing person-number information on polysyllabic verbs is in most cases achieved by changing the vowel in the last syllable of the root, as shown for the first five verbs. (The vowels in the second syllable of *hákʰɛkɛ* 'to know/2SG' and *kʰútɐɛrɛ* 'to look at/2SG' change because of vowel harmony.) However, the last three examples seem to be exceptional. For *nusépɛ* 'retrospect', both vowels in the root are changed. *mopósö* 'won't' is interesting in that it can be segmented as *mo-pó-sö* 'negator-imperfective auxiliary-perfective auxiliary', and the last two syllables change in the exact same way as the two aspectual auxiliaries (given in Table 7.6). Finally, in the last verb in the table, *tʰo-kʰəɐíri* 'to pull', which has a trisyllabic root, the last two vowels in the stem undergo the same change.

7.3.3 Omission of Inflection

Munya seems to be in the process of losing person-number inflections on verbs. Some young speakers tend not to use the expected forms of verbs and auxiliaries. For example, one day I was staying in a small hut working with my consultant, when a young man who was about 25 years old produced (172) as a greeting to me:

(172) *nbí* ***pi*** *nyi?*
sit IMPF EGO:AP
'(You are) sitting here?'

In this example, the imperfective auxiliary did not inflect for the expected 2SG form, *pɛ*, but took the basic form, which according to the rule, is only used for third person.

Omission of inflection is also observable from linguistic data produced by aged speakers. Two examples are given in (173):

(173) a. *ŋí* *yísi.rəsi* ***tu-ɐǘ*** *tɐʰő*
1SG+ERG several.days.ago UP-tell already
'I already told you several days ago.'

b. *ŋú́* *okʰó* *nbú* *le* ***tɔ́-tɐɔ*** *hə́* *tsəkú́* *okʰó* ***nbí;*** *tosí* *kə*
1SG DEM mountain on UP-drive go D.M DEM sit one.day OBL
ŋí *pʰɔhɔ́* *tahá* ***nú-vɯ*** *tsəkú́*
1SG+ERG butter.dumpling some DOWN-make D.M
'I drove (the cattle) up to the top of the mountain, then I sat there. One day I made some butter dumplings.'

The examples are taken from an autobiography, told by a speaker over seventy years old. In both examples the subjects are in the first person. In the first example, the verb *tu-ɐǘ* 'tell (UP-tell)' is not inflected. If it inflects for the first person singular, it should be *tuɐó*. There are three verbs in the second example. We do not know if the first one, *tɔ́-tɐɔ* 'to drive (UP-drive)' inflects or not, as the basic form is identical to the 1SG form.

But neither *nbí* ‘to sit’ nor *nú-vɯ* ‘to make (DOWN-make)’ inflected, as the 1SG form for *nbí* ‘to sit’ is *nbö* and that for *núvɯ* is *nóvo*. However, notice that in these two examples the subjects are overtly stated. Omission of inflection is permitted in this case probably because the person-number information is already clear, but further investigation into this issue is required.

7.4 Causatives

Causatives in Munya can be formed on both intransitive and transitive clauses. The causative in intransitive clauses is realized by changing the vowel (and in some cases consonants as well) in the first syllable of the intransitive verb, while the one for transitive clauses is formed by using the auxiliary *tɕʰi* ‘to make’ after the transitive verb.

7.4.1 Causative Derivation Applying to Intransitive Clauses

Causative formation applying to an intransitive clause is the canonical causative derivation. Syntactically, this will change the argument in underlying S function into O function in the causative and introduce a causer in A function (Dixon 2012a: 240).

This type of causative derivation is also found in Munya. (174a) is an intransitive clause, of which the S is *tónpi* ‘bottle’. In (174b), which is the derived transitive clause of (174a), a new argument *ŋɯ́* ‘I’ is introduced. The new argument functions as the transitive subject, as can be seen from the ergative case form that it takes, and the erstwhile S now functions as O:

(174) a. *[tónpi]$_S$ tʰá-la sə*
bottle AS-fall PFV

‘The bottle fell.’

b. *[ŋí]$_A$ [tónpi]$_O$ tʰɛ́-la sö*
1SG+ERG bottle AS-fall PFV/1SG

‘I knocked over the bottle.’

In this pair of examples, the intransitive verb *tʰɑ́-lɑ* ‘to fall (AS-fall)’ is changed into its transitive counterpart *tʰɛ́-lɑ* ‘to make fall, to topple (AS-make.fall)’ by raising the vowel in the first syllable of the intransitive verb: /ɑ/ → /ɛ/.

While vowel raising and fronting is the most common type of causative formation on intransitive verbs, other means are also attested, including combination of vowel raising and fronting and consonantal processes, and syntactic causative with *tɕʰi* (used for forming causative on a transitive clause). Examples of these causative formations are given in Table 7.18.

Table 7.18: Examples of morphological causative derivation

Intransitive verb	Causative counterpart
tʰɑ́-lɑ ‘to fall (AS-fall)’	*tʰɛ́-lɑ* ‘to make fall (AS-make fall)’
tə́-ra ‘to become dry (UP-become dry)’	*tɛ́-ra* ‘make dry (UP-make dry)’
nɑ́-ŋgɑ ‘to cry (DOWN-cry)’	*nɛ́-ŋgɑ* ‘to make cry (DOWN-make cry)’
nó-pətɕo ‘to collapse (DOWN-collapse)’	*ní-pətɕo* ‘to tear down (DOWN-tear down)’
nɑ́-ndʑə ‘to stick to (DOWN-stick to)’	*ní-ndʑə* ‘to stick to (DOWN-stick to)’
nó-ni ‘to diminish (DOWN-diminish)’	*ní-ni* ‘to diminish (DOWN-diminish)’
tə́- ‘to wake up (UP-wake up)’	*tí-* ‘to wake up (UP-wake up)’
nɑ́-nbɑ ‘to shatter (DOWN-shatter)’	*nɛ́-pʰɑ* ‘to smash (DOWN-smash)’
nó-nbi ‘(fire) to go out (DOWN-go out)’	*ní-pʰi* ‘to sniff (DOWN-sniff)’
ní-ri ‘to laugh (DOWN-laugh)’	*ní-ri tɕʰí* ‘to make laugh (DOWN-laugh make)’

The three means of causative formation applied to intransitive verbs are organized in three blocks in the table. From the examples in the first block, which involve only vowel raising and fronting, we can see that the vowel in the derived causative verb can be /ɛ/ or /i/. However, from the available data we cannot predict which vowel would occur in the derived form.

The morphological changes in the derived verbs of the second block involve both vowel modification and consonantal processes (loss of nasalization, devoicing, and aspiration). This is reminiscent of the alternation of the root initial for the formation of causatives in Proto Tibetan-Burman, e.g., **bar*∼**par* ‘burn’ and **be*∼**pe* ‘broken, break’ (Benedict 1972: 124). However, since we only have data in which the consonant in the stem is a bilabial stop, we cannot say for sure whether there is any constraint on the consonant to which this morphological rule can apply.

The third way to form a causative on an intransitive verb is through the auxiliary *tɕʰí*,

which means ‘make’. As we shall see shortly, *tɕʰí* can also be used to form causative on transitive verbs, but *tɕʰí* itself cannot be used as a transitive verb. The reason why the causative on this last verb is formed periphrastically rather than synthetically may have to do with the vowel in its initial syllable, which is the high front /i/. Since it is already high, the common way of forming causative through vowel raising will not derive a different form. To express causativity a new way must be adopted. In this case it is the causative formation normally applied to a transitive clause that is adopted here.

7.4.2 Causative Derivation Applying to Transitive Clauses

Causative can also be applied to transitive clauses in Munya. This is done by using the auxiliary *tɕʰí* ‘to make, to order’ after a transitive verb. The major reasons to analyze it as an auxiliary are that it inflects for person-number, cannot take any directional prefix and cannot function as an independent predicate. Both the inflectional pattern and the forms of each conjugation are regular, with the basic form (in third person) being *tɕʰí*, 1SG *tɕʰó*, 2SG *tɕʰú́*, and 1/2NONSG *tɕʰé*.

When causative is formed on a transitive clause, the erstwhile A in the transitive clause becomes O in the causativized clause, and the erstwhile O takes the dative case, while a new argument, taking the ergative case, is introduced. This is illustrated with the pair of examples in (175):

(175) a. *[otsí]$_A$ tʰökɛ́ kʰu [tsʰərő́ tósə]$_O$ kʰí-kʰɛ sə*
3SG+ERG fireplace in wood many NONS-put PFV

‘He/She carried lots of firewood to the fireplace.’

b. *[kɛ́tʂi]$_A$ i tsəkɯ́ okʰó tsəkɯ́ [otsə́]$_O$ le tʰökɛ́ kʰu [tsʰərő́ tósə]$_E$*
PN ERG D.M DEM D.M 3SG DAT fireplace in firewood many
kʰí-kʰɛ ***tɕʰí***
NONS-put order

‘Kɛtʂi ordered him/her to put lots of firewood to the fireplace.’

In (175a), the A argument is the third person singular pronoun and the O argument is the nominal *tsʰərő tósə* 'much firewoods'. In (175b), *kɛtʂi*, a proper noun, is introduced as the new subject, and takes the ergative case. Formerly A, *otsə́* 'he/she' now becomes O, as indicated by the dative case marker *le* after it. The erstwhile O now becomes an oblique argument. From this example, we can infer that a causativized transitive clause is essentially the same with a ditransitive clause, as far as argument structure is concerned.

7.5 Pluractionality

As a cross-linguistic verbal category, pluractionals cover a wide range of related semantics. According to Newman (2012: 195),

> ...pluractionals indicate repetition, frequentativeness, habitualness, and succession of action over time; expansiveness and scattered distribution in space; actions affecting multiple persons, animals, or objects, either in large number or individually; and actions (often embodied in intransitive verbs) carried out by multiple persons, either as a group or individually.

Needless to say, for a language that has pluractionality, these semantics are not necessarily all manifested. In Munya, the semantics of pluractional verbs cover repetition of action, action carried out by multiple persons, and reciprocal actions. Cross-linguistically, pluractional tends to be indicated by reduplication (Newman 2012), and this is the case of Munya as well. The remainder of this section will first address the formal techniques for expressing pluractional and then discuss its semantics.

A canonical Munya verb consists of a monosyllabic directional prefix and a monosyllabic root, and can be represented as DIR-root. The pluractional formative is realized through internal reduplication of the verb root, while the copying direction can be left-to-right or right-to-left.

In the case of right-to-left reduplication it can either be partial or complete. For partial reduplication, only the consonant of the base is reduplicated, and the vowel in the reduplicant is always /ə/. The morphological structure of a pluractionalized verb can be schematically represented as DIR-PLUR-root, and, for a verb containing a partially reduplicated

pluractional formative, the phonological structure is C_1V_1-C_2ə-C_2V_2 (e.g. *ná-ngə-ngɑ* '(many people) cry (DOWN-PLUR-cry)'), while for a verb that has a completely reduplicated formative, the structure is C_1V_1-C_2V_2-C_2V_2 (e.g. *kʰí-li-li* '(many people) wait (NONS-PLUR-wait)'). Based on the data currently available, partial reduplication seems to be the most productive way of forming pluractionals.

In the case of left-to-right reduplication, the vowel in the formative is unpredictable. For example, the pluractionalized form of *ná-ɣɔ* 'to wash (DOWN-wash)' is *ná-ɣɔ-ɣɑ* '(many people) wash (DOWN-wash-PLUR)'; similarly, *nó-ki* means 'to chop', and its pluractionalized form is *nó-ki-kɛ* 'to chop repeatedly(DOWN-chop-PLUR)'. In both cases it is not clear what conditions the choice of vowels in the pluractional formative.

Pluractional formation on a verb with disyllabic root can be interesting. Such verbs are very rare but we do have one example. The verb is *nó-ntʰetɕɛ* 'pull (DOWN-pull)' (the directional prefix can also be *ɛ-* 'downstream' or *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker'). Its pluractionalized form, which means 'to have tug-of-war', can be either *nó-ntʰe-tɕə-tɕɛ* or *nó-ntʰə-ntʰe*. For the first pluractionalized form, the pluractional marker is formed by partially reduplicating the final syllable of the root, then infixing it to the root. For the second form, the formative *-ntʰə-* is a partial reduplication of the first syllable of the root and affixed between the directional prefix and the root, but at the same time the final syllable of the base is deleted. Because we do not have more data, we cannot tell which formation is more productive.

As has been mentioned above, a pluractional verb can denote repetitive actions. For some verbs denoting actions that are inherently repetitive, such as 'to brush' or 'to wipe', the pluractionalized form is the citation form of these verbs and in many cases the verbs do not have non-reduplicated counterparts, e.g., *no-rə́ri* 'sweep (DOWN-sweep)' (not **no-ri* 'DOWN-sweep') and *tʰá-səsɑ* 'wipe (AS-wipe)' (not **tʰɑ-sɑ* 'AS-wipe'). More examples of inherently pluractionalized verbs are given in Table 7.19. Although these verbs are inherently pluractionalized, for many of them the forms can be specified according to the generalizations mentioned above, i.e., through either partial or full reduplication. Such verbs are recognized as regular inherently pluractionalized verbs. There are also some verbs for which it is not clear whether the formative is affixed or what conditions the vowel in the formative. These verbs are seen as irregular inherently pluractionalized verbs.

Table 7.19: Examples of Inherently Pluractionalized Verbs

Form	Meaning
	Regular
tə́-səso	to fight (UP-fight)
tʰá-səsa	to wipe (AS-wipe)
no-rə́ri	to sweep (the floor) (DOWN-sweep)
nó-tsətso	to squeeze out (water from clothes) (DOWN-squeeze.out)
tə́-rəra	to shake (UP-shake)
ɛ́-zəzo	to pile up (DS-pile up)
ɛ-tóto	to tremble (DS-tremble)
	Irregular
tʰo-níno	to fix up (AS-fix)
kʰɯ-ndʐéndʐə	to spy on (NONS-spy.on)
tə́-hihə	to mix up (UP-mix.up)

Semantically, the pluractional category in Munya can denote repetition of an action (176a) or an action carried out by multiple participants (176b) and (176c):

(176) a. *géɕi=nə okʰó lálɔ=nə kʰu* ***tʰo-tɕɵ̋-tɕü***
geshe=PL DEM valley=PL in AS-PLUR-walk

‘The geshes walked here and there in the valley (to preach).’

b. *ndʑú=nə ótsə kíko=nə* ***ná-ngə-ngɑ***
other.people=PL DEM big=PL DOWN-PLUR-cry

‘Others, those who were older, all cried.’

c. *putsʰí tósə i tá tó-lö* ***no-tə-tú*** *pi*
kid many ERG hat one-CLF:GENR DOWN-PLUR-fight.for IMPF

‘Many children are competing for a hat.’

However, these semantic distinctions are not always clear-cut, and the range of semantics of a pluractionalized verb has to do with the semantics of the verb before it is pluractionalized. In (176a), the derived verb can indicate repetition of action, meaning ‘walk here and there’ or ‘walk a lot’, but it is also possible to interpret it as indicating multiple participants, as the agent, *géɕi*, is marked by the plural suffix. Clear cases of pluractionalized verbs de-

noting only repetition of action are perhaps to be sought from the examples given in Table 7.19, such as *tʰá-səsɑ* 'to wipe (AS-wipe)' and *tə́-rəra* 'to shake (UP-shake)'. The pluractional meanings are also ambiguous in (176c). The event of fighting necessarily involves multiple (at least more than one) participants. Also, since in fighting there is exchange of violent physical activities between fighters, the meaning of reciprocity is also involved to some extent. What is more, since the exchange of physical activities can go back and forth for several rounds, the sense of repetition of action is also available. In contrast, the pluractional meaning of *ná-ngə-ngɑ* 'to cry (DOWN-PLUR-cry)' in (176b) is plainly one of multiple participants. This is because 'cry' is an intransitive verb, and normally the action of crying does not involve interaction among participants.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter we looked at verbal directional prefixes, person-number inflections, causatives and pluractionality. There are seven directional prefixes in Munya. Some of these prefixes can involve more than one sense of direction. They can be used to make finer-grained semantic distinctions and serve as verbalizers. The predominant person-number inflectional paradigm is first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person nonsingular. The final vowels tend to be /o/ and /ö/ for first person singular, /ɛ/ and /ü/ for second person singular, and /e/ for first or second person nonsingular. There are two ways to form causatives, one is by internal modification, including vowel raising (productive) and consonantal processes (non-productive), or by employing the causative marker *tɕʰí*. The first way tends to be used for intransitive clauses while the second way is mainly applied to transitive clauses. Pluractionality is realized through reduplication of verbal roots, a verbal category which then conveys repetition of action, action carried out by multiple persons, and reciprocal actions.

Chapter 8

Grammatical Categories of Nouns and Verbs

8.1 Overview

This chapter discusses topics related to Munya grammatical categories, including the case marking system (Section 8.2), aspect (Section 8.3), evidentiality (Section 8.4), egophoricity (Section 8.5) and mirativity (Section 8.6). Munya has ten case markers, four of which can mark core syntactic roles (S, A and O), which are the ergative case, the absolutive case, the experiential case, and the dative case. Alignment of case marking is different, depending on whether the predicate is a control verb or not. There are some ergative-absolutive features for control predicates, but there are also some variations because O can be marked in different ways. For a non-control predicate, the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative. Munya has three aspects, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect, and the imperfective aspect. There are also three evidential markers, which are the direct evidential, the reported evidential and the indirect evidential. Egophorics in Munya express volitional action and privileged access to information. There are two egophoric markers. *ŋo* can be used with first and second person subject and volitional predicate, and *nyi* can be used with all types of person and predicate. The mirative marker covers a sense of sudden or deferred realization, counter-expectation, surprise or new information.

8.2 Case Marking

This section investigates the argument structure of verbs as reflected through case marking. It was argued in Section 5.6 that case markers are postpositions, but not all postpositions can be regarded as cases. Only those cases that can mark core or peripheral arguments are recognized as case markers. The form of cases, together with the semantic roles and syntactic roles that they mark, are listed in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Cases in Munya

Case	Form	Semantic role marked	Syntactic role marked
Ergative	*i*	Agent, Perceiver or Cogitator	A
Absolutive	∅	Undergoer or Gift	S, O or E
Experiential	*ɛ∼ɣɛ*	Experiencer, Patient or Beneficiary	S or O
Dative	*le*	Recipient or Undergoer	O
Genitive	*ɛ∼ɣɛ*	Possessor	Copula Subject
Instrumental	*i*	Instrument	Peripheral argument
Allative	*pu*	Goal	Peripheral argument
Oblique	*kə*	Location or Time	Peripheral argument
Comitative	*tɕʰi*	Accompaniment	Peripheral argument
Comparative	*ti*	Standard of comparison	Peripheral argument

8.2.1 The Ergative Case and the Absolutive Case

The ergative case *i* always marks the A argument of a transitive verb (177a). This is so even when the object is omitted (177b):

(177) a. *[pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ]$_A$* ***i*** *tsəkʉ́ [tɕe tó-lö]$_O$* *í-ndʑü* *sə*
beggar old.woman ERG D.M son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

‘The old beggar woman gave birth to a son.’

b. ***[otsí]$_A$*** *hákʰukö* *sə* *nyi*
3SG+ERG know PFV EGO:AP

‘He knew (it).’

The absolutive case is realized in zero form (∅). Semantically it marks the Undergoer or Gift, and syntactically it marks the S, O or E. 'Undergoer' is used here to cover inanimate or animate referents that undergo an action but do not change their states. They can be realized as S or O. This definition is necessary because, as we shall see shortly, when the S or O arguments are animate and strongly affected, the experiential case, *ɣɛ/ɛ* should be used. Gift always corresponds to the E argument of a ditransitive verb.

In the examples below, (178a) contains an S argument, (178b) an inanimate O argument, (178c) an animate O argument, and (178d) contains an E argument. All of them are marked by the zero absolutive case:

(178) a. ***ŋɯ́*** ∅ *kʰí* *po*
1SG ABS sleep IMPF/1SG

'I'm going to sleep.'

b. *[ŋí]$_A$* ***[húndzə]$_O$*** ∅ *ɛ́-ndzə* *po* *nyi*
1SG+ERG dinner ABS DS-eat IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

'I'm having dinner.'

c. *[ŋí]$_A$* ***[otsə́]$_O$*** ∅ *tő* *ra*
1SG+ERG 3SG ABS see/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'I saw him.'

d. *[mómo]$_A$* *i* *mətsʰé* *[ŋɯ́]$_O$* *le* ***[mé*** *tósə]$_E$*** ∅ *tʰí-tɕʰə* *ɣa*
mum ERG certainly 1SG DAT medicine many ABS AS-give will
nyi
EGO:AP

'Mum will certainly make me take lots of medicine.'

In this study, the absolutive case is not overtly glossed unless it plays a role in grammatical analysis.

8.2.2 The Experiential Case and the Genitive Case

The genitive case and the experiential case are homophones, which is *ɣɛ∼ɛ* (The two forms are in free variation. Although in the following examples only one form is given, it should be understood that the other form is equally acceptable.). In order to demonstrate that they are two different cases, it is convenient to discuss them together. The two cases are not analyzed as one polysemous case because they can be distinguished both semantically and grammatically. The genitive case always marks the copula subject (CS), which is semantically a possessor. The CS can trigger person-number agreement. In the following example, *kʰɯ́* (which inflects for 1SG) is a copula verb that denotes possession (more on this in Section 10.4.5):

(179) *[tsé ɛ]$_{psr}$ [dʐɛ́]$_{pse}$* ***nyú-kʰo,*** *tsʰalá rótsə nyú-nyo*
REFL/3SG GEN voice NEG-have/1SG dance dance NEG-can/1SG

‘I don’t have a good voice, nor can I dance.’

The experiential case is polysemous. Only arguments denoting animate referents can be marked by this case. The referent can be an Experiencer of a state, in which case it would be realized as S or A, but does not trigger person-number agreement, as in (180a) and (180b). (These are all non-control verbs, cf. Section 4.3.6.) It can also be a Beneficiary or a strongly affected Patient, in which case it would be realized as O, as in (180c) and (180d):

(180) a. ***[nɛnɛ́]$_S$*** *ɛ-tʰəvá pi*
2PL+EXP INTRG-become IMPF

‘What happened to you?’

b. *[ŋɯ́]$_A$* ***ɣɛ*** *[nílo]$_O$ kʰɯ-ɕó sə*
1SG EXP marriage NONS-come.out PFV

‘I was married.’

c. *[tʰíu=nɛ ngötʂʰí=ni]$_A$ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónírə **[ngɛ́]$_O$** kʰɔ-ɣɔ́ vɯ́*
PN=COLL.PL chieftain=PL+ERG D.M 1SG+EXP NONS-help do

nyɯ́-ŋa
NEG-will

'The chieftains of Tʰiu village would not help me.'

d. *[otsí]$_A$ [məɣə́]$_O$* ***ɣɛ*** *nó-sɑ sə*
3SG+ERG COW EXP DOWN-kill PFV

'He/She killed the cow.'

The genitive case and the experiential case are thus two different cases and can be distinguished grammatically. The argument marked by the genitive case is the Possessor and realized as A, and can trigger person-number agreement. The argument marked by the experiential case is semantically Experiencer or Patient. They can be S, A or O but cannot trigger person-number agreement on the verb. While the experiential case can be further distinguished semantically as marking a Beneficiary or a Patient, there is no grammatical criterion to set them apart, hence the experiential case is analyzed as one polysemous case.

8.2.3 The Dative Case

The main reason to analyze *le* as the dative case is that it can mark the recipient of a ditransitive verb. This is illustrated in (181):

(181) *[ŋí]$_A$ [pʰinkɔ́ tó-lö]$_E$ [otsə́]$_O$* ***le*** *toʰ-mó ŋo*
1SG+ERG apple one-CLF:GENR 3SG DAT AS-give/1SG EGO:SAP

'I gave him/her an apple.'

The recipient in this example is analyzed as the O. This is because *le* can also mark the O of some transitive clauses:

(182) a. *[nɛ́]$_A$ i [ŋɯ́]$_O$* ***le*** *té kʰɤ́-má-seŋa rɑ*
2SG ERG 1SG DAT at.all NONS-NEG-listen.to EVID:DIRECT
'You did not listen to me at all.'

b. *[ŋí]$_A$ [dʑó=nə]$_O$ le tónpɑ kʰɯ́-ndʑə*
1SG+ERG stone=PL DAT mud NONS-spread
'I spread mud onto stones.'

The referent of the O argument is animate in (182a) and inanimate in (182b). The factors determining the presence of the dative case after the O argument is not clear to me at this time. Other nouns in my corpus marked by this case include 'cigarette' (as in 'light up the cigarette'), 'door' (as in 'bar the door'), the animate object of 'to tell' and the object of 'to like'.

le can also mark some copula subject or the S of certain adjectival predicates:

(183) a. *[tɕə́tsɔ́]$_{CS}$* ***le*** *[ngó rɤ́-zɛ]$_{CC}$ i ti*
livestock DAT leg four-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA
'Livestock have four legs.'

b. *[tsʰalá]$_S$* ***le*** *yɛyɛ́ ti*
dance DAT be.good.looking STA
'The dance looks good.'

8.2.4 Cases That Mark Peripheral Arguments

There are five cases that can mark peripheral arguments, which are the instrumental case, the allative case, the oblique case, the comitative case, and the comparative case.

The instrumental case *i* is homophonous with the ergative case. The semantic role that it marks is Instrument. An example is given in (184):

(184) *[otsə́ məɣə́]$_O$ tsə ɔ́lə tʰő [ɕéndzᵱə tɛ́-zɛ]$_{PER}$ **i** tú-wo*
DEM bull FOC cattle.pen in chain one-CLF:LONG INS UP-tie

'That bull was tied in the cattle pen with a chain.'

The allative case *pu* marks the goal of movement or an action:

(185) a. *[tsʰűdze]$_{PRE}$ **pu** nó-ndü nyi*
PN ALL DOWN-go EGO:AP

'(They) will go down to Tsʰűdze.'

b. *[mənyɛ́ sú]$_{PRE}$ **pu** tɕínpu tɛ́gɛ nó-vü*
Munya language ALL progress a.little DOWN-do/2SG

'You work a little bit harder on Munya.'

The arguments marked by the oblique case *kə* denote time or location:

(186) a. *[tosí]$_{PRE}$ **kə** [ŋí]$_A$ [pʰɔhó tahá]$_O$ nú-vɯ tsəkɯ́*
one.day OBL 1SG+ERG butter.dumplings some DOWN-make D.M

'One day I made some butter dumplings.'

b. *[tɛ́-kʰɛ ró]$_{PRE}$ **kə** [mɯ́kʰö tahá]$_S$ tə́-tʰü ró*
one-CLF:PLACE place OBL smoke some UP-come come

'In one place some smoke was rising up.'

The semantic role of the argument marked by the comitative case *tɕʰi* is accompaniment:

(187) *[ŋɯ́]$_S$ [ɛpú=ronə́]$_{PRE}$ **tɕʰi** nbí sö nyi*
1SG uncle=ASSC.PL COM sit PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'I'm sitting with the uncle and other people.'

The comparative case *ti* marks standard of comparison:

(188) *[otsə́]$_{PRE}$* ***ti*** *[ótsə]$_{S}$* *kɛ-ré* *ti*
this SC that more-be.delicious STA

'That one is more delicious than this one.'

8.2.5 Case Marking Patterns

If we restrict our consideration of case marking to control verbs and non-control verbs (excluding adjectival predicates and copula verbs), we can arrive at the following pattern set out in Table 8.2:

Table 8.2: Case Marking Patterns of Control Verbs and Non-control Verbs

	A	O	S
Control verbs	Ergative *i*	Absolutive case ∅ Experiential case *ɣɛ* Dative case *le*	Absolutive case ∅
Non-control verbs	Experiential Case *ɣɛ*	Absolutive case ∅	Experiential Case *ɣɛ*

It can be seen that control verbs in Munya show some ergative-absolutive property as O can be marked in the same way as S. However, we also observe that there is differential case marking in Munya, as O of control verbs can be marked by the experiential case *ɣɛ* or the dative case *le*. On the other hand, the case marking pattern of non-control verbs is consistently nominative-accusative, as both A and S are always marked by the experiential case and O is not overtly marked.

8.3 Aspect

Munya has three aspect markers, which are the perfective *sə*, the imperfective *pi*, and the stative *ti*. The perfective and imperfective aspect markers inflect for the person-number of subject (shown in Table 8.3) while the stative aspect does not.

This tripartite distinction can be seen in the following examples in (189):

Table 8.3: The Inflections of the Perfective and Imperfective Aspect

	3 (base form)	1SG	2SG	1/2NONSG
Perfective	*sə*	*sə̃*	*sü*	*se*
Imperfective	*pi*	*po*	*pɛ*	*pe*

(189) a. *otsí tɕɛ́ ɛ́-tɕʰɯ* ***pi***

3SG+ERG tea DS-drink IMPF

'She is having tea.'

b. *otsí tɕɛ́ ɛ́-tɕʰɯ* ***sə***

3SG+ERG tea DS-drink PFV

'She has had tea.'

c. *otsí tɕɛ́ nyɯ́-tɕʰɯ* ***ti***

3SG+ERG tea NEG-drink STA

'She doesn't have tea.'

Although the predicates in these three examples are the same, in actual use the prefective and the imperfective aspects tend to occur more often with dynamic predicates while the stative aspect tend to occur with stative predicates. This will be further discussed below.

A clause can contain no aspect marker, in which case its aspectual information needs to be deduced from the context. Consider the example below:

(190) *tsʰərə́ nó-ki, yɛ́ndɤ, yú ŋí u-kú*

wood DOWN-cut split then 1SG+ERG DS-carry.on.back

'I cut wood, split it, then I carried it away.'

There are three verbs in this clause and none of them is marked for aspect. But one can deduce that these are perfective events, because this sentence comes from an autobiography, where the narrator is talking about his past experience.

8.3.1 The Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect imposes boundaries on situations and events so that they are viewed as a whole. In Munya, the perfective aspect is generally used with telic predicates (191a) or predicates denoting processes (191b):

(191) a. *tɕé sɔ́-tsa tə-dʑó* ***sö*** *nyi*
house three-storey UP-build PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘(I) built a house of three storeys.’

b. *nyúlékʰá kʰu ɕəɕo lɛ́kɛ́ tʰo-vɯ́* ***sö*** *nyi*
production.team in always work AS-do PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘I worked in the production team all the time.’

Verbs of achievement, such as *tʰósə* ‘to die’, *nbí* ‘to sit’, or *kʰɯ́mə* ‘to fall asleep’ most naturally occur with the perfective aspect. The whole clause denotes the state that is achieved when the action denoted by the verb is completed:

(192) *tɕʰə́ nbí* ***sö*** *nyi*
now sit PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘(I’m) currently seated.’

(192) is commonly used in response to the question (in a telephone conversation) of ‘what are you doing?’ The speaker does not have to be really sitting (though she typically does). As long as she is staying at a place and not engaged in any sort of work this answer is felicitous. If the perfective auxiliary is replaced with the imperfective auxiliary, the sentence would mean ‘I’m sitting down’.

This aspect is also frequently used in an adverbial temporal clause. That clause functions as a subordinate clause and provides a reference timeline for the main clause. For example, when two clauses are used to describe two successive activities, the clause which is used to describe the end of the previous activity will function as the subordinate clause and take the perfective aspect:

(193) *tɕukʰɯ́ tɕʰó tɕʰənə́ nə́-ka kʰɯ́ nyi, tɕudó tsəkɯ́*
sourwater in still two-CLF:KIND COP:CONTAIN EGO:AP tɕudo D.M
*tó-lö kʰɯ́ nyi; [tɕudó tʰo-dí **sə** pu kə] [tɕʰənə́ kɤ́*
one-CLF:GENR COP:CONTAIN EGO:AP tɕudo AS-finish PFV on OBL still kɤ
tsəkɯ́ tó-lö kʰɯ́ nyi]
D.M one-CLF:GENR COP:CONTAIN EGO:AP

'There are two more kinds (of milk products) in the sourwater, one of which being *tɕudo*. After *tɕudó* is finished (i.e., extracted), there remains a kind of kɤ.'

The speaker was talking about the procedure of extracting milk products. Two kinds of milk product can be extracted from the sourwater in sequential order, which are *tɕudo* and *kɤ*. Note that the speaker used the perfective auxiliary *sə* after the predicate *tʰodí* 'finish' in a subordinate clause describing the end of the previous step of extracting milk products.

In certain contexts, the perfective marker can have the sense of 'finish' or 'complete':

(194) *tɕʰú löŋő kɛ́yi ɣɛ rilé tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰoni ɕɛ́ tʂʰó*
from.now.on year many LK generation D.M meat service
*nɛ-tʂá **se** nyi*
DOWN-provide PFV/1/2NONSG EGO:AP

'From now on, many years of meat service have been provided (by us).'

This example comes from a story, and is uttered by the people who realized that the beasts in the lake had been killed by three children, and from that time on they did not have to provide meat (by throwing a child into the lake each year) anymore. The predicate has the sense of 'the meat service has been provided at last, it is all finished'.

8.3.2 The Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect is most often used to describe a present or ongoing situation:

(195) a. *tsəkɯ́ dʑonkʰó rə tə́-to, məsé=nə rə tə́-to, tɕipú kʰɯ́-ɕo;*
D.M country and UP-rich people=PL and UP-rich happy NONS-become
óməna ***pi*** *nyi sára, dʐilό a-hɤ́* ***pi*** *nyi*
DEM IMPF EGO:AP but rule DS-loose IMPF EGO:AP

'The country has become rich, people have become rich, and the life has become comfortable. Although things are like that, the rules are loosening.'

b. *tsʰalá kʰu-yɛ́* ***po*** *nyi*
dance NONS-watch IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

'I'm watching a dance.'

In (195a), the speaker was commenting on the current situation of the society. In (195b), the speaker was describing what he was doing. In both examples the imperfective aspect is used.

The imperfective auxiliary can be used for continuous or habitual events, even if they occurred in the past:

(196) a. *kɛhó tɕándo kʰu tsəkɯ́ tɕɛ́ ná-ndzɔ* ***pi*** *nyi*
long.time.ago tea.bucket in D.M tea DOWN-make IMPF EGO:AP

'Tea used to be made in tea buckets a long time ago.'

b. *ngötʂʰí=ni tətɕʰi tə́ pi tsə kʰɤ-séŋa* ***po***
chieftain=PL+ERG all say IMPF NMLZ NONS-listen.to IMPF/1SG

'(I) used to obey everything that was said by the chieftains.'

(196a) is about the old method of tea-making. The situation does not hold at present, as can be seen from the temporal adverb, *kɛhó* 'long time ago'. (196b) comes from an autobiography. The event described is not the current situation, but happened when the speaker was young. In spite of this, the imperfective aspect is used because they lasted for a period of time and the speakers were focusing on the extensional property of the event.

The imperfective aspect can also be used when the event will happen in the near future:

(197) a. *sésə ɣɔ́sə yú nílo kʰɯ-ɕó* ***pi***
tomorrow the.day.after.tomorrow again marriage NONS-come.out IMPF
nyi
EGO:AP

'There will be another marriage in several days.'

b. *məngő dőtɕə kʰátʂɔ i rótsə* ***pi*** *nyi*
person seventy more.than ERG dance IMPF EGO:AP

'More than seventy people will dance.'

In (197a), the imperfective aspect is used because the wedding ceremony will take place very soon, as can be seen from the temporal adverbial. In (197b), the speaker was talking about a ceremony that would take place the next day. Both events occur in the immediate future.

This imperfective aspect is also used in an adverbial subordinate clause:

(198) *[otsə́ tsʰű́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́ tə-ʈʂɛ́* ***pi*** *kə] [onə́ mo-ndʑɯ́ sə nyi]*
DEM lake POSS side UP-arrive IMPF OBL 3PL NEG-COP:ANIMATE PFV EGO:AP

'When (the three children) went up to the lakeside, (the three beasts) were no longer there.'

The first clause here takes the imperfective aspect and is marked by the oblique case. It provides a temporal setting for the event denoted by the main clause. More discussion on this can be found in Section 14.5 on clause linking.

8.3.3 The Stative Aspect

The stative aspect *ti* tends to be used if the predicate of the clause is a stative verb or an adjective. Such predicates generally refer to a kind of homogeneous state instead of events with boundaries. Examples of such verbs are verbs of cognition (e.g. 'to know')

and verbs of psychology or physiology (e.g. ‘dare’, ‘be tired’) and copula verbs. These are illustrated with the three examples in (199). The predicate in (199d) is an adjective:

(199) a. *ŋí* *há-nyu-ko* ***ti***
1SG+ERG formative-NEG-know/1SG STA
‘I don’t know.’

b. *tɕʰú* *tu-ɕó* *tʰo* *ŋɯ́* *ɛ-ɕó* ***ti***
next UP-say if 1SG DS-be.tired STA
‘If (I) keep on speaking then I will be tired.’

c. *ndʐé* *ɛ-**kʰɯ́***** *ti*
rice INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA
‘Is there any rice?’

d. *mɯ́* *tɕípu* ***ti***
weather be.comfortable STA
‘The weather is fine.’

The stative aspect is not the only aspect that stative verbs can take. They can also co-occur with the imperfective aspect (200a) or the perfective aspect (200b):

(200) a. *tsəkɯ́* *tʂútɕéɾezí* *pu* *nyɛ́-tʰɔ* *ti,* *kólo* *ti,* *tsəkɯ́* *ɛ-ɕó* ***pi***
D.M sixty-four on NEG-can/1SG STA hard STA D.M DS-be.tired IMPF
‘I couldn’t (work) at sixty-four (years of age). It was hard and I got tired.’

b. *tɕʰú* *kʰukő* ***sö*** *nyi*
next know PFV/1SG EGO:AP
‘Now (I) know (it).’

It has been mentioned that the imperfective aspect can be used to denote an on-going situation, hence the fact that it can replace the stative aspect in some context is easily explained, as a state can be understood to be a situation lasting for a certain period

of time. However, how the meaning for a stative verb followed by the stative aspect is different from the same verb followed by the imperfective aspect remains to be worked out.

8.4 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is the grammatical category for information source (Aikhenvald 2004, 2018). It is typical of many Tibeto-Burman languages that the grammatical means of expressing information source and access to information, which is egophoricity, are interwined and hard to tease apart (DeLancey 2018; Hyslop 2018a). Sometimes they are subsumed under one category, which is the evidential, but sometimes they are treated as two different categories. In Munya, evidentiality, egophoricity, and mirativity, a grammatical category that is coding the expectation of knowledge, all exist. This section will focus on evidentiality.

There are three evidential markers in Munya, two of which are the direct evidential marker *rɑ* and the evidential marker for hearsay, *təpi*. The third evidential morpheme is the perfective aspect auxiliary *sə*, which can express an indirect information source when the subject is non-first person.

8.4.1 The Direct Evidential

The direct evidential marker *rɑ* can only be used in a sentence describing a past or present situation. It directly follows the predicate and cannot co-occur with aspect marker, egophoric marker or mirative marker. It is most commonly used to indicate that the source of information is visual (201a), but examples are also found where the information source is auditory (201b), olfactory (201c), or simply personal experience (201d) (this is why it is analyzed as a direct evidential marker):

(201) a. *tó-zə* *tʰó-tso* ***rɑ***
one-CLF:MAN AS-run EVID:DIRECT
'A (person) ran away.'

b. *ndɛ́ á-**rɑ**?*

sense/2SG INTRG-EVID:DIRECT

'Did you sense (hear) (it)?'

c. *ŋí ti tó-lö tə-né ti ndá **rɑ***

1SG+ERG something one-CLF:GENR UP-stink STA sense/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'I can sense (smell) that something stinks.'

d. *tɕétɕé t^{h}ə-vá **rɑ***

long.time AS-become EVID:DIRECT

'(It) has been a long time.'

Evidentials can interact with person in different ways across languages (Aikhenvald 2004: Chapter 7). In many languages the direct evidential cannot be used with a first-person volitional subject. Called *first person effect*, this phenomenon is also found in Tibetic languages (e.g., DeLancey 2018; J. T.-S. Sun 1993, 2018). In Munya, the direct evidential *rɑ* is incompatible with a first-person volitional subject (202a), but is compatible with first person non-volitional subjects, as in (202b), (202c), (202d) and (202e). Furthermore, *rɑ* can co-occur with a second-person volitional subject in a declarative clause (202f), but not in an interrogative clause (202g):

(202) a. **ŋí $tɕ^{h}$int$ʂ^{h}$ɛ́ tó-lö k^{h}ɤ-tá **rɑ***

1SG+ERG car one-CLF:GENR NONS-buy/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'I bought a car.'

b. *ŋú̱ tu-tɕó **rɑ***

1SG UP-be.full/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'I'm full.'

c. *ŋí tő **rɑ***

1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'I see (it).'

d. *ngɛ́ tə-ŋé* ***ra***

1SG+EXP UP-be.ill EVID:DIRECT

'I'm ill.'

e. *hák^{h}u-mo-ko* ***ra***

formative-NEG-know/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'(I) didn't know it.'

f. *nɛ́ i ŋɯ́ le té k^{h}ɤ-má-seŋa* ***ra***

2SG ERG 1SG DAT at.all NONS-NEG-listen.to EVID:DIRECT

'You didn't listen to me at all.'

g. **nɛ́ i kətɐɛ́ ɛtí-lö é-ndzü* ***ra?***

2SG ERG pancake how.many-CLF:GENR DS-eat/2SG EVID:DIRECT

'Intended meaning: How many pancakes did you eat?'

Only in very rare instances is *ra* compatible with the first-person volitional subject. For example, as a control verb, *t^{h}ótso* 'to run' is normally not compatible with a first-person subject. However, if a person is watching a video showing herself running, then (203) becomes acceptable:

(203) *ŋɯ́ t^{h}ó-tso* ***ra***

1SG AS-run EVID:DIRECT

'I ran away.'

To account for this, we need to refine our characterization of *ra* as denoting the source of information acquired from the outside world. In the case of non-volitional events occurring to oneself (i.e., a clause with a first-person non-volitional subject), the subject is more a passive experiencer than an active initiator. Since the speaker can only be aware of those events after they have taken place, it is as if the knowledge of non-volitional acts is acquired from the outside world. Therefore, non-volitional actions about oneself are treated

on a par with volitional/non-volitional actions of others, as reflected in the application of *rɑ*.

The interaction between person and evidentiality in Tibetic languages led J. T.-S. Sun (1993) to posit the now widely accepted distinction between *self-person* and *other-person*, with self-person defined as follows:

> In rather vague terms, self-person sentences are marked as utterances produced by oneself. Unlike the traditional first-person, however, the self-person is not deictically bound to the speaker; rather, it is appropriate not only in first-person statements, but also second person (non-rhetorical) questions. (J. T.-S. Sun 1993: 956)

For the purpose of our discussion, we can add a further constraint on the dichotomy between self-person and other-person, that is, the volitionality of predicate. Thus 'self-person' refers to the first person subject in a declarative clause with volitional predicate and the second-person subject in a (non-rhetorical) interrogative clause with volitional predicate, while 'other-person' refers to all other persons, including all participants of non-volitional actions, the second-person volitional subject in a declarative clause, and the third-person volitional subject. This is summarized in Table 8.4:

Table 8.4: Self and Other Person Distinctions in Munya

	Declarative		Interrogative	
	Volitional	Non-volitional	Volitional	Non-volitional
1	**Self**	Other	Other	Other
2	Other	Other	**Self**	Other
3	Other	Other	Other	Other

The direct evidential *rɑ* is probably grammaticalized from the motion verb which means 'go'. Aside from the fact that the two morphemes are homophonous, another piece of evidence supporting this analysis is that *rɑ* 'go' cannot be followed by the direct evidential. One can use (204) if one has witnessed that a cow went downstream:

(204) *ŋə́mo tó-lö* ***ɑ-rá***
cow one-CLF:GENR DS-go
'A cow went downstream.'

In this example, the direct evidential marker cannot be used. We can explain this constraint by hypothesizing that the evidential sense of *rɑ* developed from the motion sense, and that as a motion verb, synchronically *rɑ* contains both the sense of motion and the sense of evidentiality; hence, using an evidential *rɑ* after the content verb *rɑ* is redundant.

8.4.2 The Reported Evidential

tə́pi is a reported evidential marker which indicates that the information source is hearsay. Morphologically, it can be analyzed as consisting of the verb *tə́* 'to say' and the third-person imperfective auxiliary *pi*. This morpheme is essentially a speech report verb which takes a non-overt generic subject, and has not yet fully grammaticalized into an evidential marker. Structurally, it is used after a full clause, and does not enter into the same paradigm with the direct evidential *rɑ* or the indirect evidential *sə*. Both *rɑ* and *sə* are part of the predicate complex, while *tə́pi* is a dispensable particle, used only when the speaker wants to emphasize that the content in the marked clause is overheard.

In practice, there are two ways of telling whether *tə́pi* should be analyzed as a verb complex consisting of the speech-report verb *tə́* 'to say' plus the imperfective auxiliary *pi* or as a reported evidential. The first way is to check if the subject of *tə́pi* is overtly stated or not: If it is stated, *tə́pi* is a verb complex; if it is not, *tə́pi* is an evidential marker. The other criterion is to check whether the subject of the embedded clause has a third-person reflexive pronoun *tsé*. The presence of *tsé* implies that there is a coreferential subject in the main clause, be it overt or not. In that case *tə́ pi* would function as a predicate. In the absence of both an overt subject and the third-person reflexive pronoun, *tə́pi* should be analyzed as the reported evidential. For example:

(205) *otsí* *tsé* *ɣɛ* *tɔ-tsɔ́* *rɑ* ***tə́*** ***pi***
3SG+ERG REFL/3SG EXP UP-be.hungry EVID:DIRECT say IMPF

'He says he is hungry.'

This example contains both an overt subject *otsə́*, which is the subject of the main clause, and a coreferential reflexive pronoun *tsé*, suggesting that *tə́ pi* should be analyzed as a verb with an imperfective marker.

The examples in (206) serve to show the properties of *tə́pi* as an evidential marker:

(206) a. *[tsé i lá kʰɯ-tʰə́ ro rő ŋo, tsé*
REFL/3SG ERG bride NONS-ask.for come come/1SG EGO:SAP REFL/3SG
*ɣɛ lá rí]$_{SR}$ tə́ sə nyi **tə́pi** nyi*
POSS bride come/2SG say PFV EGO:AP EVID:REP EGO:AP

'He said: "I have come to ask for a bride, come and be my bride", so it was said.'

b. *pɛtɕí nyɯ́-tsʰu nú-vɯ rɑ **tə́pi** nyi*
then NEG-allow DOWN-do EVID:DIRECT EVID:REP EGO:AP

'(It) wasn't allowed (anymore), so it was said.'

The clauses marked by the reported evidential marker are fully independent clauses. In the two examples the reported evidential is further followed by the egophoric *nyi*, indicating that this evidential marker still retains some verbal property. (206a) comes from a story. Here the clause before the reported evidential is a speech report, and ends with the egophoric *nyi*. By using the reported evidential after this speech report clause, the story-teller seems to be suggesting that she heard this from others. The reported evidential, however, is not obligatory in story-telling and is subject to considerable variation across speakers. One speaker used it seven times in a story of three and a half minutes, while the other used it only once in a twenty-minute story, in the last sentence.

The overall structure of (206b) is similar to that of (206a), except that the clause marked by *tə́pi* is not a speech report, and ends with the direct evidential marker.

8.4.3 The Indirect Evidential

We have seen that the direct evidential *rɑ* interacts with person. Evidentiality can also interact with other grammatical categories, such as aspect. Aspect and evidentiality can be fused for some languages, with the same morpheme expressing information such as visual+perfective or internal evidence+imperfective (Forker 2018). Therefore sometimes it can be hard to decide whether the function of a morpheme is primarily evidential and

secondarily aspectual or vice versa. For example, we have mentioned above that *rɑ* can only be used in a sentence that describes a past or present situation. If we restrict ourselves solely to this morpheme, there seems to be no reason why we can not analyze it as denoting realis. This is especially so considering that *rɑ* is in complementary distribution with all aspect morphemes. However, an aspectual analysis of *rɑ* leads to confusion as to the differences in function between *rɑ* and other aspectual morphemes. Its function would overlap with the perfective *sə*, the stative *ti*, the neutral aspect, and part of the function of *pi*. Moreover, the fact that its use implies how the speaker has a direct information source for the proposition, which is most important, would be unexplained. It is for these reasons that *rɑ* is analyzed as primarily evidential.

A similar argument can be made for *sə*, which can be used both for perfectiveness and indirect evidential. It is analyzed as primarily aspectual and secondarily evidential because, as has been discussed in 8.3, it is in a paradigmatic relation with other aspectual morphemes, both in distribution and in function. This means it fits most properly within the aspect category.

The evidential sense of *sə* can be illustrated with the minimal pair in (207):

(207) a. *rɔ́ tɛ́-zɛ tʰɔ́-sə* ***rɑ***
snake one-CLF:LONG AS-die EVID:DIRECT
'A snake died.'

b. *rɔ́ tɛ́-zɛ tʰɔ́-sə* ***sə***
snake one-CLF:LONG AS-die PFV
'A snake died.'

By using the direct evidential in (207a), the speaker implies that she saw the whole process of the death of the snake. In contrast, if the speaker only sees a dead snake, *sə* would be used, as in (207b).

In a similar vein, if a person sees a pile of excrement on the roadside and infers that someone relived themselves over there, (208a) can be used. If that person had seen someone defecating over there, in other words, had direct evidence, then (208b) would be more felicitous:

(208) a. *okʰó ɛɤ́ naˑkʰá* ***sə***
DEM excrement DOWN-defecate PFV
'(Someone) defecated here.'

b. *okʰó ɛɤ́ naˑkʰá* ***rɑ***
DEM excrement DOWN-shit EVID:DIRECT
'(Someone) defecated here.'

These two pairs of examples indicate that *sə* is used if the proposition is made based on inference.

The indirect evidential sense seems to be only available when the subject of the clause is non-first person. Consider the following example:

(209) *ŋí tɕʰintʂʰɛ́ tó-lö kʰɤ́-tɤ* ***sö*** *nyi*
1SG+ERG car one-CLF:GENR NONS-buy PFV/1SG EGO:AP
'I bought a car.'

We have mentioned, in (202a), that this sentence would be ungrammatical if *sö nyi* is replaced with the direct evidential *rɑ*. Different from *rɑ*, *sə* does not show such first-person effect. (209) is a normal description for a natural volitional event with a first-person subject, with no sense of evidentiality conveyed. It does not indicate, for instance, that the speaker bought a car unintentionally and only realized after it has been done. This sense would be expressed by not using the egophoric *nyi* — see section 8.5.2 for further discussion.

8.5 Egophoricity

8.5.1 The history of the term

The term egophoricity goes back to the conjunct/disjunct distinction made by A. Hale (1980), whose aim was to capture the distribution of two verb forms observed in Newari. He notices that for certain verbs, one form, the 'conjunct' form, normally occurs with first

person actors and the other form, the ‘disjunct’ form, tends to occur with non-first person actors.

Hargreaves (2005) summarized Hale’s findings and pointed out that the conditions for the occurrence of conjunct forms include, 1) the clause is finite; 2) the event being described is interpreted as involving an intentional action by the actor; 3) the speech act is either first person declarative, or second person interrogative, or reported speech when the subject in the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause are coreferential. In all other finite environments, the verb occurs in a disjunct form.

As illustrations, consider the examples in (210), where the verb *wane* ‘to go’ is in conjunct form:

(210) a. *Ji ana* ***wanā***

‘I went there.’ (from Hale 1980, Exp. 1)

b. *Cha ana* ***wanā*** *lā?*

‘Did you go there?’ (from Hale 1980, Exp. 4)

c. *Wąą wa ana* ***wanā*** *dhakāā dhāla*

‘He said that he went there (himself).’ (from Hale 1980, Exp. 5)

While in (211), the verb occurs in disjunct form:

(211) a. *Cha ana* ***wana***

‘You went there.’ (from Hale 1980, Exp. 2)

b. *Wa ana* ***wana***

‘He went there.’ (from Hale 1980, Exp. 3)

c. *Wąą wa ana* ***wana*** *dhakāā dhāla*

‘He said that he (someone else) went there.’ (from Hale 1980, Exp. 6)

d. *Jįį lā* ***pala***

‘I cut the meat (quite by accident).’ (from Hale 1980, Exp. 10)

Hale's term was adopted by researchers to analyze other languages (e.g., Curnow 2002). In particular, DeLancey (1990, 1992b) argues Lhasa Tibetan also shows the conjunct/disjunct pattern. However, other linguists who work on Tibetic languages either avoid (e.g., J. T.-S. Sun 1993) or overtly reject this term (Tournadre 2008, 2017; J. T.-S. Sun 2018). Tournadre believes that conjunct/disjunct is not a valid concept for the description of Tibetan. In Tournadre (2017: 117), he gives six reasons for this:

> a) It is structural/syntactic in nature and not motivated by semantico-cognitive parameters.
>
> b) It is binary in nature, while E/E (i.e., evidential/epistemic) systems attested in the Tibetic languages comprise a fairly large paradigm of forms and functions.
>
> c) The use of conjunct/disjunct categories is largely automatic and compulsory unlike the use of egophoric, sensory and inferential categories, which may depend on the speaker's perspective.
>
> d) It is based on the notion of person coreference patterns, while in his approach the 'person agreement' is a secondary effect of semantico-cognitive concepts related to the evidential source and access to information.
>
> e) The 'conjunct' category is not primarily defined by its specific semantic meaning unlike the category of 'egophoric'.
>
> f) The conjunct/disjunct pattern or system is a complex category that usually manifests itself in three heterogeneous patterns: 'the declarative pattern', 'the interrogative pattern' and the 'quotative pattern'.

Scholars who work on Tibetan tend to treat what is labeled as conjunct by DeLancey as a kind of evidential, i.e., egophoric evidential (cf. Tournadre and Jiatso 2001; Hill and Gawne 2017; Gawne 2017; Tournadre 2017; Kelly 2018). For example, Gawne (2017) writes that '(e)gophoric is one of a number of evidential distinctions marked in Standard Tibetan, with sensory and factual evidential categories and a reported speech evidential particle also found in the language.' This category is also labeled as 'person', 'ego', 'testimonial', 'direct' or 'perceptual' by various authors (Gawne 2017).

Tournadre and Jiatso (2001) describe the meaning of this category as follows: 'The speaker is directly involved in the process that he describes and is himself the source of information. He either himself experienced something, or suffered or willingly performed an action.'

However, not all researchers agree to treat egophoric in this way, i.e., as an evidential category. In a recent study, Scott DeLancey, while forsaking 'conjunct/disjunct' and taking up 'egophoric', maintains that egophoric is fundamentally different from evidential. He contends that '(t)he Tibetic Egophoric category is not part of the evidential system; it is an independent, and more fundamental, category which affects evidential meanings that come under its shadow. Rather than an evidential category, Egophoric is a category to which evidentiality is not applicable' (DeLancey 2018). A similar view is expressed in Hyslop (2018a).

The term 'egophoricity' is first used by Post (2013) in an effort to capture the conjunct-disjunct marking phenomenon. He also used the term 'alterphoric' in that paper, which forms a binary contrast with 'egophoric'. With these two terms, he is able to describe most of the conjunct-disjunct distribution patterns observed in four types of constructions in Galo.

However, this use of the term is criticized by Hill and Gawne (2017), who, as was mentioned above, insist on analyzing egophoric as a subcategory of evidentiality. They show their discomfort with Post and those who follow his suit (such as Daudey 2014; San Roque et al. 2017) for identifying egophoricity with conjunct-disjunct. Hill and Gawen even lament that '(t)he overall pattern of defining "egophoric(ity)" in relation to Hale's (1980) definition of "conjunct-disjunct" and then providing qualifications (Post 2013; Daudey 2014) repeatedly breathes fresh air into a defunct outlook and fulfills Tournadre's prophecy that "the phantom concept of conjunct/disjunct will haunt linguistic articles for a long time" (Tournadre 2008: 304).'

On the other hand, Hyslop (2014, 2018a,b), who works on Kurtöp, also a Tibetic language, prefers to define egophoricity as 'access to knowledge'. She points out that in Kurtöp, egophoric is used if the speaker does not expect the hearer to already have the knowledge, and notably, egophoric in that language is not saliently relevant to either notion of volition or control (Hyslop 2018b).

Meanwhile, outside of the circle of Tibetan linguistics, a new trend is arising that is trying to establish egophoricity as a valid cross-linguistic category and add it to the toolkit of cross-linguistic concepts (San Roque et al. 2017, 2018). San Roque et al. (2018) define egophoricity as 'the grammaticalised encoding of the personal or privileged knowledge or involvement of a potential speaker (the primary knower) in a represented event or situation (p. 2).' Obviously, this definition is built on Hyslop (2014, 2018a,b) and other researchers who work on Tibetan languages. San Roque et al. (2018) further point out that the most important formal feature of egophoricity is person-sensitivity, or what they call 'egophoric distribution', which comprises the use of the same egophoric marker in first person declaratives and second person interrogatives, and the use of a non-egophoric marker (or markers) in other environments. This is why they use 'potential speaker' instead of simply 'speaker' in their definition.

As we shall see in the following discussion, that, while egophorics in Munya fit nicely in the notional definition given in San Roque et al. (2018), their structural distribution shows some unexpected features.

8.5.2 Egophoricity in Munya

There are two grammatical morphemes in Munya that are analyzable as egophorics. The first one is the auxiliary *ŋo*, which is grammaticalized from the equational copula. It can only be used after volitional predicate and cannot co-occur with aspects and direct and inferential evidentials. The two examples below show that it cannot be used after non-control predicate:

(212) a. **ngɛ́ tə-ŋé ŋo*
1SG+EXP UP-be.sick EGO:SAP

'Intended meaning: I'm sick.' (cf. 23a)

b. **otsə́ tɕé sívɯ ŋo*
DEM house be.good EGO:SAP

'Intended meaning: This house is good.'

Since it does not co-occur with aspect markers, the temporal information of the sentence in which it is used needs to be deduced from the context. (213a) is said by a visitor who is going to take his leave, thus refers to an imperfective event. In (213b), the speaker was talking at night about what she did during the day, indicating that it is a perfective event.

(213) a. *ŋɯ́ ndő* ***ŋo***
1SG go/1SG EGO:SAP

'I'm leaving.'

b. *nóno tsə tə́-rə tsəkɯ́ lɛ́kɛ́ tʰo-vó* ***ŋo***
morning TOP UP-get.up and work AS-do/1SG EGO:SAP

'(I) got up in the morning and worked.'

In the two examples above, *ŋo* occurs in first person environment. It can also occur in second person interrogative clause or an embedded clause where the subject is coreferential with that of the matrix clause:

(214) a. *píntɕilin ɛ-ɛ́-ndzɛ* ***ŋo****?*
ice.cream DS-INTRG-eat/2SG EGO:SAP

'Do you (want to) eat ice cream?'

b. *ŋɯní [húndzə ɛ́-ndzə ré ɛ-**ŋo**]*$_{\textit{Matrix Clause}}$ *sɔ́*
1PL.EXCL+ERG dinner DS-eat go/1/2NONSG INTRG-EGO:SAP think

pe nyi
IMPF/1/2NONSG EGO:AP

'We are thinking whether we should go have dinner or not.'

When occurring in the above environments, the meaning of this marker is to denote the actor's control and awareness of her action or involvement in the situation.

Importantly, *ŋo* can also be used in second person declarative clauses. Consider the two examples below:

(215) a. *nɛ́ i pə́sə tɤ́rɤ́ ɛ́-ndzə hɛ́* ***ŋo***
2SG ERG today tsampa DS-eat will/2SG EGO:SAP

‘You will/have to eat tsampa today.’

b. *nɛ́ i ɛ́-ndzü* ***ŋo***
2SG ERG DS-eat/2SG EGO:SAP

‘You have already eaten/had your meal.’

(215a) is uttered as a notice to the addressee, while (215b) is used if the addressee forgot if she already had dinner or not and asks the speaker about it. The function of the egophoric marker here is to indicate the speaker’s privileged access to knowledge—in both examples, the speaker knows something that the addressee does not.

ŋo is not found to be compatible with third person.

Another egophoric marker is the clause final particle *nyi*. When the predicate is stative, the marker directly follows it (216a). If the predicate is non-stative, the marker needs to be preceded by the perfective marker *sə* or the imperfective marker *pi* (216b):

(216) a. *nɛ́ i mənyɛ́ sú ú-nyɛ* ***nyi****?*
2SG ERG Munya language INTRG-can/2SG EGO:AP

‘Can you speak Munya?’

b. *ótsə dʑópu tʰə́-va* ***sə nyi***
3SG king AS-become PFV EGO:AP

‘He became the king.’

nyi does not show the egophoric distribution that is typical of egophoric markers. Instead, it can co-occur with all three persons. The reason to analyze it as an egophoric marker is that when used in first person declarative environment, it indicates the speaker’s volition or control of her action. Compare the two examples below:

(217) a. *ŋí* *nbətʂá* *tó-lö* *ní-tʰɛ* *no-só* *sö*
1SG+ERG worm one-CLF:GENR DOWN-trample DOWN-kill PFV/1SG
'I stepped on a worm and killed it. (unintentional)'

b. *ŋí* *nbətʂá* *tó-lö* *ní-tʰɛ* *no-só* *sö* *nyi*
1SG+ERG worm one-CLF:GENR DOWN-trample DOWN-kill PFV/1SG EGO:AP
'I stomped on a worm and killed it. (intentional)'

In first person environment, the meanings of *ŋo* and *nyi* are essentially similar, in that they are all related to volition on the part of the controller. Thus, (217b) can be paraphrased as (218):

(218) *ŋí* *nbətʂá* *tó-lö* *ní-tʰɛ* *no-só* *ŋo*
1SG+ERG worm one-CLF:GENR DOWN-tramp DOWN-kill EGO:SAP
'I stomped on a worm and killed it/I am going to stomp a worm and kill it.'

The major difference between the two sentences is that the aspectual information is specified in (217b) but not in (218).

When used in non-first person environments, *nyi* denotes privileged access to information. Compare the two examples below:

(219) a. *otsə́* *məní* *tőme* ***nyi***
DEM person be.rich EGO:AP
'That person is rich.'

b. *otsə́* *məní* *tőme* ***ti***
DEM person be.rich STA
'That person is rich.'

(219a) would be used if the speaker assumes that the addressee does not share her information, i.e., does not know that the person being talked about is rich. By contrast,

(219b), which ends with the stative aspect marker, is a plain statement and does not carry this assumption.

8.5.3 Egophoricity and Interrogativity

Defining egophoricity as pertaining to the personal knowledge or involvement of a potential speaker begs the question of how to explain the use of egophoricity in second person interrogatives. Using egophorics in interrogative environment appears paradoxical, for the things that we ask about are likely to be those things that we know little about.

Researchers generally agree that this is because the forms used in interrogatives are determined by the forms anticipated in the answer (cf. A. Hale 1980; Tournadre and Jiatso 2001; Tournadre and LaPolla 2014; San Roque et al. 2017). What they don't agree on, however, is whether this is an intrinsic feature of egophoricity or a phenomenon that has different motivations. San Roque et al. (2017) believe that this use is entirely expected: 'In relation to perspective in interrogatives, egophoric markers appear to obligatorily shift from speaker to addressee perspective.' While Tournadre and Jiatso (2001) and Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) prefer to explain this through the language-specific 'anticipation rule'. Tournadre and Jiatso (2001) write that 'This is a peculiar linguistic phenomenon found in the Tibetan dialects and other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Newari or Akha. When asking a question directly concerning the interlocutor, the egophoric or first person marker is used because the speaker "anticipates" that the answer will normally contain "I" '.

In the case of Munya, the two egophoric markers we have seen indeed show egophoric distribution. These are shown with the two pairs of examples in (220) and (221):

(220) a. *nɛ́ i ndʑúndʑɯ ró kɛ́yi i-ndʑɛ́ **ŋo**?*
2SG ERG have.fun NMLZ many INTRG-have/2SG EGO:SAP

'Do you have many friends to hang out with?'

b. *ndʑó **ŋo***
have/1SG EGO:SAP

'Yes, I do.'

(221) a. *ɛ-tʰá pɛ́ **nyi***
INTRG-do IMPF/2SG EGO:AP
'What are you doing?'

b. *nbí sö **nyi***
sit IMPF/1SG EGO:AP
'Just sitting.'

On the other hand, non-egophoric markers also show this egophoric distribution. The two sentences below show that this is the case of the direct evidential:

(222) a. *tə-kú **á-rɑ**?*
UP-feel.cold INTRG-EVID:DIRECT
'Are you cold?'

b. *má-**rɑ***
NEG-EVID:DIRECT
'No.'

The non-evidential imperfective marker also shows this feature:

(223) a. *nyú-ke kʰɯ-ɕó **ɛ́-pi**?*
NEG-be.free NONS-come.out INTRG-IMPF
'Are you free?/Do you have time?'

b. *nyú-ke kʰɯ-ɕó **nyú-pi***
NEG-be.free NONS-come.out NEG-IMPF
'I'm free.'

In this example, the imperfective marker does not inflect for the second person form because the predicate, *kʰɯɕó* 'come out' is a non-control verb.

Even in Mandarin, a language which is not (yet) assumed to have egophoricity, certain clause-final mood particles show egophoric distribution:

(224) a. *ni zai gan shenme **ne**?*
2SG PROG do what CFP
'What are you doing?'

b. *wo zai xuexi **ne***
1SG PROG study CFP
'I'm studying.'

It is hard to pinpoint the exact meaning of *ne* here. In the interrogative clause it seems to have an information seeking function while in the declarative clause it seems to indicate that the information provided is new to the addressee, and can have some overtone of impatience.

These data show that we should exercise great care when deciding whether a language has egophoricity or not. On the one hand, grammatical morphemes that show egophoric distribution are not necessarily egophorics; on the other hand, egophoric markers, such as the two in Munya, may occur in a wider range of environments than canonical egophorics do.

8.5.4 Egophoricity and Negation

There are four negative prefixes in Munya, which are the prohibitive *tɐɯ-*, the past negator *mo-*, the non-past negator *nyɯ-*, and the overarching *tɐɛ-* which is in many cases interchangeable with *mo-* and *nyɯ-*.

Both *mo-* and *nyɯ-* can occur with egophorics, as can be seen from the two examples below:

(225) a. *kɛ́tʂi i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ [ti kʰɛ́kʰɛ tə́-dzö **nyɯ́-po ŋo]***
PN ERG UP-say and INDF different UP-take NEG-IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP
'kɛtʂi said: "I don't want to take anything else." '

b. *púmi mɛ́ndɛ i tsəkʉ́ tʰó-ngə **mó-sə nyi***
begger old.woman ERG D.M AS-be.happy NEG-PFV EGO:AP

'The old beggar woman was not happy.'

However, egophorics cannot co-occur with the other two negative prefixes. The two examples in (226) show that it cannot be used in a negative imperative clause:

(226) a. *[mʉ́ te **ɣɤ-tɕʉ́-tü]** tə sə*
fire at.all US-PROH-light.up/2SG say PFV

' "Be sure not to light up any fire," (she) said.'

b. *tará **tɕʉ́-hu***
for.now PROH-go/2SG

'Don't go for now.'

This is understandable, as imperative clauses generally allow fewer categories than declarative clauses.

However, the two egophorics are also not allowed when the predicate is negated by *tɕɛ-*:

(227) a. *ndʑú=ni nó-tʂʰö ɣɛ legő ɛ-dʑó **tɕɛ́-sə***
people=PL+ERG DOWN-plow LK task DS-assign NEG-PFV

'People wouldn't assign the task of plowing (to me).'

b. *dʐiló tu-kú nə́ **tɕɛ́-pi***
duty UP-carry.on.back also NEG-IMPF

'They even don't perform their duties.'

The functions and formal distributions of the Munya egophorics in declarative clauses are summarized in Table 8.5.

Compared to canonical egophorics, Munya egophorics are special on two grounds. In terms of function, both egophoric markers can perform two roles, which are denoting

Table 8.5: The Function and Distribution of the Two Egophoric Markers

Predicate type	Person	*ŋo*	*nyi*
Control predicate	1	volitional action, no aspect	volitional action, with aspect
	2	pr. access to information	pr. access to information
	3	*	pr. access to information
Non-control predicate	1	*	pr. access to information
	2	*	pr. access to information
	3	*	pr. access to information

the potential speaker's volition or involvement in an event and privileged access to information. The semantic interpretation correlates with the person of subject. In terms of structural distribution, egophorics show a wider range of possibility than was previously assumed, with one allowed to occur with second person subject and control predicate, and the other can occur with all persons and all types of predicates.

8.6 Mirativity

In his attempt to establish mirativity as a viable grammatical category, DeLancey (1997: 33) characterizes mirativity as denoting 'the status of the proposition with respect to the speaker's overall knowledge structure', and more specifically, that 'the proposition is one which is new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world' (p.36). A more detailed characterization of the meanings of mirativity is offered in Aikhenvald (2012), where sudden discovery, revelation or realization, surprise, unprepared mind, counterexpectation and new information are all subsumed under the label of mirativity. Also, the mirative effects are not restricted to the speaker. In various languages, effects of such kind relating to the main character in narration or the audience/addressee can also trigger mirativity expression.

In Munya, mirativity can be used in the contexts of sudden or deferred realization, counterexpectation, surprise or new information; and it seems that in all such contexts, the mirative effect is on the part of the speaker or the main characters in narration. This is probably because the meaning of mirativity (more specifically, new information) to the addressee is already covered by the wide scope egophoric *nyi*.

Formally, mirativity is expressed with the particle *tʰoŋósə*. While this word can be fur-

ther parsed into the equative copula *tʰó-ŋo* 'AS-be' and the perfective aspect auxiliary *sə*, in actual usage *tʰoŋósə* is lexicalized. The directional prefix *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker' cannot be changed to any other directional prefix, *sə* cannot inflect for the person-number of the subject, nor does it retain the meaning of perfectiveness in this case, and nothing can be inserted between *tʰoŋo* and *sə*. These suggest that *tʰoŋósə* forms one grammatical word. In terms of distribution, *tʰoŋósə* cannot co-occur with the direct evidential marker *rɑ* or the stative aspect *ti*. It can directly follow stative predicates, cf. (228) and (229), or imperfective and perfective markers (230) and (231).

As a first illustration on the use of this term, consider (228), which I heard from many native speakers:

(228) *pɤ́su* ***tʰoŋósə***
Tibetan.language MIR
'It turns out that it IS Tibetan.'

I often hear this sentence when Munya speakers were discussing the etymology of some Munya words with me. If I thought that a word was borrowed from Tibetan, I would ask them for confirmation. Their first reaction was generally negative, asserting that the word in question is a native Munya word. But when I asked them how to say that word in Tibetan, they would ponder for a while, and admit that the word was a Tibetan loan indeed, saying (228). The meaning of the mirative marker here seems to be sudden realization or counter-expectation, and the mirative effect is on the part of the speaker.

As another illustration, consider (229):

(229) *reré* ***tʰoŋósə***
be.delicious MIR
'Turns out it is delicious.'

The speaker thought that adding vinegar to noodle would not taste good, but when she tasted it, she found that, contrary to her expectation/to her surprise, it was delicious, thus saying (229).

tʰoŋósə can also be used after a speaker has gained certainty about previously uncertain events or situations. The information content triggering the use of the mirative marker may still be new, but not totally unexpected. According to Aikhenvald (2012), similar function is also found in Quechua (called 'expected surprise'). For example, one day my consultant found that he could not make recordings with his smart-phone anymore. He thought it might be because there was no storage left but could not be sure. I checked his phone and told him he was right—the SD card was full. After hearing this, he made a phone call to someone explaining the cause of that issue, and uttered (230):

(230) *tósə pi* ***tʰoŋósə***
be.full IMPF MIR
'Turns out (the smartphone) is full.'

The mirative marker is used in a similar way in (231):

(231) *tɕokí na-rá sə* ***tʰoŋósə***
PN DOWN-go PFV MIR
'It turns out that (he) went to tɕokí.'

The context is that a speaker asked where her grandfather went in the afternoon. Her grandfather told her a joke and said he went to Kangding. Knowing that this was impossible, as Kangding is too far away from the village for anyone to make a round-trip within half a day, the speaker then turned to me. After I told her that he went to tɕokí, a small town nearby, she said (231). The crucial point in these two examples is that the speakers are not totally unprepared for the information to come, they were just uncertain about it. Although the information is not completely new, there was nevertheless some 'newness' about it, which warrants the use of the mirative marker.

tʰoŋósə can also be used if the unexpectedness is on the part of a character. (232) below comes from a story:

(232) *dʑópu=nɛ mətsá tsəkɯ́ otsə́ dəmú* ***tʰoŋósə*** *nyi*
king=COLL.PL daughter D.M 3SG demoness MIR EGO:AP
'The daughter of the king's family turns out to be a demoness.'

The story is about the adventure of three children. After they come to a country, one of the three children marries the daughter of a king. It turns out that this daughter is a demoness who is responsible for the death of several previous kings, a fact which surely comes as a surprise. But surprise to whom? Obviously it cannot be to the narrator/speaker, as he knows the story already. If it is to the audience of the story, the egophoric *nyi* would be the more natural choice, which is what we have found. It seems that the unexpectedness is on the part of a very general 'character', in other words, anyone who is involved in the fictive world of the story, including the characters in the story and the audience. In this kind of genre, using the mirative marker can make the story more vivid.

This example demonstrates, first and foremost, that mirativity and egophoricity are two grammatical categories in Munya. They can not only be differentiated functionally, with mirativity denoting surprise, new information, etc., on the part of speaker, and egophoricity denoting new information for addressee, but also can occur in the same sentence. It also demonstrates that two layers of markers of information expectation can be coded at the same time. This is reminiscent of double marking of information source (c.f. Aikhenvald 2004: 87–95).

8.7 Summary

In this chapter we explored five topics on the grammatical categories of nouns and verbs, which are case-marking, aspect, evidentiality, egophoricity and mirativity. Core syntactic functions can be marked by the ergative case, the absolutive case, the genitive case, the dative case and the experiential case. The patterns of alignment are different for different types of verbs. For control verbs, the pattern is basically ergative-absolutive, but there are also some variations due to differential case marking. For non-control verbs, the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative. There are three aspect markers, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect; and also three evidential

markers, which are the direct evidential, the indirect evidential and the reported evidential. The perfective marker and the indirect evidential marker are the same morpheme, and both have an aspectual sense and an evidential sense. Munya has two egophorics: *ŋo* can only be used in context of first or second person subject and control predicate; *nyi* can occur with all persons and all types of predicates. The meanings of egophorics cover volitional action and privileged access to information. The mirative marker is a clause final particle. It can be used in contexts of sudden or deferred realization, counter-expectation, surprise, and new information.

Chapter 9

Motion Verbs and Serial Verb Constructions

9.1 Overview

Compared to other verbs, the grammatical properties of certain motion verbs in Munya can be very different. They can not only function as independent predicates, but also as V2 or V3 in serial verb constructions; and they can also interact with directional prefixes and other grammatical categories in different ways. These motion verbs, together with their grammatical properties, are listed in Table 9.1. It should be noted that the motion verbs discussed here are 'pure' motion verbs, in the sense that their lexical semantic components include only motion and deictic center. Those motion verbs that have richer lexical semantic components, such as *rəkə́* 'to walk' and *tʰótso* 'to run', which also lexicalize the manner of motion, are not discussed here as they do not have special grammatical properties and are not commonly used in serial verb constructions.

The first parameter considered here is inflection. This has to do with the degree of grammaticalization of a motion verb (the last parameter in the table). It is assumed here that the higher the degree of grammaticalization a verb is, the less likely is it to show inflection. This is borne out by *ra* 'to go', which, although still functioning as a motion verb, is also commonly used as a direct evidential marker. All motion verbs that show person-number inflection inflect for the standard three-conjugation paradigm.

Table 9.1: Five Motion Verbs in Munya and Their Properties

Motion verb	Meaning	Inflection	Directional prefixes	Verbal categories			Compatible time adverbials		Grammaticalization
				Asp	Evid	Ego	Tomorrow	Yesterday	
ndú	be going to leave, going	+	Optional, except for *ngɯ-*	-	-	+	+	-	-
DIR-*tʰú*	be going to come, coming	+	Obligatory, except for *tʰo-*	-	-	+	+	-	-
hə́	go	+	Optional, except for *ngɯ-*	+	+	+	+	+	-
ro	has come, coming	+	Optional,except for *tʰo-*	+	+	+	+	+	In process
rɑ	has gone	-	Optional, except for *ngɯ-*	PFV	-	-	-	+	evidential marker

The second parameter is the ability to take directional prefixes. None of these motion verbs can take the prefix for non-specific direction, *kʰɯ-*, so, in the following discussion this prefix is excluded. Aside from this, the motion verbs show variation on whether or not they can take the prefix *ngɯ-* 'towards the speaker' and *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker'. This has to do with whether the verb means 'to come' or 'to go'. Motion verbs meaning 'to go' cannot take *ngɯ-* 'TS' and those meaning 'to come' cannot take *tʰo-* 'AS'. This can be explained from the perspective of semantic congruity. The prefix that means 'away from the speaker', for example, is semantically incompatible with the root that means 'to come'.

The third parameter is verbal categories, including aspect (mainly the perfective and the imperfective aspect), the direct evidential and egophorics. We will see that some motion verbs are compatible with one or more of these categories, but others are not.

It is also useful to consider whether a motion verb is compatible with certain time adverbials, such as *sésə* 'tomorrow' and *yísi* 'yesterday'. We will see that not all verbs can co-occur with both adverbs. This may indicate that these motion verbs have different Aktionsart.

None of these motion verbs can be causativised.

A serial verb construction in Munya consists of at least two verbs, each of which can be used independently. The serialized verbs or verb phrases are contiguous. Verbs in a serial verb construction function as a single predicate—they share one value of aspect/evidentiality/egophoricity. Clausal grammatical categories are marked only once at the end of the clause.

The properties of each motion verb and their functions within serial verb constructions will be discussed next. This will lead to the discussion on iconicity—the relationship between word order in a serial verb construction and the order of events that they encode. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on symmetrical serial verb constructions.

9.2 Motion Verbs

9.2.1 *ndű́*

ndű́ ‘be going to leave, going’ shows person-number inflections: 1SG *ndő́*, 2SG *ndɛ́* and 1/2NONSG *ndé*. Directional prefixes are optional, but it cannot be *ngɯ-* ‘towards the speaker’. This may be because the meaning of this directional prefix is incompatible with the meaning of the verb root. It can only take the two egophoric markers, and is incompatible with the adverb for ‘yesterday’. Two examples are given below:

(233) a. *tɕátɛ kʰɔ́-lə ɑ-rá tsəkɯ́ ŋɯ́ zɔ́pu ɛ́-ndö **ŋo***
bike NONS-drive DS-go and 1SG back DS-go/1SG EGO:SAP

‘(He) rode on a bike and went downstream and I went behind (him).’

b. *ŋɯ́ sésə ndö **nyi***
1SG tomorrow go/1SG EGO:AP

‘I’m leaving tomorrow.’

This verb always functions as an independent predicate and is not found in a serial verb construction.

9.2.2 *DIR-tʰü*

DIR-tʰǘ ‘be going to come, coming’ also shows person-number inflection: 1SG *DIR-tʰɔ*, 2SG *DIR-tʰɛ*, 1/2NONSG *DIR-tʰe*. The verb root cannot be used without a directional prefix, but the prefix cannot be *tʰo-* ‘away from the speaker’. Other properties of this verb are the same as those of *ndű́*. In the following example it is directly followed by the egophoric marker *nyi*.

(234) *tʰó-sə ri tsə dʑɛtɕʰédʑɛ **ɛ-tʰű́** nyi*
AS-die NMLZ FOC one.hundred.percent DS-come EGO:AP

‘Death is certain to come.’

This verb can function as a minor verb in a serial verb construction:

(235) *tudʐí tsə ti-ví vú tsəkú tɕú [tɕʰú]$_{V1}$ [ro]$_{V2}$ [**no-tʰǘ**]$_{V3}$ nyi*
snake FOC UP-be.thirsty do and water drink go DOWN-come EGO:AP

'The snake got thirsty and came down to drink.'

9.2.3 *hə́*

hə́ 'to go' also shows person-number inflections: 1SG *hɔ́*, 2SG *hɛ́* and 1/2NONSG *hé*. It can optionally take directional prefixes, but is not compatible with *ngɯ-* 'towards the speaker'. This motion verb is compatible with all grammatical categories and time adverbials listed in the table. The two examples below show that it can function as an independent predicate. It is followed by the direct evidential marker in (236a) and both the aspect marker and the egophoric marker in (236b):

(236) a. *otsə́ **ɣɤ-hə́** ra*
3SG US-go EVID:DIRECT

'He went upstream.'

b. *nə́-lü kʰu **hə́** po ŋo*
two-CLF:MONTH in go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP

'I'm leaving in two months.'

It can also act as a transitive verb and mean 'go and do something'. The exact meaning of it would depend on the semantics of the object. This is illustrated with the two examples below:

(237) a. *[ŋí]$_A$ [tódzö]$_O$ **hə́** tɕɛ́-sö*
1SG+ERG construction.worker go NEG-PFV/1SG

'I didn't go and work as a construction worker.'

b. *[ménpu]$_O$ **hə́** ro*
doctor go go

'Go to see a doctor.'

When occurring in a serial verb construction, *hə́* ‘to go’ can only function as a minor verb. In the two examples below, this motion verb occurs in the V2 slot of the serial verb construction:

(238) a. *yísə rə ɛtɕɛ́=nɛ yaɣű* $[kɔ́rɔ]_{V1}$ ***[tə́-hɔ]*** $_{\textbf{V2}}$ *ŋo*
yesterday as.to PN=COLL.PL potato dig UP-go/1SG EGO:AP

‘As to yesterday, I went to dig potatoes for the ɛtɕɛ’s.’

b. *yoní tɕɛ́kʰɛ́ sɔ́-ka ndʑé nyi pu,*
1PL.INCL+ERG thing three-CLF:KIND COP:ANIMATE/1/2NONSG EGO:AP CFP
ónə nɛ́ i $[tə́\text{-}dzu]_{V1}$ ***[hú]*** $_{\textbf{V2}}$
3PL 2SG ERG UP-get go/2SG

‘We have three kinds of things (precious), you go and get (have) them.’

Notice that while in the macro event denoted by the serial verb construction the action of going precedes the action denoted by the main verb, in terms of word order the main verb always comes before the motion verb. In other words, in this type of serial verb construction, the order of the events is not iconic with the order of verbs (more on this in Section 9.2.6).

9.2.4 *ro*

ro ‘has come, coming’ has three inflectional forms: 1SG *rö*, 2SG *ri* and 1/2NONSG *re*. Except for *tʰo-* ‘away from the speaker’, it can take all other directional prefixes. It can also take all grammatical categories and is compatible with both time adverbials. (239) shows that this motion verb can be used as an independent predicate:

(239) *ɛ́ri kʰɔ́ tə́pi tó-lö le* ***ɣɤ́-ri*** *tə́-tə sə, okʰó*
PN deceased called one-CLF:GENR DAT US-come/2SG UP-say PFV DEM
ɣɤ́-ro *tsəkɯ́ ŋɯ́nə kʰó* ***ɣɤ́-ro*** *sə nyi*
US-come D.M 1PL.EXCL place US-come PFV EGO:AP

'(My father) asked a person called ɛri, now deceased, to come. (She) came here, came to our place.'

As an independent predicate, *ro* invariably means 'to come'. It is also very common for *ro* to be used as a minor verb in a serial verb construction, but in many cases it means 'to go' when performing this function:

(240) *löŋő ʈʂútɕə reʑɯ́ pu pɛ hə́ sö nyi, lɛ́kɛ́* $[vɯ́]_{V1}$ $[\textbf{ro}]_{V2}$,
year sixty sixty-four to until go PFV/1SG EGO:AP work do go
tódzö ***ro***, *tɕé* $[tə\text{-}dʑó]_{V1}$ $[\textbf{ro}]_{V2}$, *ndʑú=nɛ*
construction.worker go house UP-build go others=PL+EXP

'After I reached the age of sixty four, I still went to work, went to work as a construction worker, went to build houses, for others.'

This may be seen as an instance of semantic bleaching, to the extent that we assume that a motion verb with deictic center towards the speaker ('come') is more marked than a motion verb with deictic center away from the speaker ('go'). Thus, the change of meaning from 'come' to 'go' can be seen as becoming less semantically enriched, or more grammaticalized. Note also that in the third clause, *tódzö ro* 'go to work as a construction worker', *ro* 'to go' is used as a transitive verb, just as what we have seen for *hə* 'to go'.

The semantic bleaching of *ro* does not end here. In some other serial verb constructions, the motional sense of *ro* totally disappears:

(241) *nbágö=rónə* *[tá-ngə]$_{V1}$* ***[ro]$_{V2}$*** *tsəkɯ́* *kɛnɛ́kɛ* *sívɯ* *tólö*
dancing.costume=ASSC.PL UP-put.on go and more.and.more good PAR
t^hə-vá *pi*
AS-become IMPF

'When putting on dancing costumes and other accessories, the dance looks better and better.'

In this example, the verb *tángə* 'to put on' is followed by *ro* 'to go', but no sense of motion is conveyed here. That is, the dancers do not need to 'go' and then put on dancing costumes. The meaning of *ro* here is hard to capture. It may have some telicity or completive meaning and is on its path to grammaticalizing into an aspect marker.

Since, in some serial verb constructions, the minor verb *ro* has lost its motional sense, to denote the sense of motion another *ro* can be used after it. This is what we see in (242):

(242) *metɔ́.i.púmu.totsé.tʂí* *le* *tsé* *i* *lá* *[k^hɯ-t^hé]$_{V1}$* ***[ro]$_{V2}$*** ***[rö]$_{V3}$***
PN DAT REFL/3SG ERG bride NONS-ask.for go come/1SG
ŋo, *tsé* *ɣɛ* *lá* *ri* *tə́* *sə* *nyi*
EGO:SAP REFL/3SG POSS bride come/2SG say PFV EGO:AP

'(The son of the king's family) said to meto i pumu totsetʂi: "I have come and ask for a bride, come and be my bride." '

In this example, V2, *ro*, has lost the motional meaning. To denote motion another *ro* 'come' is used, which occurs in the V3 slot and bears person-number inflection.

The verb with concrete motional meaning does not have to be *ro*. After the semantically bleached *ro* we also find *DIR-t^hü* 'to come' (see 235 above), *hə́* 'to go' (243a) and *ra* 'to go' (243b):

(243) a. *tsəkɯ́* *nyúlék^{h}á* *k^{h}u* *lɛ́kɛ́* *[vɯ́]$_{V1}$* ***[ro]$_{V2}$*** ***[hə́]$_{V3}$***
D.M production.team in work do go go

'(I) went to work in the production team.'

b. *otsí okʰó [kʰɤ-séŋa]$_{V1}$ [**ro**]$_{V2}$ [**ná-rɑ**]$_{V3}$ sə nyi*
3SG+ERG DEM NONS-listen go DOWN-go PFV EGO:AP

‘He went down over there to listen.’

This semantic bleaching may be the reason why some verb roots have *ro* as their final syllable. Because *ro* is frequently used as V2 in a serial verb construction, it has been reanalyzed as an inherent part of the verb before it. Examples include *ləmíro* ‘to look after livestock’, *tʰo-ntɕʰóro* ‘to have fun, to visit a family and have a chat’ and *bíro* ‘to urinate’.

9.2.5 *rɑ*

The grammatical function of *rɑ* was discussed in the section on evidentiality (8.4.1). Here we will focus on its properties as a motion verb. When functioning as a motion verb, it does not show person-number inflection, can optionally take all directional prefixes except for *ngɯ-* ‘towards the speaker’, can only be followed by the perfective aspect marker, and is compatible with ‘yesterday’ but not ‘tomorrow’. The two examples below show *rɑ* function as a predicate:

(244) a. *tsɤ́lɤ yú **rɑ** sə*
cat again go PFV

‘The cat left again (roaming outside and not going back home at night).’

b. *otsə́ **tə-rɑ́** sə nyi*
3SG UP-go PFV EGO:AP

‘He went up.’

It can only be a minor verb in a serial verb construction, occurring at the V2 slot, as is shown in (245) below (repeated from 233a), or V3 slot, as was shown in (243b):

(245) *ɛɣő i tɕátɛ [kʰɔ́-lə]$_{V1}$ [**ɑ-rɑ́**]$_{V2}$*
uncle ERG bike NONS-ride DS-go

‘Uncle rode on a bike and went downstream.’

The path of grammaticalization of *rɑ* from a motion verb to an evidential marker is hard to trace[1] . Synchronically, it is always clear whether *rɑ* should be interpreted as a motion verb or an evidential marker. If it takes a directional prefix, then it is a motion verb, regardless of whether it is the only predicate in a clause (244b) or a minor verb in a serial verb construction (243b and 245). If it does not take any directional prefix but is the only verb in a clause, then it is also a motion verb, as is shown in (244a). If it follows a verb but is not taking any directional prefix, then it is an evidential marker, and in this case no sense of motion is involved. An ideal example for the mid-ground status of *rɑ* would be in a serial verb construction where *rɑ* is functioning as a minor verb and retains its motional sense, but currently no such example has been found.

There is another motion verb, *kʰɯ́-ʈʂɛ* 'to arrive (NONS-arrive)', which, when used in a serial verb construction, behaves the same as other motion verbs discussed above:

(246) *ndʑíto-u=nə dʑú* ***[kʰɯ-tʰə́]***$_{V1}$ ***[ro]***$_{V2}$ ***[kʰɯ́-ʈʂɛ]***$_{V3}$
PN-person=PL donation NONS-ask.for come NONS-arrive

'Villagers of ndʑitó arrived asking for a donation.'

We can see that *kʰɯ́ʈʂɛ* 'arrive' follows the main verb in the serial verb construction and the word order in the construction is not iconic. However, since this verb does not have any of the special features that other motion verbs have, and serial verb constructions containing this motion verb are not as common as those containing other motion verbs, this verb is not discussed separately.

9.2.6 Iconicity

If we examined (245) more closely, we would find that the word order in the serial verb construction of this example is iconic, i.e, the event of bike riding precedes the event of going downstream, as do the two verbs coding the two events. This is different from other examples of serial verb constructions given from 9.2.2 to 9.2.4, where the motion event precedes the event denoted by the main verb, but the motion verb follows the main verb.

[1] An anonymous examiner pointed out that the two "ra"s could be just accidentally homonymous. This begs the question why the motion verb *ra* cannot be followed by the evidential *ra*.

What, then, determines whether the word order in a serial verb construction containing a minor motion verb is iconic or not? The answer lies in the semantics of the main verb. We can see that in (245), the main verb, which is *kʰɔ́-lə* 'to drive, to ride', is motional. In all other examples where the word order is non-iconic, the main verbs are non-motional, e.g., *lɛ́kɛ́ vɯ́* 'to work' (243a), *tɕʰɯ́* 'to drink' (235) and *kʰɤ́séŋa* 'to listen' (243b). Because the semantics of the main verbs are different, the semantic relations between the main verbs and the minor motion verbs are different accordingly. When the main verb is non-motional, the relation between the serialized verbs is Motion and Purpose (go/come in order to do something), with Motion coded by the motion verb and Purpose coded by the main verb. When the main verb is motional, the relation is Motion and Result (move and go/come to a certain place), with Motion coded by the main motion verb and result coded by the minor motion verb. Because of the syntactic constraint in Munya which rules that a minor motion verb has to follow the main verb in a serial verb construction, the word order is not always iconic with the order of events.

Another constraint is semantic, and determines whether a serial verb construction is permitted or not. In Munya, even if there are two verbs in a clause and one of them is motional, if the semantic relation between the two verbs is not one of Motion and Purpose or Motion and Result, the two verbs cannot occur in a serial verb construction, but need to be connected by *tsəkɯ́* 'and, then':

(247) *ŋɯ́ i tsəkɯ́ məkʰő kʰu tsəkɯ́ ʈʂéɣö tó-lö le ʈʂőpɛ*
1SG ERG D.M chimney in D.M spider one-CLF:GENR DAT transformation
nó-vɯ ***tsəkɯ́*** *ná-tʰɔ ŋo*
DOWN-make and DOWN-come/1SG EGO:SAP

'I will transform into a spider in the chimney and come down.'

In this example, the verb phrase *ʈʂőpɛ nóvɯ* 'transform (transformation do)' and the verb *nátʰɔ* 'to come down' are connected by *tsəkɯ́*. This is because the relation between the two events denoted by the two verbs is one of sequence—first the speaker (a demon) transforms into a spider, then it comes down. It is not a relation of Motion and Purpose (coming down in order to transform into a spider).

Using *tsəkʉ́* ‘and, then’ between two verbs to indicate that the two events denoted are sequential can be seen as a disambiguation technique. Because of the syntactic constraint mentioned above, that is, the minor motion verb invariably follows the main verb in a serial verb construction, if two verbs in a sequential relation is not separated by *tsəkʉ́* ‘and, then’, it can be hard to determine whether the relations between the two verbs is one of Motion and Purpose (e.g., come down in order to transform) or one of Sequence (e.g., transform then come down). The solution in Munya is to use the serial verb construction to denote Motion and Purpose and the linker *tsəkʉ́* ‘and, then’ to denote Sequence.

This grammatical distinction can also be seen as an instance of iconicity: If two events are closely connected, they tend to be formally realized as a single predicate, whereas if they are only loosely connected, some formal linkage is needed. Notionally, two events in the relation of Motion and Purpose are more strongly united and more likely to form a coherent marco-event, hence they can occur in a serial verb construction. In contrast, two events occurring in a temporal sequence are not necessarily close together, therefore some formal marking is used to connect them.

9.3 Serial Verb Constructions Containing Verbs Other Than Motion Verbs

Serial verb constructions can be divided into asymmetrical serial verb constructions and symmetrical serial verb constructions based on their composition. In an asymmetrical serial verb construction, one verb comes from a semantically or grammatically closed subclass, while in a symmetrical serial verb construction all verbs come from open classes (Aikhenvald 2006). Strictly speaking, the serial verb constructions discussed above are all asymmetrical serial verb constructions, as they all contain motion verbs, which come from a closed semantic class.

9.3.1 Asymmetrical Serial Verb Constructions

Aside from motion verbs, at least two verbs can be used as a minor verb in an asymmetrical serial verb construction. The first one is *vɯ́*, of which the closest translation I can give is 'do'. It can be used as an auxiliary and form an analytic imperative construction (cf. Section 13.3). Additionally, it can be an independent verb in a clause and a minor verb in a serial verb construction. The two examples below show that it can be used as an independent verb:

(248) a. *nɛ́ i mo-**vɯ́** sü nyi pu*
2SG ERG NEG-do PFV/2SG EGO:AP CFP
'You didn't do (it right).'

b. *sésə ɛzə́ **vɯ́** pi há-nyu-ko ti*
tomorrow what do IMPF formative-NEG-know/1SG STA
'(I) don't know what (he will) do tomorrow.'

As a minor verb in a serial verb construction, its semantic contribution is trivial, and does not show person-number inflection:

(249) a. *yoní mənyɛ́ sú [tə́]$_{V1}$ [**vɯ́**]$_{V2}$ hi nyi*
1PL.INCL+ERG Munya language say do will EGO:AP
'We will speak Munya.'

b. *ŋí otsɛ́ tá tó-lö [kʰɤ́-tɤ]$_{V1}$ [**vɯ́**]$_{V2}$ ŋo*
1SG+ERG 3SG+EXP hat one-CLF:GENR NONS-buy do EGO:SAP
'I bought a hat for him/her.'

c. *ŋɯ́ ɣɛ [kʰɔ-ɣɔ́]$_{V1}$ [**vɯ́**]$_{V2}$ nə nyɯ́-ŋa*
1SG EXP NONS-help do even NEG-will
'(They) wouldn't even help me.'

vɯ́ can even be used after a non-control verb. This is shown in (250) (reproduced from 235), where *vɯ́* is used after *tiví* 'to be thirsty':

(250) *tudzɻ́ tsə ti-ví* ***vɯ́*** *tsəkɯ́ tɕɯ́ tɕʰɯ́ ro no-tʰű́ nyi*
snake FOC UP-be.thirsty do and water drink go DOWN-come EGO:AP

'The snake got thirsty and went down to drink.'

The function of this minor verb in the serial verb construction is not clear. It might be the vestige of an erstwhile verb with more semantic content. Prefixed with *no-* 'downward' it can be used as a verb of more concrete meaning, such as 'to do' or 'to make'. However, *nóvɯ* 'do, make' is not found to be used in serial verb constructions, nor can the minor verb *vɯ́* in the above examples be replaced by *nóvɯ*.

The second non-motional verb that can act as V2 in a serial verb construction is *tʰo-dí* 'to finish (AS-finish)'. It is a canonical verb—it takes a directional prefix, inflects for person-number, and can take aspectual and evidential markers. The directional prefixes do not appear to be shared by the components of serial verb constructions; so, each prefix has an individual component in its scope.

(251) shows *tʰo-dí* 'finish' functions as V2 in a serial verb construction:

(251) *yayű́ [á-kɔ]$_{V1}$ [**tʰo-dí**]$_{V2}$ sə*
potato DS-dig AS-finish PFV

'(They have) finished digging potatoes.'

While *tʰodí* 'to finish' can function as a minor verb in a serial verb construction, *kʰɔ́-ri* 'to begin (NONS-begin)' cannot. As a secondary verb, *kʰɔ́-ri* can take a complement clause as its argument, but the verb in the complement clause needs to be nominalized by *ri* or take the dative case *le*. In other words, the secondary verb and the verb in the complement clause cannot be serialized. These are illustrated with the two examples below:

(252) a. *otsí lɛ́kɛ́ **tʰo-vɯ́ ri** kʰɔ́-ri*
3SG+ERG work AS-do NMLZ NONS-begin

'He began to work.'

b. *nónó tɕé* ***é-tɕʰɯ le*** *kʰɔ-ɔ́-re?*
morning tea DS-drink DAT NONS-INTRG-begin/1/2NONSG

'Have you begun to have breakfast?'

Words expressing other secondary concepts (Dixon 2012b: 399), such as *nɯ* 'dare', *tsʰu* 'to allow', *tʰɑ* 'can', are auxiliaries. While these words show some verbal properties, they are not canonical verbs and can seldom act as predicates (Section 5.8). Because of this, a 'primary verb + auxiliary' complex is not viewed as a serial verb construction.

9.3.2 Symmetrical Serial Verb Constructions

Compared with asymmetrical serial verb constructions, symmetrical serial verb constructions are not as common in Munya. This type of serial verb constructions is semantically compositional, and the order of components is iconic. The example in (253) is elicited:

(253) *diɛ́sə* ***[kʰu-yɛ́]***$_{V1}$ ***[nbí]***$_{V2}$ *sö nyi*
TV NONS-watch sit PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'(I'm) sitting and am now watching TV.'

The two events denoted by the two verb phrases, sitting and watching TV, occur simultaneously. Although both verbs are from open classes, the two actions are not of equal status. The main action is watching TV, while 'sitting' is just an accompanying action. Note that in this example, the aspectual marker is perfective. This is because *nbí* 'to sit' is a verb of achievement, and requires the perfective aspect to denote an on-going state achieved after the action is performed (Section 8.3.1).

If the order of the two verbs is switched, they would need to be linked by *tsəkɯ́* 'and, then':

(254) ***nbí tsəkɯ́*** *tiɛ́sə* ***kʰu-yɛ́*** *po nyi*
sit and TV NONS-watch IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

'I have sat down and now am watching TV.'

In this case, the actions denoted by the two verbs are sequential rather than simultaneous. This word-order constraint is very similar to the one in the serial verb constructions with minor motion verbs. Thus, there seems to be a general syntactic constraint in the Munya serial verb construction where a conceptually secondary verb should follow the primary verb.

9.4 Summary

In this chapter we first looked at the grammatical properties of five motion verbs. We discussed whether or not they show person-number inflections, the directional prefixes that they can take, the verbal categories and time adverbials that they can co-occur with, and whether or not they can be used as minor verbs in serial verb constructions. We then moved on to serial verb constructions. It was shown that there are both symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verb constructions, though the former type is much rarer than the latter type. Serial verb constructions in Munya do not obey the rule of temporal iconicity, because the grammatical rule of Munya is such that conceptually secondary verbs should follow primary verbs.

Chapter 10

Copula Verbs

10.1 Semantic Relations and the Copula Determining Referent

In this chapter we look at the copula verbs in Munya. The semantic relations covered by Munya copula verbs include IDENTITY, EXISTENCE, LOCATION and POSSESSION (based on the parameters given in Dixon 2012b: Chapter 14). Since all the copulas that can denote EXISTENCE in Munya also cover relations of LOCATION and POSSESSION, they will be termed 'copulas of existence' (Section 10.4). Aside from this type, there are two others, one for IDENTITY, which is *ŋo* (Section 10.3), and one negative copula, which is *mé* (Section 10.5).

The grammatical properties and functions of Munya copulas to be discussed in this chapter are given in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Copula Verbs

Semantic parameter	Copula	Nature of CDR	Inflection	DP	Extended function(s)
IDENTITY	*ŋo*	no restriction	-	+	egophoric, mirative
EXISTENCE	*tɕɯ́*	inanimate	-	+	-
	ndʑɯ́	animate	+	+	progressive marker
	i	upright	-	+	-
	ü	honorific	-	+	-
	kʰɯ́	contained	optional	+	-
	mú	movable	-	-	progressive marker
	ndə́	abstract	-	+	modal particle
NEGATION	*mé*	no restriction	-	-	-

A prominent property of the copula verbs in Munya, and many other Tibeto-Burman

languages as well, is that the choice of copulas of existence is determined by the nature of the referent of a copula argument (eg. DeLancey 1992a; W. F. Sun 2015; S. H. Zhang and Yu 2017). As an illustration, consider the pair of examples in (255):

(255) a. *[dʑópu tó-tsʰe]$_{CS}$* ***tʰo-ndʑɯ́*** *sə*
king one-CLF:FAMILY AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

'There was a king's family.'

b. *[rəwɛ́ kíko tɛ́-vɛ]$_{CS}$* ***tʰó-tɕɯ*** *sə*
stone.plate big one-CLF:THIN AS-COP:INANIMATE PFV

'There was a big stone plate.'

Both copulas here denote EXISTENCE and each clause has only one argument, realized as CS. The choice of copulas in this pair of examples is determined by the animacy of the referent of that argument. The referents in (255a), the king and his family members, are animate, hence the use of *tʰo-ndʑɯ́* 'AS-COP:ANIMATE'. In contrast, the referent of (255b), which is a stone plate, is inanimate, therefore the copula should be *tʰó-tɕɯ* 'AS-COP:INANIMATE'.

The copulas in the examples below have two arguments, a CS and a CC:

(256) a. *[tsɤ́lɤ]$_{CS}$ [tɕé kʰu]$_{CC}$* ***ndʑɯ́*** *nyi*
cat house in COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

'The cat is in the house.'

b. *[pikʰɯ́]$_{CS}$ [tɕé kʰu]$_{CC}$* ***tɕɯ́*** *nyi*
bag house in COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP

'The bag is in the house.'

c. *[nbú le]$_{CS}$ [tsʰərő]$_{CC}$* ***i*** *nyi*
mountain on tree COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP

'There are trees on the mountain. (lit. The mountain is standing (with) trees.)'

d. *[nbú le]$_{CS}$ [ts^{h}ú́ tó-lö]$_{CC}$ **k^{h}ɯ́** ti*
mountain on lake one-CLF:GENR COP:CONTAIN STA

'There is a lake on the mountain. (lit. The mountain contains a lake.)'

In (256a) and (256b), the referents of the CS, 'cat' and 'bag', determine whether the copula should be *ndʑɯ́* or *tɕɯ́*. This is different from (256c) and (256d), where they are the referents of CC, which are 'tree' and 'lake', that determine whether the copula should be *i* or *k^{h}ɯ́*.

Obviously enough, this copula-determining referent cannot be defined on the basis of grammatical relations. For the sake of discussion, that referent will be termed 'Copula Determining Referent', or CDR for short[1]. When a copula of existence denotes EXISTENCE or POSSESSION, the referent of CS determines the choice of copula, but when such a copula denotes LOCATION, it would be the referent of CC that determines the choice of copula.

Two criteria are available for determining the CS in a copula construction, which are constituent order and person-number inflection on the copula verb. Considering that the canonical constituent order in Munya is AOV/SV, the first argument will be recognized as the CS and the second one as the CC. Also, whenever there is person-number inflection in the copula, it is always the first argument that determines the inflection. Therefore the two criteria overlap. When a copula verb denotes existence or location, as is illustrated in (256), the factors determining the choice of CS is largely pragmatic, such as topicality, given vs. new information, etc. (cf. Dixon 2012b: 172). For example, the topic or the argument containing old information tends to function as the CS, whereas the referent containing new information tends to function as the CC.

10.2 The Grammatical Properties of Copula Verbs

Copulas can all be used without any directional prefix. If a copula clause refers to a perfective situation, the copula needs to be prefixed with *t^{h}o-* 'away from the speaker'.

The only copula that obligatorily shows person-number inflection is the one which

[1]Many thanks to Alexandra Aikhenvald for suggesting this term.

requires animate CDRs, namely *ndʑɯ́* 'COP:ANIMATE'. The one for contained CDR, *kʰɯ́*, can optionally index person-number information. The reason why some copulas do not show person-number marking may have to do with their functions. For example, since the CDR for *tɕɯ́* can only be inanimate, this copula cannot inflect for person.

Only CS can receive case marking in restricted situations. When it denotes a location, CS can be optionally marked by the oblique case *kɯ*. When the copula denotes POSSESSION, the CS can be marked by the genitive case, the ergative case, or the dative case. CC can never be case-marked.

Copula verbs can take the egophoric *nyi*, the stative aspect *ti* and the perfective aspect *sə*. They normally do not take the imperfective aspect marker ((281b) and (290) are exceptions) or the direct evidential marker ((264) is an exception).

10.3 The Copula of Identity

There is one copula of IDENTITY, which is *ŋo*:

(257) *[otsə́]$_{CS}$ [vá]$_{CC}$* ***ŋo*** *ti*
DEM butter be STA
'This is butter.'

It is possible to leave out the copula *ŋo* and get a verbless clause that denotes the similar equative sense:

(258) *[méme]$_{CS}$ tsəkɯ́ [pʰiɕátʂɔlɔ]$_{CC}$ nyi*
everyone D.M peasant EGO:AP
'Everyone used to be a peasant.'

This copula can take the directional prefix *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker':

(259) *[otsɛ́ mónyɔ]$_{CS}$ [dəmú tó-lö]$_{CC}$* ***tʰo-ŋó*** *sə nyi*
3SG+POSS wife demoness one-CLF:GENR AS-be PFV EGO:AP
'His wife was a demoness.'

ŋo has grammaticalized into an egophoric marker, and its prefixed form, together with the perfective aspect *sə*, has grammaticalized into a mirative marker. These were discussed in Sections 8.5 and 8.6.

10.4 The Copulas of Existence

10.4.1 tɛɯ́ (Inanimate CDR)

As a copula of EXISTENCE, *tɛɯ́* requires that its CDR should be inanimate (hence COP:INANIMATE):

(260) a. *[pókoʂə tó-lö]$_{CS}$ **tɛɯ́** nyi*
storeroom one-CLF:GENR COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP
'There was a storeroom.'

b. *[rəwɛ́ kíko tɛ́-vɛ]$_{CS}$ **tʰo-tɛɯ́** sə*
stone.plate big one-CLF:THIN AS-COP:INANIMATE PFV
'There was a piece of a big stone plate.'

It denotes LOCATION in the following example (repeated from 256b):

(261) *[pikʰɯ́]$_{CS}$ [tɕé kʰu]$_{CC}$ **tɛɯ́** nyi*
bag house in COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP
'The bag is in the house.'

If the CDR is an animate entity, there would be the implication that the referent is dead:

(262) *[tsɤlɤ́]$_{CS}$ [hóti]$_{CC}$ **tɛɯ́** nyi*
cat where COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP
'Where is the (dead) cat?'

10.4.2 ndʑɯ́ (Animate CDR)

In the majority of cases, the copula verb *ndʑɯ́* is used when the CDR is animate (hence COP:ANIMATE). It can also take the directional prefix *tʰo-* (263a) and show person-number inflection (263b):

(263) a. *[okʰó urí]$_{CS}$ [tsʰɛ́nbɛ tó-lö]$_{CC}$ **tʰo-ndʑɯ́** sə*
DEM upstream hermit one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV
'A hermit is living upstream over there.'

b. *[ŋɯ́]$_{CS}$ [fákɔ]$_{CC}$ **ndʑó** nyi*
1SG France COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP
'I'm in France.'

In the following example *ndʑɯ́* is followed by the direct evidential marker:

(264) *[dʑópu tó-lö]$_{CS}$ [okʰú]$_{CC}$ ndʑɯ́ **rɑ***
king one-CLF:GENR DEM COP:ANIMATE EVID:DIRECT
'A king is among (them).'

This sentence comes from a story, and is uttered by a group of people during a king selection ceremony, after they find that three children have been hiding in a corner and deduce that one of them must be their future king. This is the only example I have found where *rɑ* is used after a copula predicate.

While *ndʑɯ́* tends to be employed when the CDR is animate, there are also some examples where the CDR is inanimate:

(265) *[tsʰərő]$_{CS}$ **í-ndʑɯ** ti*
firewood INTRG-COP:ANIMATE STA
'Is there any firewood?'

ndʑɯ́ can also denote POSSESSION. In this case the CS can be marked by either the genitive case or the ergative case:

(266) a. ***[ngɛ́]***$_{CS}$ *[mɛ́mɛ tó-zə]*$_{CC}$ *ndʑó nyi*
1SG+GEN grandmother one-CLF:MAN COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP
'I have a grandmother.'

b. ***[yoní]***$_{CS}$ *[tɕɛ́k^{h}ɛ́ só-ka]*$_{CC}$ *ndʑé nyi*
1PL.INCL+ERG thing three-CLF:KIND COP:ANIMATE/1/2NONSG EGO:AP
'We have three things.'

Note that in these two examples, the copula verb inflects for the person-number of the CS, regardless of the case markers that they take. This is important evidence for analyzing *ɣɛ*, which is fused with the first person subject *ŋú*, as a genitive case instead of a possessive marker. If we analyze *ɣɛ* as a possessive marker, (266a) would become (267):

(267) *[ngɛ́ mɛ́mɛ tó-zə]*$_{CS}$ *ndʑó nyi*
1SG+POSS grandmother one-CLF:MAN COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP
'I have a grandmother.'

This clause would literally mean that 'a grandmother of mine exists'. This analysis is untenable because in this case the CS would be in third person, which cannot trigger the person-number inflection on the verb.

ndʑú is developing into a progressive aspect marker:

(268) a. *[nyɛtɕ^{h}ik^{h}ɛ́ tɕ^{h}óro]*$_{CS}$ *[tódzö]*$_{CC}$ ***ndʑó*** *nyi*
PN place construction.worker COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP
'I'm working as a construction worker at nyɛtɕ^{h}ik^{h}ɛ́.'

b. *tiɛ́sə k^{h}u-yɛ́* ***ndʑó*** *nyi*
TV NONS-watch COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP
'(I'm) watching TV.'

In (268a), the copula acts as the predicate but also has a progressive sense. Its meaning has shifted from being purely locational to being involved in some kind of activity

in a location. In (268b), *ndʑó* occurs after the predicate *kʰuyɛ́* 'to watch' and inflects for the person-number of the (implicit) subject. Here there is no sense of location and its function is purely aspectual.

This path of grammaticalization has occurred in some other Tibeto-Burman languages and in Chinese. In Mandarin, *zai* denotes LOCATION in (269a) and functions as a progressive aspect marker in (269b):

(269) a. *wo* ***zai*** *jia* *li*
1SG COP home in
'I'm at home.'

b. *wo* ***zai*** *kan* *dianshi*
1SG PROG watch TV
'I'm watching TV.'

According to Matisoff (1991), similar phenomena are also found in Lahu, Burmese, Thai, Vietnamese, Yao Samsao and Hmong.

The choice of a distinct copula depending on the animacy of the CDR is also found in some other Qiangic languages, such as Guiqiong (Rao 2017) and Ersu (S. H. Zhang and Yu 2017). In Ersu, *dʐo* can only be the copula of an animate CDR while *dʐɑ* can only be the copula of an inanimate CDR:

(270) a. *[ni* *m̩tsʅ]$_{CS}$* *[ɑ-kua* *otɕɑ+pu* *tʂaŋɑ]$_{CC}$* ***dʐɑ***
2SG.GEN cat DIST-north pear+CLF:PLANT under COP:INANIMATE
'Your cat is under the pear tree in the north.'

b. *[ni* *m̩tsʅ]$_{CS}$* *[ɑ-kua* *otɕɑ+pu* *tʂaŋɑ]$_{CC}$* ***dʐo***
2SG.GEN cat DIST-north pear+CLF:PLANT under COP:ANIMATE
'Your cat is under the pear tree in the north.' (S. H. Zhang and Yu 2017)

(270a) implies that the cat is dead as the CDR of *dʐɑ* should be inanimate.

10.4.3 i (Upright CDR)

The CDR of *i* are upright objects, such as grass, as in (271a), or trees, as in (271b), or body, as in (271c) (hence COP:UPRIGHT):

(271) a. *hóti tó-tɕɔ hə́ nə tsɛ́kʰɛ́ ɕə́ɕo nyi, [ɛ́ndzə ri]$_{CS}$ káro*
wherever UP-drive go also grass always EGO:AP eat NMLZ terribly
i *nyi*
COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP

'Wherever I drove (the cattle) to, there was always grass, there was always a lot of grass to eat.'

b. *[náu]$_{CS}$ tʰotɕé káro* ***tʰo-í*** *sə nyi*
forest very terribly AS-COP:UPRIGHT PFV EGO:AP

'The forest was terribly dense.'

c. *[zə́pu]$_{CS}$ ɛntólö* ***tʰo-í*** *nə otsə́ tʰɛ-ndɛ́ rü nyi*
body however AS-COP:UPRIGHT no.matter DEM AS-old will EGO:AP
mətsʰé
certainly

'No matter what kind of body it is, it will eventually grow old.'

In the following example *i* denotes the sense of POSSESSION:

(272) ***[ngɛ́]$_{CS}$*** *[nyɤkʰəsə̋rö sívɯ]$_{CC}$* ***i*** *ti*
1SG+GEN ear good COP:UPRIGHT STA

'I have good ears.'

Here the copula is used because ears grow upward. Note that in this example the subject is marked by the genitive case. This is different from the two examples in (273):

(273) a. *[tʂótsi]$_{CS}$* ***le*** *[ngó rɤ́-zɛ]$_{CC}$* ***i*** *ti*
desk DAT leg four-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA

'A desk has four legs.'

b. *[tɕétsö]$_{CS}$* ***le*** *[tʂʰənbɯ́ né-zɛ]$_{CC}$* ***i*** *ti*
livestock DAT horn two-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA

'Livestock has two horns.'

Although in these two examples it can be argued that the relation between CS and CC is one of part-whole possession, the CS's are both marked by the dative case. This may be because when denoting the sense of possession with copulas in Munya, the genitive case and the ergative case can only be used when the possessee are human referents (cf. 266 and 267).

There are reasons to believe that this copula verb is restricted to the northern dialect. Firstly, this word is not documented by B. F. Huang (1985) and Ikeda (2010), who worked on the southern dialect. Secondly, my consultant told me that when he makes telephone calls to his relatives living in the south, asking them whether caterpillar funguses have come out (the major economic source for Munya people), he would say (274a), but his relatives in the south would say (274b):

(274) a. *[nbətʂá]$_{CS}$* ***ɛ-í*** *nyi*
caterpillar.fungus INTRG-COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP

'Has caterpillar funguses come out?'

b. *[nbətʂá]$_{CS}$* ***ɛ-ndʑɯ́*** *nyi*
caterpillar.fungus INTRG-COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

'Has caterpillar fungues come out?'

It was mentioned above that *ndʑɯ́* is the copula which requires an animate CDR in the northern dialect. The fact that it selects an animate copula indicates that caterpillar fungus is seen as an animate being in Munya culture (*nbətʂá* also means 'worm' or 'insect').

Considering that the northern dialect is changing faster than the southern dialect in many aspects, the copula verb *i* may be an innovation of the former.

10.4.4 ü (Honorific CDR)

ü is an honorific copula verb. It is used when the CDR is related to Buddhism, typically for a lama or a temple (hence COP:HONO):

(275) *[nbú]*$_{CS}$ *le* *[gönbɛ́]*$_{CC}$ ***ü*** *ti*
mountain on monastery COP:HONO STA

'There is a monastery on the mountain. (lit. On the mountain a monastery exists.)'

The honorific style is further discussed in Section 15.5.

10.4.5 kʰɯ́ (Contained CDR)

The copula *kʰɯ́* can also denote the relations of EXISTENCE, LOCATION or POSSESSION. Researchers generally agree that the meaning of this copula involves 'containment' (cf. H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985; Ikeda 2010) (hence COP:CONTAIN). For instance, (276) is what my consultant would say to me every morning when I went to the living room for breakfast:

(276) *[ndʐé]*$_{CS}$ ***ɛ-kʰɯ́*** *ti*
rice INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA

'Is there any rice?'

What he meant was that I go and check the rice cooker to see if there is any rice leftover from yesterday, which I could heat up for breakfast. Because the rice is contained in the rice cooker, the copula verb chosen here is *kʰɯ́*.

kʰɯ́ is also used when the CDR is a lake or a river:

(277) *[onɛ́ tətá]$_{CS}$ kɯ [ts^{h}ʉ́ tó-lö]$_{CC}$ **t^{h}ó-k^{h}ɯ** sə*
3PL+POSS up.behind.the.house OBL lake one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:CONTAIN PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

'Up behind their house there was a lake. (lit. Up behind their house contains a lake.)'

This copula is used here probably because water bodies are construed as being contained within an area in Munya.

The relation of 'containment' can be very abstract and sometimes there is no concrete container. For instance, when one kind of material is part of or mixed with another kind, *k^{h}ʉ́* can also be used:

(278) *[tɛuk^{h}ʉ́ tɐ^{h}o]$_{CS}$ tɐ^{h}ənə́ [nə́-kɑ]$_{CC}$ **k^{h}ʉ́** nyi, [tɛudó*
sour.water in still two-CLF:KIND COP:CONTAIN EGO:AP name.of.milk.product
*tsəkʉ́ tó-lö]$_{CS}$ **k^{h}ʉ́** nyi*
D.M one-CLF:GENR COP:CONTAIN EGO:AP

'In the sour water there are still two kinds (of milk product), and one of them is tɛudo.'

k^{h}ʉ́ can also denote POSSESSION. In this case the CS can be marked by the genitive case and the copula can optionally show inflection:

(279) a. *[ngɛ́]$_{CS}$ [mí sívɯ]$_{CC}$ **nyʉ́-k^{h}ɯ** ti*
1SG+GEN eye good NEG-COP:CONTAIN STA

'My eyes are not good.'

b. *[tsé]$_{CS}$ ɣɛ [dʐɛ́]$_{CC}$ **nyú-k^{h}o**, ts^{h}alá rótsə nyú-nyo*
REFL/3SG GEN voice NEG-COP:CONTAIN/1SG dance to.dance NEG-can/1SG

'I don't have a good voice, nor can I dance.'

The two clauses are produced by different speakers and the same copula inflects in (279b) but not in (279a). This indicates that there are some inter-speaker variations as to whether agreement is marked for this copula or not.

10.4.6 mú (Movable CDR)

Another copula verb in Munya is *mú*. It cannot take any directional prefix, nor does it inflect for the person-number of CS. Furthermore, it cannot be followed by the egophoric *nyi* nor the stative aspect *ti*, and can only be marked for imperfectiveness. H. K. Sun (1983) claims that it is used to denote the existence of movable objects and gave the example in (280) (my glossing) (hence COP:MOVE):

(280) *[ʈsotsɯ]$_{CS}$ pu [phɯla tɐ-zɯzɐ]$_{CC}$* ***mɯ***
desk on bowl one-pile COP:MOVE

'There is a pile of bowls on the desk.'

B. F. Huang (1985) suggests that it denotes the objects that the speaker has seen and Ikeda (2010) believes it has some sense of evidentiality, but neither of them provided enough evidence to support their arguments.

Some examples from my corpus are given below:

(281) a. *[ti]$_{CS}$* ***ɛ́-mú?***
someone INTRG-COP:MOVE

'Anyone here?'

b. *[hóti]$_{CC}$* ***mú*** *pɛ nyi?*
where COP:MOVE IMPF/2SG EGO:AP

'Where are you?'

c. *[okʰó]$_{CS}$ [tsʰərő tɛ́-zɛ tʰá-la sə]$_{CC}$* ***mú***
DEM tree one-CLF:LONG AS-fall PFV COP:MOVE

'There is a fallen tree over there.'

(281a) was addressed to me by a neighbor in the fieldwork location, who asked me if there was anyone at home. The CS in (281b) is second person singular, which can be seen from the marking on the imperfective aspect. The clause in (281c) denotes a locational relation, where the referent of CC is inanimate.

This copula can also express POSSESSION:

(282) *dʑópu táme tsə rə kʰékʰé tó-zə i kʰɔ tínə*
king real FOC and different one-CLF:MAN ERG at.all anything
há-nyu-kö ti sɑ, [onɛ́]$_{CS}$ [ndʑú katɕʰá tó-lö]$_{CC}$
formative-NEG-know STA but 3PL+GEN friend bad one-CLF:GENR
mú
COP:MOVE

'The real king and the other one don't know anything, but they have a bad friend.'

In this example, the copula subject is the third person plural, and is marked by the genitive case.

Similar to *ndʑɯ́*, *mú* can also function secondarily as a progressive marker. In the following example it follows the verb *nóvɯ* 'to make':

(283) *yű́pemɛtɕʰɛ ɣɛ́ dʑópu kʰu-ndzó tsəkɯ́ tɕʰítɕʰa tɕípu nó-vɯ*
PN POSS king NONS-become and very happy DOWN-make
mú
COP:MOVE

'(He) has become the king of yű́pemɛtɕʰɛ and is having a great time.'

10.4.7 ndə́ (Abstract CDR)

The CDRs for *ndə́* are typically abstract or intangible objects (hence COP:ABSTRACT). In the following example the CC refers to 'spring festival':

(284) *[ok^{h}ó]$_{CS}$ [lüsó]$_{CC}$ **ɛ-ndə́** nyi*
DEM spring.festival INTRG-COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

'Is there a spring festival over there?'

Very commonly, this copula takes a nominalized clause as it subject:

(285) a. *[tőndá kɛ́yi tu-ɕó rí]$_{CS}$ **ndə́** nyi*
thing many UP-talk NMLZ COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

'There are lots of things to talk about.'

b. *[níɕɯ gú le kɯ́ tsəkɯ́ gút^{h}u tə́pi tó-wu k^{h}i-tsə́ rí]$_{CS}$*
twenty ninth at OBL D.M PN be.called one-CLF:MEAL NONS-cook NMLZ
***ndə́** nyi*
COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

'On the twenty ninth (of December), (we) cook a kind of meal called gut^{h}u.'

More discussion on this construction can be found in Section 6.5.5.

The CDR for this copula can also be a concrete object. In the following example, the CC refers to cliffs:

(286) *[ngő]$_{CS}$ [tʂá ts^{h}ötş^{h}ő tó-lö nyínyi tó-lö]$_{CC}$*
up.behind.the.house cliff white one-CLF:GENR red one-CLF:GENR
t^{h}ó-ndə sə
AS-COP:ABSTRACT PFV

'There is a white cliff and a red cliff up behind the house.'

This copula can be used as a modal particle denoting certainty. In the following example, it is used after a full clause:

(287) *ts^{h}alá yɛ́ pi **ndə́***
dance look.good IMPF COP:ABSTRACT

'The dance must have been very good.'

10.4.8 The Missing ndʐe

Previous researchers (H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985; Ikeda 2010; Yin 2013) have all documented another copula word, which is *ndʐe*, arguing that it denotes the sense of 'one thing mixed with another'. A selection of examples from previous research are given below (all re-glossed for consistency):

(288) a. *[ɐtsɯ mintɕʰa le]$_{CS}$ [tu]$_{CC}$* ***ndʐe*** *ni*
DEM mushroom DAT poison COP EGO:AP
'This mushroom is poisonous.' H. K. Sun (1983)

b. *[ɣui tɕʰɐ]$_{CS}$ [tɕɯ]$_{CC}$* ***ndʐe*** *ni*
wine in water COP EGO:AP
'There is water in the wine.' B. F. Huang (1985)

c. *[lo tɕʰo]$_{CS}$ [mbø]$_{CC}$* ***ndʐe*** *ti*
milk in sugar COP STA
'There is sugar in the milk.' Yin (2013)

However, I have not found such a copula in the northern dialect. This may be because similar meaning is expressible with *kʰɯ́* in this dialect (see Section 10.4.5).

10.5 The Negative Copula mé

Copulas can be negated with negative prefixes (cf. the two examples in 279). A negated copula is sometimes interchangeable with the negative copula *mé*. The negative copula can denote NON-EXISTENCE or NON-POSSESSION (hence COPULA:NEG). It cannot take any directional prefix nor show person-number inflection. Consider the two examples below:

(289) a. *[pɛtʰɑ́=nə kʰɤ-tɤ́ mí]$_{CS}$* ***mé,*** *[tɑ́yɛ́]$_{CS}$* ***mé*** *nyi*
white.sugar=PL NONS-buy NMLZ COPULA:NEG money COPULA:NEG EGO:AP
'Nobody could buy white sugar, as there was no money.'

b. *ŋɯnə́ lötɕʰó nyi kə [tɕʰítɕa tólö ɛ-ɕó rí]$_{CS}$ **mé***
1PL.EXCL young EGO:AP and very PAR DS-be.tired NMLZ COPULA:NEG
ti
STA

'We were young and it was not the case that we got very tired.'

mé does not have any constraint on the nature of its CDR. The CS refers to human and inanimate object in (289a) and an abstract situation in (289b).

In the following example, *mé* denotes NON-POSSESSION, and the CS is marked by the genitive case:

(290) *tsəkú́ [tsé ɣɛ]$_{CS}$ nə [tsʰərő]$_{CC}$ **mé** pi*
D.M REFL/3SG GEN also firewood COPULA:NEG IMPF

'He doesn't have any firewood either.'

10.6 The Functions of the Directional Prefix *tʰo-*

It can be seen from the discussion above that many copulas can optionally take the directional prefix *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker'. What conditions the use of this prefix? To answer this question, we can compare the distribution of copula verbs with *tʰo-* with those without it, focusing on the grammatical categories occurring after copulas. These are summarized in Table 10.2.

The comparison reveals that there is a strong correlation between the directional prefix *tʰo-* and the perfective auxiliary *sə*. The upper block of the table shows that when the copula takes the directional prefix, it tends to be followed by the perfective particle *sə*. However, the last example in this block, (271c), seems to be a counterexample, as here the copula is followed by a clause linker *nə* 'even if'. Another situation where the copula is prefixed with *tʰo-* but there is no perfective marker is when they occur in a conditional subordinate clause marked by *tʰo* 'if':

Table 10.2: A Comparison of Copulas with and Without *tʰo-*

	Copula	Following marker	Example Num.
Copulas with *tʰo-*	*tʰo-ndʑɯ́*	*sə*	(255a), (263a)
	tʰó-ŋo	*sə*	(259)
	tʰó-tɕɯ	*sə*	(255b)
	tʰo-í	*sə nyi*	(271b)
	tʰó-kʰɯ	*sə nyi*	(277)
	tʰo-ndə́	*sə*	(286)
	tʰo-í	*nə* 'even if'	(271c)
Copulas without *tʰo-*	*ndʑɯ́*	*nyi*	(256a), (274b), (263b), (266a), (266b)
	ŋó	*ti*	(257)
	tɕɯ́	*nyi*	(256b), (260a), (262)
	í	*nyi*	(256c), (271a), (274a)
	kʰɯ́	*ti*	(256d), (276), (278)
	ü	*ti*	(275)
	ndə́	*nyi*	(284)
	mú	*pi*	(281b)
	mé	*nyi/ti/pi/*	(289), (290)

(291) *óntolö kɛsí* ***tʰo-ndə́*** ***tʰó****, lendzí.muluwɛ́ tə́ rí tsə́ tatá tólö*

DEM really AS-COP:ABSTRACT if karma say NMLZ TOP clear PAR

tʰə́-va *tɕɛ́-pi*

AS-come.out NEG-IMPF

'If that were really the case, the so called karma will not be clear.'

The two counterexamples can be explained by noting that both *nə* 'even if' and *tʰo* 'if' are clause linkers which introduce a kind of hypothetical situations, and they require that the copulas before them to take the directional prefix. The copulas in the lower block of Table 10.2 have no directional prefixes, nor are they followed by *sə*. These include the copulas that cannot take this directional prefix in any situation, such as *mú* 'COP:MOVE' and *me* 'COPULA:NEG'.

We can thus claim that the copular directional prefix *tʰo-* tends to co-occur with the perfective particle *sə*. The question to be answered now is, why is there such a correlation? The tentative hypothesis offered here, is that the directional prefix *tʰo-* functions as the perfective marker on copula verbs.

This function of directional prefixes is more fully developed in Qiang (the language

from which the Qiangic branch gets its name) than in Munya. LaPolla and C. L. Huang (2003: 164) note that in Qiang, besides denoting direction, directional prefixes can mark perfective action as well. These are illustrated in (292) (the two examples come from LaPolla and C. L. Huang (2003: 164)):

(292) a. *nəs ka* ***ə-ka-lai*** *the: stuaha* ***tɕhə***
yesterday 1SG IN-go/1SG-DEF:one:time 3SG food/rice eat

'Yesterday when I entered the room, s/he was eating.'

b. *the:* ***kə-lai*** ***ʐbotɕu***
3SG go-DEF:one:time think

'S/he thinks while walking.'

In Qiang, only when the action denoted by the verb is completed can it be marked with a directional prefix. In (292a), the first clause expresses a completed action (went into the room), while the second one expresses an event (eating) that was on-going within the time frame provided by the first clause. Hence the first verb, *ka* 'go', is marked with the directional prefix but the second verb, *tɕhə* 'eat', is not. When the clause expresses a kind of habitual action, the verb is not marked with the directional prefix either. This can be seen from (292b), where neither *kə* 'go' nor *ʐbotɕu* 'think' is marked.

This prompts us to hypothesize that directional prefix can also denote perfectiveness in Munya, albeit only on copula verbs, and that the only directional prefix used for this function is *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker'. The co-occurrence of *tʰo-* with the perfective particle *sə* can be postulated as the joint means of expressing perfectiveness when the predicate is a copula.

10.7 Summary

Copula verbs in Munya denote IDENTITY, LOCATION, EXISTENCE, and POSSESSION. The senses of LOCATION, EXISTENCE and POSSESSION may be expressed with one copula. Munya has multiple copula verbs of existence, the choice of which is determined by the semantics of the Copula Determining Referent, which can be realized either as copula

subject or copula complement. Some copulas have extended functions, such as the copula of identity, which can act as an egophoric marker and a mirative marker. The copula for animate CDR, *ndʑɯ́*, and for movable CDR, *mú*, can designate progressiveness, while the copula which requires an abstract CDR, *ndə́*, is also used as a modal particle. Finally, when attached to copulas, the directional prefix *tʰo-* ‘away from the speaker’ can also assign perfectiveness.

Chapter 11

Adjectives

11.1 Overview

Adjective in Munya is an independent and open word class. Adjectives can be borrowed, and changed into nouns or verbs through derivation, but nouns or verbs cannot be changed into adjectives.

Adjectives are defined on the basis of their phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties. Phonologically, many (though by no means all) adjectives are inherently reduplicated. Morpho-syntactically, adjectives take comparative and superlative prefixes and the intensification suffix. Syntactically, adjectives modify nouns and verbs, function as predicates, and function as complements of certain verbs. For a comparison of the different properties between nouns, adjectives and verbs, see Table 4.4 in Chapter 4.

In the following sections, the properties of adjectives will be discussed from the aspects of phonology (Section 11.2), morphology (Section 11.3) and syntax (Section 11.4). After an interim summary (Section 11.5), Section 11.6 will focus on the semantic types of adjectives.

11.2 Phonological Property: Inherent Reduplication

11.2.1 Patterns of Reduplication

Many Munya adjectives are inherently reduplicated. Reduplication can be full or partial, and reduplicated adjectives can be disyllabic or trisyllabic.

Some fully reduplicated disyllabic adjectives are given in Table 11.1[1].

Table 11.1: Disyllabic Reduplicated Adjectives

Form	Gloss
rə.rə́	'long'
nbó.nbo	'low'
tsó.tso	'hot'
tsá.tsa	'cold'
ndɛ́.ndɛ	'old'
sɑ.sá	'clever'
nü.nű́	'deep(water)'
de.dé	'wide'
ri.rí	'thick'

For partially reduplicated disyllabic adjectives, the reduplicant can either be the consonant, as in *kíko* 'big' and *tsə́tsɛ* 'small', or the vowel, as in *kólo* 'difficult' and *katɐʰá* 'bad'.

A reduplicated adjective can also be trisyllabic, consisting of a monosyllabic syllable plus two syllables in reduplicated form. Examples are given in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2: Trisyllabic Reduplicated Adjectives

Form	Gloss
nín-tʰɛ́ntʰɛ	'blackish'
nyí-sásɑ	'reddish'
mɯ́-ŋɯ́ŋɯ	'bluish'
só-sősö	'quiet'
dɔ́-ɣőɣö	'roundish (two dimensional)'
dɔ́-gőgö	'roundish (three dimensional)'

Trisyllabic reduplicated adjectives have a special prosodic feature: the high tone falls on the first two syllables of the adjective, and the mid syllable is pronounced considerably

[1] An anonymous examiner pointed out that these are not fully reduplicated adjectives since the two syllables have different tone value. This is because a reduplicated adjective is a phonological word and thus can have only one tone value. See the discussion in Section 2.4.

longer than the other two.

Trisyllabic reduplicated forms can be analyzed as being derived from phonologically and morphological simpler adjectives. Semantically, the derived, trisyllabic adjectives have a sense of 'vividness' to them. For example, *nyínyi* means 'red'; its derived trisyllabic form, *nyísása* means 'reddish', in which *-sása* can be analyzed as a 'vividness formative'.

This derivational process, however, is highly irregular and very unproductive. This is largely because the vividness formative can be the reduplicated syllables, the first syllable, or the last syllable. In *nyí-sása* 'reddish', the vividness formative is the reduplicated part, and the first syllable *nyi* carries the core meaning of the adjective ('red'). The formative can also be the first syllable. This is the case of *dɔ́-ɣőɣö* 'roundish (two-dimensional)', in which *ɣőɣö* means 'round' but *dɔ-* does not have any independent meaning. When this derivation involves a non-fully reduplicated adjective, the formative is the last syllable of the trisyllabic adjective. For example, the vividness form of *kɔ́rɔ* 'crooked' is *kɔ́rɔ-rɔ*, where the vividness formative *-rɔ* is copied from the last syllable of the adjective. Vividness formatives generally cannot be used alone.

The meanings of vividness formatives are rarely transparent. While the formative *mɯ-* in *mɯ́ŋɯ́ŋɯ* 'bluish' probably comes from the word for 'sky', and the formative *-sasa* in *nyísása* 'reddish' may come from the adjective meaning 'bright', the meanings of all other formatives in the adjectives given in Table 11.2 are not clear.

11.2.2 Long Form and Short Form

In Munya, the citation forms of adjectives are generally disyllabic or trisyllabic. However, some adjectives occur in monosyllabic form in certain morphosyntactic environments. In the following discussion, disyllabic or trisyllabic adjectives will be termed 'long-form' adjectives, and their corresponding monosyllabic forms will be called 'short-form' adjectives. This distinction is illustrated in (293):

(293) a. *yayű tsʰé* ***reré*** *tósə kʰi-tsə́ sü*
potato dish delicious many NONS-cook PFV/2SG

'You cooked many delicious potato dishes.'

b. ***reré/ré*** *ti*
be.delicious STA
'(It) is delicious.'

In (293a), the adjective *reré* 'delicious' functions as a nominal modifier and occurs in long form. When functioning as a predicate in (293b), it can occur in either short form or long form. (The phenomenon of adjectives taking different forms when performing different functions is also found in Chinese, cf. Zhu 1956.)

Typically, only fully reduplicated adjectives have short forms. For those adjectives that have both short form and long form, the choice of form depends on whether those adjectives take a prefix or not. As will be shown in the next two sections, if an adjective takes a prefix, it would occur in short form. The only exception is when adjectives are functioning as predicates, as in (293b). In that case both long form and short form are equally acceptable. (The possible semantic or pragmatic differences call for further investigation.)

11.3 Morphological Properties

Morphological properties of adjectives include comparative, superlative and intensification forms. These are achieved by adding a prefix or a suffix to an adjective root.

11.3.1 Comparative Formation

The comparative is formed by adding the prefix *kɛ-* 'more' to a root:

(294) a. *hótsə* ***kɛ****-ré* *ti?*
which more-be.delicious STA
'Which one is more delicious?'

b. *né i kʰɯ-ré* ***ka****-ŋá* *nyi*
2SG ERG NONS-write/2SG more-be.good EGO:AP
'It would be better if you wrote.'

In (294b), *kɛ-* becomes *kə-* through vowel harmony. The adjectives in these two examples can occur in both long form and short form because they function as predicates.

In a comparative construction, *kɛ-* 'more' is prefixed to the parameter of comparison, which functions as the predicate of that comparative clause. The parameter can be an adjective or a stative verb. Compare (295a) with (295b):

(295) a. *otsə́ ti ótsə* ***kɛ-kíko*** *ti*
this SC that more-be.big STA

'That one is bigger than this one.(Compared to this one, that one is bigger.)'

b. *ŋú́ ti nɛ́* ***kɛ-a-ɣɤ́*** *sü*
1SG SC 2SG more-DS-be.late PFV/2SG

'You are later than I. (Compared with me, you are late.)'

The predicate is an adjective in (295a)(*kíko* 'big') but a verb in (295b)(*aɣɤ́* 'be late'). We know it is a verb because it takes the directional prefix *a-* 'downstream' and the clause is ended by the perfective aspect, neither of which is allowed for adjectives.

11.3.2 Superlative Formation

The superlative form of an adjective is formed by attaching the prefix *zə-* to an adjective root. An example is given in (296):

(296) *ŋá tsə́* ***zə́-kiko*** *nyi, tánpu tsə́* ***zə́-tsɛ*** *nyi, ɛtí*
five NMLZ most-be.big EGO:AP first NMLZ most-be.small EGO:AP, how.many
tə-tɕó pɛ nyi?
UP-grade IMPF/2SG EGO:AP

'(If) five is the biggest, one is the lowest, how would you grade (it)?'

More examples of adjectives in superlative forms are given in Table 11.3.

For fully reduplicated disyllabic adjectives, the superlative prefix is attached to short-form adjectives. This can be seen from the first two examples in the table. In some cases

Table 11.3: The Superlative Forms of Some Adjectives

Adjective	Superlative form
tsʰetsʰé ‘thin’	*zə́-tsʰe* ‘thinnest’
rə́rə ‘long’	*zə́-rə* ‘longest’
tsə́tsɛ ‘small’	*zə́-tsɛ/zə́-tsətsɛ* ‘smallest’
kíko ‘big’	*zí-ko/zə́-kiko* ‘biggest’
ʈʂʰöntʂʰő ‘diligent’	*zə́-ʈʂʰöntʂʰö/zə́n-ʈʂʰö* ‘most diligent’

the vowel in the superlative prefix seems to be affected by the vowel in the adjective root. For example, the superlative form of *kíko* ‘big’ is *zíko* ‘biggest’. The /i/ in the superlative prefix can be seen as the result of fusion of the prefix with the first syllable of the adjective root: *zə́-kiko* → *zí-ko*. The superlative of *ʈʂʰöntʂʰő* ‘diligent’ constitutes another example, in that *zə́ntʂʰö* ‘most diligent’ preserves the nasalization in the first syllable of the root.

From the last three examples in the table it can be deduced that non-fully reduplicated adjectives have two alternative superlative forms. One form is derived by prefixing *zə-* to the last syllable of the adjective root, and the other form is derived by prefixing *zə-* to the whole adjective (the semantic differences between them requires further study). Note that in the last three examples although the adjective root in the first form has only one syllable, it cannot be seen as a short-form adjective. This is because short-form adjectives can be used as independent words (both *ré* and *reré* mean ‘delicious’ and can function as predicate), but the monosyllabic adjective roots seen here cannot be used independently (*tsɛ* in *tsə́tsɛ* ‘small’ in itself is neither a word nor has it any meaning). Such ‘short-forms’ are also not allowed when prefixed by *kɛ-* ‘more’, thus while *zíko* ‘biggest’ is possible but **kɛ́-ko* ‘bigger’ is not a word (cf. 295a).

11.3.3 Intensification Formation

Adjectives can be intensified by adding the suffix *-u* to them, which means ‘very’ or ‘really’. This suffix is specific to adjectives. An example is given in (297):

(297) *otsə́* ***ʈʂʰöntʂʰő-u*** *tó-lö* *ti*
3SG be.diligent-very one-CLF:GENR STA

‘He is very diligent.’

Only long-form adjectives can be intensified.

11.4 Syntactic Properties

Syntactic properties of adjectives include modifying nouns, functioning as predicates and functioning as complements.

11.4.1 Modifying Nouns

Adjectives can modify nouns:

(298) a. *ɣu* ***rərə́***
grass long
'long grass'

b. *tɕé* ***kíko***
house big
'big house'

This function is performed by long-form adjectives. When short-form adjectives modify nouns, they form a noun-adjective compound with that noun, as in *tɕɯ́-tso* 'hot water (water-hot)' and *ʈʂɑ-nín* 'black ant (ant-black)'. Such compounds are semantically cogent and refer to a type of entity.

There are two major differences between a phrase consisting of a noun and an adjective modifier and a noun-adjective compound. Firstly, a compound forms one phonological word: it has one tonal pitch and does not allow any pause between them. In contrast, each word in an NP phrase has its own tone, and a pause can be inserted between the noun and the modifying adjective. Secondly, in an NP phrase with an adjectival modifier, the discourse marker *tsəkɯ́* can be used after the head noun, either for pausing or for marking topicality. This is forbidden for the noun in a noun-adjective compound.

11.4.2 Functioning as Predicates

Adjectives can also function as predicates. As was mentioned, both long-form and short-form adjectives can perform this function. Example (299) below is a repeat of (293b):

(299) ***reré/ré*** *ti*
be.delicious STA
'(It) is delicious.'

Typically, an adjective is more restricted than a verb when it functions as predicate head (Dixon 2004). This is also the case in Munya, where verbal predicates can take the imperfective marker, the perfective marker and the direct evidential marker; but adjectives cannot be marked for these categories. The categories they can take include the stative aspect *ti*, the egophoric marker *nyi* and a numeral classifier:

(300) *ótsə məní katɕʰá* ***ti/nyi/tó-lö***
DEM person be.bad STA/EGO:AP/one-CLF:GENR
'That person is bad.'

If an adjective predicate is followed by a numeral classifier, the numeral classifier can be optionally followed by *ti* or *nyi*:

(301) *ótsə məní katɕʰá* ***tó-lö*** ***ti/nyi***
DEM person be.bad one-CLF:GENR STA/EGO:AP
'That person is bad.'

The difference between using the stative aspect *ti* and the egophoric marker *nyi* lies in whether the speaker thinks the information conveyed is new to the addressee or not. By using the egophoric marker, the speaker presupposes that the information provided by him or her is new to the addressee, while the stative aspect marker or a numeral classifier do not have this function.

The part that the numeral classifier plays in adjective predicate clauses, as in (301), deserves a closer look. On one hand, there is evidence suggesting that even if the numeral classifier is not part of the S NP, it has not lost its function as a numeral classifier, as it is still governed by the noun in the S slot:

(302) a. *[oníne]$_S$ [ʈʂʰöntʂʰő* ***né-gɛ]$_{Predicate}$*** *ti*
3DU be.diligent two-CLF:GENR STA

'The two of them are diligent.'

b. *[tsʰalá]$_S$ [yɛyɛ́* ***tá-tsa]$_{Predicate}$*** *ti*
dance look.good one-CLF:PERFORMANCE STA

'The dance performance looks good.'

In (302a), the number word in the numeral classifier construction is *nə-* 'two' because the third person dual S has two referents. In (302b), the classifier in the numeral classifier construction is *-tsa* 'performance' because the S referent is a dance. Since the numeral classifier and the noun governing it do not form a constituent, the numeral classifier here is analyzed as forming a complex adjective predicate together with the adjective.

On the other hand, however, the general numeral classifiers *tó-lö/tɛ́-gɛ* 'one-CLF:GENR' also shows some degree of grammaticalization when used after adjectival predicates. They are almost always interchangeable with the stative aspect *ti* and in many cases their choice is not determined by any noun, including the subject. An example is given below:

(303) *yoné kɛmú le tɕótɕo* ***tólö***
1PL.INCL before DAT resemble PAR

'We are (now) the same as before.'

In this example *tólö* can be replaced by *ti*. Note that the subject *yoné* 'we' has more than one referent but the number word is 'one' in the clause-final numeral classifier. The grammaticalization process may have arisen from the omission of the clause-final *ti*, followed by the reinterpretation of the numeral classifier as a new clause-final particle.

Most adjective predicates are intransitive, but there are also a few transitive adjectival predicates, such as *tɕótɕo* ‘resemble, be similar to’ and *sisí* ‘like, be fond of’:

(304) a. *[otsé]$_A$ [k^{h}ú]$_O$ le* ***tɕótɕo*** *ti sű́ [dé]$_O$ le* ***tɕótɕo*** *ti*
3SG dog DAT resemble STA or wolf DAT resemble STA

‘Is it like a dog or a wolf?’

b. *[otsí]$_A$ [ŋú]$_O$* ***sisí*** *nyi*
3SG+ERG 1SG like EGO:AP

‘He likes me.’

In (304a), the O of *tɕótɕo* ‘resemble’ is marked by the dative case and the subject is unmarked. In (304b), the O of the predicate, *sisí* ‘like’, is unmarked, but the A is marked by the ergative case. The two adjectives discussed above are similar to canonical adjectives in that they are inherently reduplicated and marked by the stative aspect or egophoric marker when functioning as predicate, but unlike canonical adjectives, they cannot modify nouns.

In summary, while adjectives in Munya are more restricted than verbs when acting as predicates, they also have their own special property of forming a complex predicate with numeral classifiers, which is not found for verbal predicates.

11.4.3 Negation and Questioning of Adjectives

An adjective predicate can be negated with the negative prefix *nyɯ-* and questioned with the interrogative prefix *ɛ-*. The two prefixes can be attached to short-form adjectives, but not long-form ones:

(305) a. ***ɛ-ré*** *ti*
INTRG-be.delicious STA

‘Is (it) delicious?’

b. ***nyɯ́-re*** *ti*
NEG-be.delicious STA
'(It) is not delicious.'

If a predicative adjective does not have a short-form, the negative or the interrogative marker would be attached to the stative aspect *ti*:

(306) *sédʑɯ́ sívɯ* ***nyɯ́-ti***
policy be.good NEG-STA
'The policy is not good.'

After a predicative adjective is prefixed with a comparative suffix or a superlative suffix, it cannot further hold a negative or interrogative prefix. In that case, the negative or interrogative prefix should be attached to the stative aspect *ti*:

(307) *otsə́ zə-kíko nyɯ-ti*
DEM most-be.big NEG-STA
'This is not the biggest one.'

Other clause-final words that can occur in an adjectival predicate clause, such as *tólö* and *nyi*, cannot take the negative or the interrogative prefix.

11.4.4 Functioning as Complements

Adjectives in Munya can function as the complement of certain verbs. This function is only allowed for long-form adjectives.

Munya lacks the copula verb of attribution. It has a copula verb of change of state, *tʰəvá* 'to become', which can take a nominal or an adjectival complement. In (308) below, the copula takes an adjectival complement, *kíko* 'big':

(308) *kíko* ***tʰə-vá*** *rɑ*
big AS-become EVID:DIRECT
'(She) has grown up.'

When functioning as the complement of this copula verb, the adjective can be optionally followed by the erstwhile numeral classifier, *tólö*:

(309) *nbagő=nə=rónə* *tə́-ngə* *ró* *tsəkɯ́* *kɛnɛ́kɛ* ***sívɯ*** ***tólö***
dancing.costume=PL=COLL.PL UP-put.on go D.M more.and.more good PAR

tʰə-vá *pi*
AS-become IMPF

'After (the dancers) putting on dancing costumes, the dance performance looked better and better.'

Here *tólö* is analyzed as a particle instead of a numeral classifier because, unlike canonical numeral classifiers, it is not occurring in an NP, therefore not categorizing any head noun. Besides, neither the numeral *tó-* 'one' nor the classifier *-lö* 'CLF:GENR' can be replaced by other number words or classifiers.

Adjectives can also function as complements in a command construction. The complement-taking verb is *nóvɯ* 'to make, to do', which, when functioning as the verb of command, shows up either in second person singular form (*nóvü*) or second person non-singular form (*nóve*). Semantically, adjectives that can be used in commands belong to the HUMAN PROPENSITY type. Three examples are given below:

(310) a. ***ʈʂʰöntʂʰő*** *nó-vü*
good DOWN-do/2SG

'Be good.'

b. ***sasá*** *tɕigɛ́* *nó-ve*
clever a.little DOWN-do/1/2NONSG

'Be a little clever.'

c. ***ndzendzé*** *no-tɕɯ́-vü*
shy DOWN-PROH-do/2SG

'Don't be shy.'

(310a) was addressed to a single addressee, and the verb inflects for the second person singular form. The subject of (310b) involves two addresses, so the verb takes the non-singular form. In (310c), the verb is prefixed with the prohibitive formative, *tɕɯ-*.

11.5 Interim Summary

We can summarize the different functions of long-form and short-form adjectives in Table 11.4. From the table, it can be seen that only when functioning as predicates can an adjective occur in both short form and long form. In other cases, whether an adjective should occur in long form or short form depends on whether the adjective is prefixed or not. If the adjective takes a prefix (the negative prefix or the interrogative prefix), it should occur in short form. In all other cases, the adjective must occur in long form.

Table 11.4: A Comparison of Long-form and Short-form Adjectives

	Long-form	Short-form
Functioning as predicates	+	+
Taking the comparative prefix	-	+
Taking the superlative prefix	-	+
Forming a compound with nouns	-	+
Taking the negative or interrogative prefix	-	+
Taking the intensification suffix	+	-
Modifying nouns	+	-
Modifying verbs	+	-
Functioning as complements	+	-

11.6 Semantic Types of Adjectives

For Munya adjectives, the correlations between their semantic types and morphosyntactic properties are not very strong. In the following sections I will discuss Munya adjectives according to their semantic type as proposed by Dixon (1982: Chapter 1, 2012b: 65-66), with a focus on their phonological property. The properties of adjectives discussed in this chapter will be summarized in the end.

DIMENSION

All adjectives belonging to the DIMENSION type are either partially or fully reduplicated.

Examples include *kíko* ‘big’, *tsətsɛ* ‘small’, *rərə́* ‘long’, *tsʰə́tsʰö* ‘short’, *tʰuntʰú* ‘tall’, *nbónbo* ‘low’, *dedé* ‘wide’, *tsʰétsʰe* ‘narrow, slim’, *ririˊ* ‘thick’ and *ndʑɯndʑɯ́* ‘thin’.

AGE

Two adjectives of this type are reduplicated, which are *ʑözə́* ‘young’ and *ndɛndɛ́* ‘old (person or animal)’. *nbó* also means ‘old’, and can only modify inanimate nouns, such as houses or clothes. A pair of non-reduplicated adjectives of this type, *nínpɛ* ‘new’ and *sɛ́npɛ* ‘old’, are borrowed from Tibetan.

VALUE

There are only four adjectives of this type. Two of them, *sívɯ* ‘good’ and *katɕʰá* ‘bad’ are native. The other two, *támɛ* ‘real, normal’ and *ʈʂə́mɛ* ‘fake’, are borrowed from Tibetan.

COLOR

For the purpose of discussion, we can view phonologically reduplicated and morphologically simple color adjectives as ‘basic color terms’. These include *ʈʂʰötʂʰə́* ‘white’, *ninníˊ* ‘black’ (but in daily life the more commonly used words for ‘black’ are *nínʈʰɛ́ntʰɛ* ‘black (for objects)’ and *nínkɔkɔ* ‘dark’), *nyínyi* ‘red’, *nɯ́nɯ* ‘yellow’, and *sásaˊ* ‘bright’.

Other color terms are non-basic. These include two derived adjectives, which are *nyísásɑ* ‘reddish (red in a way that is pleasing to the eye)’, *mɯ́ŋɯŋɯ* ‘bluish’. Some color terms seem to originate from nouns. For example, *məzə́ raŋá* ‘bright yellow’ is the name of a kind of plant of that color, and the word for ‘purple’ *ngáwuzə* is the name of a bird.

Some other color terms are *tɕomú* ‘blood red’, *métɕe* ‘pink’, *móse* ‘golden yellow’ and *dʑunkʰú* ‘green’.

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

Adjectives of this type are all inherently reduplicated. Examples include *ngangá* ‘hard, prankish’, *vɯvɯ́* ‘soft’, *ɣɤɣɤ́* ‘heavy’, *ɣiɣíˊ* ‘light’, *tɕítɕi* ‘rough’, *nána* ‘smooth’, *rára* ‘dry’, *popó* ‘damp’, *tsótso* ‘hot’, *ndzándza* ‘cold’, *reré* ‘delicious’, *dzódzo* ‘spicy’, *kʰakʰá* ‘salty’ and so on.

HUMAN PROPENSITY

There are both reduplicated and non-reduplicated adjectives in this type. Examples include *sɑsá* ‘clever’, *gə́la/gö* ‘dumb’, *bobó* ‘proud’, *tsʰovə́* ‘ugly’, *ndzendzé* ‘shy’ and *sisíˊ* ‘affectionate’.

SPEED

There are two adjectives of this type: *dʑɤ́dʑɤ* ‘fast’ and *kikí* ‘slow’.

DIFFICULTY

There is only one adjective of this type—*kólo* ‘hard, difficult’. The word for ‘easy’, *ɣí-ɣɔ (us-be.easy)* is a verb.

SIMILARITY

There are two adjectives which mean ‘(a)like’: *tɕótɕo* and *ndʐéndʐɛ*. Both adjectives take two arguments, but they mark O in different ways. The O of *tɕótɕo* is marked by the dative case, and *ndʐéndʐɛ* by the comitative case. Each adjective has a derived adjective. *nyɯ́tɕo* ‘unlike’ is derived from the short form of *tɕótɕo* by adding the negative prefix *nyɯ-* to the root. The adjective derived from *ndʐéndʐɛ* is *ndʐɛ́ məndʐɛ́* ‘all sorts of’. This is a phrasal adjective, where the second element *mə-ndʐɛ́* is also analyzable as a negative prefix *mó-* plus the short-form root.

QUANTIFICATION

There are four adjectives that mean ‘many’. Two are reduplicated, which are *dʑódʑo* and *nbenbé*, and two are not, which are *kɛ́yi* and *pámɛ*.

POSITION

There are two adjectives of this type, which are *káro* ‘near’ and *tʰɛró* ‘far’.

We can now summarize the phonological forms of adjectives in each semantic type, together with their other properties in Table 11.5. Four types of adjectives are in reduplicated forms, which are adjectives of DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, SPEED and DIFFICULTY. Adjectives of DIMENSION and PHYSICAL PROPERTY are both very large in number, and represent the core semantic types of Munya adjectives. The fact that the only two adjectives of SPEED and the one of DIFFICULTY are reduplicated may be due to chance.

Two types of adjectives whose members are mostly in reduplicated form are adjectives of HUMAN PROPENSITY and SIMILARITY. They can be seen as less central members of the word class of adjectives.

Relatively fewer inherently reduplicated adjectives are found among the remaining semantic types. There are different reasons for this. For example, a large proportion of non-reduplicated adjectives of AGE and VALUE are borrowed from Tibetan. Basic color terms are all inherently reduplicated; those non-basic members are either derived from nouns or perhaps also borrowed.

Table 11.5: The Semantic Types and Properties of Adjectives

Semantic Types	Reduplicated form	Comparative	Superlative	Intensification	Noun modifier	Predicate	Negation/Question	Complement
DIMENSION	all	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	all	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SPEED	all	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DIFFICULTY	all	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
HUMAN PROPENSITY	most	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SIMILARITY	most	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
AGE	some	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
COLOR	some	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
QUANTIFICATION	few	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
VALUE	few	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
POSITION	none	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

11.7 Summary

Adjectives in Munya have unique phonological, morphological and syntactic properties not shared by nouns or verbs. This indicates that adjectives in Munya represent an independent word class. Adjectives also cover a rich array of semantic types. Many are borrowed, and cannot be exhaustively listed, suggesting that they form an open word class.

Chapter 12

Interrogatives and Negation

Interrogatives in Munya can be grouped into four types, which are constituent interrogative (or content interrogative), polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative (Section 12.1). Each type of interrogative is formed in its unique way and has its unique functions. Negation can be expressed either with prefixes or with a negative predicate. There are four negative prefixes, with contrasting but also overlapping functions (Section 12.2). When interrogative and negation are marked with prefixes, the loci for them are the same, which are predicates and auxiliaries. However, these loci cannot take an interrogative prefix and a negative prefix at the same time.

12.1 Interrogatives

The four types of interrogatives in Munya are: constituent interrogative, polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative. Constituent interrogative is used to seek new information (Section 12.1.1), polar interrogative to seek confirmation (Section 12.1.2), rhetorical interrogative to signal that more information for a topic is being provided (Section 12.1.3), and the alternative interrogative presents two or more candidate answers for a question (Section 12.1.4).

Except for the alternative interrogative, all interrogatives have no special intonational feature—they have the same falling intonational contour as declarative sentences. The alternative interrogative, which consists of two independent clauses, has a rising intonation to the end of the first clause and a falling intonation at the end of the second clause.

These interrogatives will be discussed in turn.

12.1.1 Constituent Interrogative

12.1.1.1 Interrogative Words

The core of constituent questions are interrogative words. The inventory of interrogative words in Munya is listed in Table 12.1.

Table 12.1: Constituent Interrogative Words

Interrogative words	Meaning	Syntactic function	Category
ɛzə́	'what'	Argument	Noun-like
ɛnə́	'who'	Argument	Noun-like
ɛntólö∼ɛntɛ́gɛ	'how, like what'	Verbal modifier	Adverb
ɛrí	'why be'	Predicate	Verb-like
ɛtí∼tsəmə́	'how many'	Argument/noun modifier	Noun-like/adjective-like
ɛtʰá	'do what'	Predicate	Verb-like
ɛtʰəvá	'what becomes of'	Predicate	Verb-like
hóti∼hótɐʰo	'where'	Argument	Noun-like
hótsə	'which'	Argument	Noun-like
zəmóho	'when'	Argument	Noun-like

It can be seen that the majority of interrogative words in the table share the formative *ɛ-*. This is also the basic form of the interrogative prefix for forming polar questions (to be discussed in Section 12.1.2). Two interrogative words, *hóti∼hótɐʰo* 'where' and *hótsə* 'which', share the formative *hó-*. This formative is not productive in Munya and its meaning is not clear. It is probably borrowed from Sichuan Chinese, where a morpheme of similar pronunciation, [hɔ], is a component of interrogative words, as in [hɔtɐo] (好久) 'when' and [hɔtuə] (好多) 'how many'.

The interrogative word for 'where' shows dialectal variation. In the southern dialect, it is documented by H. K. Sun (1983) as *ɐ-xɐ*. The prefix *ɐ-* can be analyzed as the surface form of *ɛ-*, which becomes /ɐ/ through vowel harmony. For some interrogative words, the roots to which the interrogative formative is attached are still semantically transparent. The root for *ɛnə́* 'who' seems to be the plural marker (=*nə*). The roots of *ɛntólö∼ɛntɛ́gɛ* 'how' are general numeral classifiers (*tólö* and *tɛ́gɛ*) (cf. Section 6.4). The root of *ɛtí* 'how many, how much' is the indefinite particle (*ti* 'some'). And the root of *hótsə* 'which' is the same as the root of nominal demonstratives (cf. *o-tsə́* 'this' and *ó-tsə* 'that').

12.1.1.2 Syntactic Properties of Interrogative Words

Most interrogative words occupy the same position as the constituent questioned. There are six interrogative words of this sort, which are *ɛzə́* 'what', *ɛ́nə* 'who', *hóti/hótɕʰo* 'where', *ɛtí/tsə́mə* 'how many, how much', *zəmóho* 'when' and *hótsə* 'which'. Compare the constituent interrogative in (311a) and its answer in (311b). Aside from a full clause, the answer can also be a word, as is shown in (311c).

(311) a. ***zəmóho*** *kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́* *sü*
when NONS-arrive PFV/2SG
'When did you arrive?'

b. ***yísə*** *kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́* *sö*
yesterday NONS-arrive PFV/1SG
'I arrived yesterday.'

c. *yísə*
yesterday
'Yesterday.'

Since these interrogative words occur in the same position as the constituents questioned, and since the latter function either as core or peripheral arguments, these interrogative words are arguments as well. However, while argument slots are typically taken by nominals, interrogative arguments show few or no nominal properties—they cannot be pluralized, cannot take numeral classifiers and cannot be modified by adjectives.

Some interrogative words can have different functions. *ɛtí/tsə́mə* 'how many, how much' can, in addition, function as a noun modifier. In (312), it modifies *tódzö* 'construction worker':

(312) *nɛnə́* *tódzö* ***tsəmə́*** *i-ndʑú* *nyi?*
2PL construction.worker how.many DS-have EGO:AP
'How many construction workers are there with you?'

ɛntólö ‘how, like what’ is adverbial in that it normally modifies a verb. In the following example, it modifies *tʰəvá* ‘to become’.

(313) *mənyɛ́ sú* ***ɛntólö*** *tʰə-vá rű rəvásə*
Munya language how AS-become will probably
‘What would Munya like (in the future)?’

The three interrogative words, *ɛtʰá* ‘do what’, *ɛtʰəvá* ‘what become of, what is the matter with’ and *ɛrí* ‘why be’, function as intransitive verbs. These interrogative verbs are morpho-syntactically defective compared to verbs, in the sense that they can only be marked for a limited range of verbal categories. For example, they do not inflect for person-number or take any directional prefix. Examples illustrating the first two words are given below:

(314) a. ***ɛtʰá*** *pɛ nyi*
do.what IMPF/2SG EGO:AP
‘What are you doing?’

b. *nɛnɛ́* ***ɛtʰəvá*** *pi nyi*
2PL+EXP what.become.of IMPF EGO:AP
‘What has happened to you?’

(314a) is frequently used in daily life as a greeting. Since the subject is always clear from the context, i.e., the addressee, it is normally omitted. In both clauses the interrogative words are followed by an aspectual marker, indicating that they are verbal.

The interrogative word *ɛrí* ‘why’ behaves like an intransitive verb. Its subject is normally a clause, either free-standing or nominalized. Different from canonical verbs, *ɛrí* ‘why’ cannot take any aspectual or evidential marker, but it obligatorily takes an egophoric marker. (The reason for this requires further study.) Consider the examples in (315):

(315) a. *[nɛ́ tʰo-tsó pɛ]* ***ɛrí*** *ŋo?*
2SG AS-run IMPF/2SG why EGO:SAP
‘Why are you running?/You are running, why?’

b. *[kɛ́tʂi kʰí-mi rí tsə́] **ɛrí** ŋo?*
person.name NONS-name NMLZ FOC why EGO:SAP

'Why naming (him) kɛtʂi?/Naming (him) kɛtʂi, why?'

c. *[nɛnɛ́ sɛ́ omənə́ nówɑ tə́-tɕi, tsʰalá rótsə, ndzə́=nə méme*
2PL+EXP so like.this spirit UP-come dance dance food=PL everybody
i ɛ́-ndzə pe, tsíngə=nə méme i tə́-ngə
ERG DS-eat IMPF/1/2NONSG clothes=PL everybody ERG UP-wear
*pe] **ɛrí** nyi?*
IMPF/1/2NONSG why EGO:AP

'Why is it that you are so highly spirited and everyone is dancing and eating what they have and wearing what they have?'

The subject of *ɛrí* 'why' is an independent clause in (315a) and a nominalized clause in (315b) (marked by the nominalizer *ri*). In (315c), the subject is a complex sentence composed of four clauses. In the first two examples, the egophoric marker is the narrow-scope *ŋo*, and in the third example it is the wide-scope *nyi*.

12.1.1.3 Interrogative Words Used as Indefinites and General Indefinites

Cross-linguistically, it is not uncommon to find interrogative words being used as indefinites (Dixon 2012a: 401). This is also the case in Munya, but with some extra requirements. For example, *ɛzə́* 'what' needs to combine with the indefinite particle *ti* to yield an indefinite interpretation:

(316) *nɛ́ i **ti** **ɛzə́** hɛ́ ŋo*
2SG ERG INDF what want/2SG EGO:SAP

'Is there anything that you want?'

ɛzə́ 'what' can also combine with *nə* 'even if' or *ɛ́ʉ́ɛ́ü* 'everything' to function as a general indefinite:

(317) a. ***ɛzə́ nə*** *háke* *le* *tɕótɕo*
what even.if know/1/2NONSG DAT be.similar

‘It is as if (we) have understood everything.’

b. ***ɛzə́ ɕűɕü*** *ndə́* *nyi*
what anything COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

‘(We) have everything.’

While some other interrogative words can also combine with *nə* ‘also’ to form a general indefinite, it seems only *ɛzə́* ‘what’ can combine with *ɕűɕü*:

(318) ***hóti*** *tʰɛ-ʈʂɛ́* ***nə*** *ŋí* *lɛ́kɛ́* ***ɛzə́ ɕűɕü*** *ma-ŋá* *sə* *tə̀pi*
where AS-arrive even.if 1SG work what anything NEG-good PFV be.called

tó-lö *té* *nó-vɯ* *ma-ndá*
one-CLF:GENR at.all DOWN-do NEG-used.to

‘No matter where I went to, I didn’t do any work that (people) said was not good.’

In this example, *hóti* ‘where’ combines with *nə* ‘even if’ to yield a discontinuous general indefinite meaning ‘wherever’. Here *nə* ‘even if’ cannot be replaced by *ɕűɕü* ‘anything’. The second general indefinite, *ɛzə́ ɕűɕü* ‘any, whatever’, cannot be discontinuous.

12.1.2 Polar Interrogative

Polar interrogative in Munya is formed by prefixing the interrogative marker *ɛ-* to predicates or auxiliaries. Below the position and form of this interrogative marker are examined.

12.1.2.1 Position of the Interrogative Prefix

The interrogative prefix is either attached to a predicate or an auxiliary. However, these loci have different degrees of priority. The imperfective auxiliary *pi* and the perfective auxiliary *sə* have the highest order of priority for hosting the interrogative prefix. That is, whenever a clause contains an imperfective auxiliary or a perfective auxiliary, the interrogative prefix, if it is present, should be attached to it. In the two examples below, the

interrogative prefix is attached to the imperfective auxiliary and the perfective auxiliary respectively, and cannot be attached to verbs:

(319) a. *nyɯ́-ke* *kʰɯ-ɐó* ***ɛ́-pi***
NEG-free NONS-come.out INTRG-IMPF
'Are you busy?'

b. *otsí* *húndzə* *ɛ́-ndzə* ***ɛ́-sə***
3SG+ERG dinner DS-eat INTRG-PFV
'Has he had his dinner?'

Other auxiliaries have equal priority to predicates. That is, in the case where a clause contains a predicate and an auxiliary that is neither the perfective or imperfective marker, either the predicate or the auxiliary can take the prefix. In the two examples below, the interrogative marker occurs on a verb in (320a) and on an evidential marker in (320b). The two clauses are equally acceptable: (The possible semantic/pragmatic difference between them requires further study.)

(320) a. ***ɛ-dɛ́*** *rɑ*
INTRG-see/2SG EVID:DIRECT
'Did you see it?'

b. *dɛ́* ***ɑ́-rɑ***
see/2SG INTRG-EVID:DIRECT
'Did you see it?'

Polar interrogative clauses cannot take egophoric markers. While in a declarative clause, the perfective and imperfective markers can generally be followed by the egophoric *nyi*, their polar interrogative counterpart, such as the two clauses in (319), simply cannot.

If the predicate is a reduplicated adjective, the adjective should occur in short form after the interrogative prefix is attached to it. This was already discussed in depth in Chapter 11.

12.1.2.2 Forms of the Interrogative Prefix

The base form of the interrogative prefix is *ɛ-*. It was mentioned in Section 3.2 that this prefix is subject to vowel harmony. However, the interrogative prefix has three other forms, *i-*, *u-* and *o-*, which cannot be derived through vowel harmony. Consider the examples in Table 12.2.

Table 12.2: Irregular Interrogative Prefixes

	Prefixed forms	Meaning
i-form	*i-ndʑɛ́*	'you have or not (INTRG-have/2SG)'
	i-ndʑṹ	'to have or not (INTRG-have)'
	i-ndʑɯ́	'to exist or not (animate CDR) (INTRG-COP:ANIMATE)'
	i-tɕɯ́	'to exist or not (inanimate CDR) (INTRG-COP:INANIMATE)'
u-form	*u-hí/ɛ-hí*	'will or not (INTRG-will)'
	u-nyɛ́/ɛ-nyɛ́	'fine or not (INTRG-fine)'
	u-yɛ́/ɛ-yɛ́	'to look good or not (INTRG-look.good)'
	u-tɕʰɯ́	'to drink or not (INTRG-drink)'
	u-í/ɛ-í	'to exist or not (upright objects) (INTRG-COP:UPRIGHT)'
o-form	*o-só*	'visible or not (INTRG-visible)'

From the table it can be seen that these three forms of the interrogative prefix are not the result of vowel harmony. Compare *i-ndʑɯ́* 'to exist or not' and *u-tɕɯ́* 'to drink or not', where the vowel in the roots is /ɯ/, and *i-ndʑɛ́* 'to have or not' and *u-yɛ́* 'to look good or not', where the vowel in the roots is /ɛ/.

The roots that can take these three forms of interrogative prefixes are highly idiosyncratic. The loci for i-form prefixes tend to be copulas that phonologically have palatal affricate consonants. Most u-form prefixes have an alternative basic ɛ-form. The source of this alternation is a question that requires further study. Finally, the o-form is only found in *o-só* 'visible or not' and not any other words. Even if this were to be analyzed as a case of vowel harmony, it is at best a very irregular one, as /ɛ/ does not harmonize with root /o/ in other roots, c.f. *ɛ-tʰó* 'passable or not' but not **o-tʰó*.

12.1.2.3 Two Forms of Polar Interrogatives

Other than prefixing the interrogative prefix to predicates or auxiliaries, polar interrogatives can also be formed lexically, with *ɛ́-ti* 'INTRG-STA' or *ɛ-ŋó* 'INTRG-be'. These two polar

interrogatives differ from the canonical type in the degree of certainty that speakers have towards the proposition being questioned. In a canonical polar interrogative clause, which is formed with the prefix *ɛ-*, the speaker has no prior knowledge about the truth or falsity of the proposition expressed by the interrogative clause. In the form involving *ɛ́-ti* 'INTRG-STA', the speaker is certain about the truth of the proposition, while in the form involving *ɛ-ŋó* 'INTRG-be', the speaker has a high, albeit not full, degree of certainty about the truth of the proposition. The two forms are viewed as polar interrogatives because they can generally be answered with 'yes' or 'no'. Below I discuss the forms and functions of these two words.

The first form is constructed by tagging *ɛ́-ti* 'INTRG-STA' to the end of a full clause. The tag can be optionally set off from the full clause by a pause. The function of this tag is not so much to seek truth value of the given statement as to elicit confirmation from the addressee and seek rapport between interlocutors. In using this tag, the speaker is generally confident about the truth of her statement and expects an affirmative response from the addressee. Consider the example in (321):

(321) *yovɯ́ tsʰála tsə́ kʰɯ́-tɕori kʰú-tɕɯ-yɛ kɯ́ tsəkɯ́ sívɯ*
traditional dance FOC NONS-watch NONS-more-good.looking when D.M good
*tólö tʰó-ŋo sə, **ɛ́ti**?*
PAR AS-be PFV INTRG.tag

'The more (you) watched traditional dances, the more wonderful they became, wasn't it?'

In this example, the speaker is talking about her experience of watching traditional dance, and expects that this experience is shared by the addressee as well. Answers to such questions are generally positive, such as *ŋo ti* 'yes (be STA)', *mɑnó* 'for sure', or an interjection, like *əm*.

Another form of polar interrogative is headed by *ɛ-ŋó* 'INTRG-be', with the proposition to be questioned functioning as the subject complement of it. When using this form, the speaker tends to have a high, albeit not full, degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition in such interrogative clauses. Two examples are given below:

(322) a. *vɛ́və kʰɔ púpɛ* ***ɛ-ŋó*** *ti?*
grandfather deceased Tibetan INTRG-be STA
'The deceased grandfather was a Tibetan, right?'

b. *tɕʰuwú mənyɛ́ sú kʰi-mí-tsi sü* ***ɛ-ŋó*** *ti?*
this.time Munya language NONS-NEG-study PFV/2SG INTRG-be STA
'You didn't study Munya this time, right?'

In (322a), the speaker asks her grandfather if her great grandfather was a Tibetan or not. Since her grandfather is a Tibetan, it is very probable that her great grandfather was a Tibetan as well. In (322b), the speaker, judging from my mistakes in Munya, deduces that I didn't learn any Munya since I left my fieldwork last time, but is not completely sure of it.

12.1.2.4 Answers to Polar Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives can be answered with interjections like *ə́n* (positive) or *aŋhə́ŋ/ənhə́n* (negative) or by repeating all or part of the question. It is very common for the argument(s) in the reply to be omitted, but not for verbal categories. In Munya, the syntactic verbal categories in polar questions are identical to those in replies. Consider the question and answer pair in (323), where the S argument, *tiɛ́* 'electricity' is omitted in the answer, but not the stative aspect *ti* after the predicate:

(323) a. *tiɛ́ ɛ-kʰɯ́ ti*
electricity INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA
'Is there electricity?'

b. *nyɯ́-kʰɯ ti*
NEG-COP:CONTAIN STA
'No.'

12.1.3 Rhetorical Interrogative

In Munya, rhetorical interrogatives are most commonly used with a thematicising function, to signal that more information about a topic is to be provided. This type of interrogative is used much more often in speech or monologue than in conversations. A rhetorical interrogative is formed by adding *tə́tə tʰo* 'say if' to the end of a constituent interrogative clause. Consider the example in (324):

(324) *nə-sí sɔ-sí ti púkɯ vá tsəkɯ́ ɛ́-to tsəkɯ́. tsəkɯ́ otsə́*
two-day three-day indefinite on butter D.M AS-knead D.M. D.M DEM
*vá ɛntólö nyi **tə́-tə tʰo**?*
butter how EGO:AP UP-say if

'The butter will be kneaded in about two or three days. How does the butter look like?'

In the first clause of this example, the speaker introduced a new topic, i.e., *vá* 'butter'. Then the speaker feels the need to provide more information about it, so he used a rhetorical interrogative as a bridge before providing more information.

12.1.4 Alternative Interrogative

In Munya, an alternative interrogative sentence is typically composed of two or more independent clauses conjoined by *sü* 'or'. The constituent clauses are parallel in structure. Consider the example below:

(325) *[tɕɛ́npi kɛ-ré ti] **sű́** [kətɕɛ́ kɛ-ré ti]*
jianbing more-delicious STA or pancake more-delicious STA

'Is the *jianbing* more delicious or is the pancake more delicious?'

It is also possible to form an alternative interrogative sentence by joining two clauses together. In that case, the first clause should end with *ɛ-ŋó ti* 'INTRG-be STA':

(326) *[nɛ́ i ɛ́-tɕo sʉ́ **ɛ-ŋó** **ti]** [ŋí ɣɤ́-tɕo sö nyi]*
2SG ERG DS-call PFV/2SG INTRG-be STA 1SG+ERG US-call PFV/1SG EGO:AP

'Did you make a phone call to me or did I make one to you?'

Alternative interrogatives formed with *sü* 'or' can contain two or more constituent clauses, while those formed through apposition can have only two.

12.2 Negation

Negation can be formed synthetically, with negative prefixes, or analytically, by using *me* 'not exist' as the predicate of a negative clause. Similar to polar interrogative prefixes, negative prefixes are also attached to predicates or auxiliaries. This section will first address the forms and functions of these negative prefixes, then discuss the predicative negator.

12.2.1 Forms of Negative Prefixes

Munya has four negative prefixes, whose forms range from one to six. Most of the alternating forms are the result of vowel harmony, but there are also some forms which are not phonologically determined and are best analyzed as being lexically conditioned.

12.2.1.1 *tɕʉ-*

tɕʉ- does not have any variants. It always shows up in this form.

12.2.1.2 *tɕɛ-*

tɕɛ- has two variants, which are *tɕa-* and *tɕɑ-*. Both forms are the result of lowering vowel harmony (Section 3.2.1).

12.2.1.3 *nyʉ-*

nyʉ- has an alternate form, *nyu-*. Because the *nyʉ-* form prefix can be attached to a much wider range of roots than the *nyu-* form, *nyʉ-* is seen as the base form of this negative

Table 12.3: A Comparison of the Roots that can Take *nyɯ-* and *nyu-*

nyɯ-		*nyu-*	
Negated form	Meaning of root	Negated form	Meaning of root
nyɯ́-i	'to exist'	*nyú-nɯ*	'can'
nyɯ́-ke	'free'		
nyɯ́-ndʐɛ	'same'	*nyú-yɛ*	'good-looking'
nyɯ́-tö	'I see'		
nyɯ́-tʂʰɑ	'right'	*nyú-ndɑ*	'used to'
nyɯ́-tsʰu	'can'		
nyɯ́-ndʑɯ	'to exist'		
nyɯ́-ŋo	'be'	*nyú-tɕʰo*	'I drink'
nyɯ́-rɔ	'can, may'	*nyú-sɔ*	'I want'
nyɯ́-tʂɤ	'useful'		
		nyú-yü	'want'

marker.

Recall from our discussion of vowel harmony in Chapter 3 that /ɯ/ is not subject to any vowel harmony rule. Thus the two forms of this negative prefix cannot be phonologically determined. To further demonstrate this, we compare a sample of roots to which the two forms of this prefix can be attached, shown in Table 12.3. (These are all the words that I was able to find that takes the *nyu-* form prefix.)

From this table, we can deduce that the two forms may be prefixed to roots with the same vowels. For example, both *ndʐɛ́* 'same' and *yɛ* 'good looking' contain the vowel /ɛ/, yet the first root is prefixed with *nyɯ-* but the second one is prefixed with *nyu-*. The forms of the negative prefixes are not determined by the consonant in the root either, as we have *nyɯ́-yi* 'not exist' and *nyú-yɛ* 'not good-looking', where both roots contain /y/. Furthermore, there are also some roots to which either form can be prefixed, such as *nyɯ́-hi/nyú-hi* 'will not' and *nyɯ́-ta/nyú-ta* 'don't see'. These suggest that the two forms of this negative prefix are not phonologically determined. The two forms are best seen as lexically conditioned variants.

12.2.1.4 *mo-*

mo- has six variant forms. Five of them, which are *mɛ-*, *mɑ-*, *ma-*, *mi-* and *mu-*, can be derived through vowel harmony (cf. Section 3.2.1). The *me-* form seems to be lexically

conditioned, and is only found before a very small set of roots, such as *me-tʰɑ́* 'couldn't' and *me-tʰɔ́* 'didn't succeed'.

12.2.2 Functional Differences

There are both contrast and overlapping in the distribution of these negative prefixes. Firstly, *tɕɯ-* contrasts with the other three negative prefixes: it is used exclusively for expressing prohibition, and no other prefix can be used in this way. Secondly, *tɕɛ-* is in many cases interchangeable with both *nyɯ-* and *mo-*, the difference being the ability to take egophoric markers (more on this later). Thirdly, *nyɯ-* and *mo-* contrast to the extent that *nyɯ-* is used in non-past situations while *mo-* is used in past situations. These differences are shown in Table 12.4:

Table 12.4: The Functional Differences Between Negative Markers

	Prohibitive	Perfectiveness
tɕɯ-	+	non-past
tɕɛ-	-	past/non-past
nyɯ-	-	non-past
mo-	-	past

Because *tɕɯ-* is used to express prohibitive, the verb to which it is prefixed should inflect for second person singular or first/second person non-singular form. This is shown in (327):

(327) a. *mɯ́ te* ***ɣɤ-tɕɯ́-tü*** *tə sə*
fire at.all US-PROH-light.up/2SG say PFV

'"Be sure not to light up any fire," (she) said.'

b. *tɑrá* ***tɕɯ́-hu***
for.now PROH-go/2SG

'Don't go for now.'

The contrast between *mo-* and *nyɯ-* can most clearly be seen by the aspectual auxiliaries to which they are attachable: *mo-* can be prefixed to the perfective aspect marker *sə*

(328a) and the direct evidential marker *rɑ* (which denotes completive situations) (328b), while *nyɯ-* can be prefixed to the imperfective aspect marker *pi* (328c) and the stative aspect *ti* (328d):

(328) a. *ɣɤ kʰɯ-tső mí=ni otsínə no-sá **mó-sə***
fish NONS-catch NMLZ=PL+ERG 3DU DOWN-kill NEG-PFV

‘The fishermen did not kill those two (children).’

b. *ŋɯ́ ɣɛ kʰɔ-ɣɔ́ té **má-rɑ***
1SG EXP NONS-help at.all NEG-EVID:DIRECT

‘(They) didn’t help me at all.’

c. *yétʂu kʰɯ́ le tʰɑ-kʰá **nyɯ́-pi***
wild.pig dog DAT NONS-fear NEG-IMPF

‘Wild pigs are not afraid of dogs.’

d. *tsʰɑlá yɛyɛ́ **nyɯ́-ti***
dance good.looking NEG-STA

‘The dance is not nice to look at.’

This contrast can also be seen in cases where the two negators are prefixed to verbs. Consider the pair of examples in (329), where the predicates are the same[1]:

(329) a. ***hákʰu-mu-ko** rɑ*
formative-NEG-know/1SG EVID:DIRECT

‘I didn’t understand (it).’

b. ***há-nyu-ko** ti*
formative-NEG-know/1SG STA

‘I don’t know.’

[1]The verb *hákoʰ/hákʰuko* ‘know, understand’ is borrowed from Tibetan *ha’go* ‘know’. Although the first syllable, /hɑ/, is not a directional prefix in Munya, it is treated as such, so that negative prefixes should follow this syllable instead of being prefixed to the whole word (therefore *hɑ* cannot be glossed). The mid syllable is peculiar in that it should be present when *mu-* is infixed but not when *nyu-* is.

The negator in (329a) is *mu-* because the clause denotes a past situation, as can be seen from the direct evidential *rɑ*. By contrast, (329b) denotes a state and is therefore negated with *nyu-*.

The negator ***tɕɛ-*** is in many cases interchangeable with both *mo-* and *nyɯ-*. This can be seen from (330), where ***tɕɛ-*** is prefixed to the perfective marker in (330a) and the imperfective marker in (330b):

(330) a. *ndʑú=ni nó-tʂʰö ɣɛ legő ɛ-dʑó* ***tɕɛ́-sə***
people=PL+ERG DOWN-plow LK task DS-assign NEG-PFV

‘People wouldn’t assign the task of plowing (to me).’

b. *dʐiló tu-kú nə* ***tɕɛ́-pi***
duty UP-carry.on.back also NEG-IMPF

‘Also, (they) don’t perform (their) duties.’

However, one situation where ***tɕɛ-*** cannot occur is when a clause contains an egophoric marker. In such a case, only *nyɯ-* or *mo-* can be used. Consider the examples in (331):

(331) a. *kɛ́tʂi i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ ti kʰɛ́kʰɛ́ tə́-dzö* ***nyɯ́-po***
person.name ERG UP-say SRI INDF different UP-take NEG-IMPF/1SG
ŋo
EGO:SAP

‘kɛtʂi said, I don’t want to take anything else.’

b. *púmi mɛ́ndɛ i tsəkɯ́ tʰó-ngə* ***mó-sə*** *nyi*
begger old.woman ERG D.M AS-be.happy NEG-PFV EGO:AP

‘The old beggar woman was not happy.’

In these two examples, the two negators cannot be replaced with ***tɕɛ-***.

12.2.3 Dialectal Variations

Negative markers in Munya show dialectal variations. The negator *tɕɛ-* discussed above is only found in the northern dialect. And correspondingly, there is a clause final negator, *yɛ*, that is only found in the southern dialect. This is illustrated in (332):

(332) a. *otsí* *tɕɛ́* *ɛ́-tɕʰɯ* ***tɕɛ́-pi*** (ND)
3SG+ERG tea DS-drink NEG-IMPF
'He doesn't drink tea.'

b. *otsí* *tɕɛ́* *ɛ́-tɕʰɯ* ***pi*** ***yɛ́*** (SD)
3SG+ERG tea DS-drink IMPF NEG
'He doesn't drink tea.'

Due to a lack of data, currently not much can be said about the negator *yɛ* found in the southern dialect.

12.2.4 Predicative Negation

Aside from using negative prefixes, negation can also be expressed through an independent predicate, *mé* 'not exist'. This word was analyzed as a negative copula in Section 10.5. It may be followed by grammatical categories like *ti*, *nyi* (333a), *tólö* (333b) and the imperfective *pi* (333c):

(333) a. *táyɛ́* *mé* ***ti/nyi***
money COPULA:NEG STA/EGO:AP
'There is/was no money.'

b. *tínə* *kʰɤ́-tɤ* *ri* *mé* ***tólö***
at.all NONS-buy NMLZ COPULA:NEG PAR
'Nothing can buy (it)/Things that can buy (it) do not exist'.

c. *tsé* *ɣɛ* *nə* *tsʰərő* *mé* ***pi***
REFL/3SG GEN also wood COPULA:NEG IMPF

'He himself didn't have any wood either.'

mé 'not exist' takes an S argument in (333a) and (333b) and two arguments in (333c). In (333c) the subject is marked by the genitive case because the clause refers to a possessive relation. In the following example the subject is marked by the dative case:

(334) *lőŋö* *tó-ki* *ɣɛ* *tsəkɯ́* *kʰɛtʂötʂóɐi* *ɛ́-ro* *tsəkɯ́* *[lő* ***le*** *nɛ́tsɛ*
year one-year LK D.M auspiciousness DS-come and body DAT disease
mé *pi]*
COPULA:NEG IMPF

'The auspiciousness will come for a whole year and the body won't have any disease.'

In this example, the reason why *lö* 'body' is marked by the dative case is probably because the body is viewed as a location in which disease can reside. Hence, the negative copula here denotes a sense of non-existence.

12.3 Summary

Interrogatives in Munya can be grouped into four types, which are constituent interrogative, polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative. Each type of interrogatives is formed in its unique way and has its unique functions. Constituent interrogative needs an interrogative word, which generally contains the interrogative prefix *ɛ-*. They occupy the same position as the constituent questioned, and can be used as indefinites or general indefinites. Polar interrogative is formed by attaching the interrogative prefix to predicates or auxiliaries. Rhetorical interrogative is used to introduce a new topic, and alternative interrogative generally contains the particle *sű* 'or', which links two clauses parallel in structure. Negation can be expressed either with prefixes or with a negative predicate. There are four negative prefixes with contrasting but also overlapping

functions. *tɐɯ-* is only used in prohibitive clauses, *nyɯ-* is used in non-past situations and *mo-* is used in past situations. The negative prefix *tɐɛ-* is interchangeable with *nyɯ-* and *mo-* but cannot be followed by egophoric markers.

Chapter 13

Basic Clause Types

Clauses can be categorized using different perspectives. Based on the nature of their predicates, clauses can be divided into verbal predicate clauses, copula clauses, verbless clauses, etc.; based on speech acts, clauses can be grouped into declarative clauses, imperative clauses and interrogative clauses; based on their syntactic functions, there are main and subordinate clauses. (Aikhenvald 2015: 225; Dryer 2007)

This chapter will classify clauses mainly based on the nature of their predicates and their internal structures, i.e., whether the predicate of the clause is verbal, adjectival, nominal, etc., and for each clause type, how the internal structure is organized (Section 13.2). While the second parameter of distinction, the one based on speech acts, will also be taken account of, I will only focus on the properties of imperative clauses (Section 13.3), since interrogative clauses were already discussed extensively in Chapter 12. The main clauses and subordinate clauses will be the topic of next chapter. Since the discussion of clause types cannot avoid mentioning grammatical roles, particularly subject and object, it is necessary to elucidate how they are defined in Munya first.

13.1 Identifying the Subject

A strictly intransitive clause has only one argument, which would be identified as the subject (noted with S). The problem of identifying subject and object arises when one is dealing with transitive clauses. Because once the subject of a transitive clause (noted with A) is identified, the other argument would naturally be the object (noted with O). Here

we only focus on how to identify the subject of a transitive clause.

In Munya, the subject can be defined with four criteria, which are (in order of priority) person-number inflection, case marking, semantic role, and constituent order. None of these criteria, however, is definitive, that is, one cannot expect to identify the subject of all clauses based solely on one criterion. In an ideal situation, all four criteria are available in a clause and they converge to define an argument as the subject. However, as we shall see below, due to various factors, some of these criteria are not always applicable.

13.1.1 Person-number Inflection

In Munya, many verbs and auxiliaries inflect for the person-number of subjects. Thus, in the transitive clause below, we know that *ŋú* 'I' is the subject because the verb inflects for the first person singular:

(335) *[ŋí]$_A$* *[otsə́]$_O$* *tó́* *ra*
1SG+ERG 3SG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT

'I saw him.'

While this criterion is very useful, there can be situations where it does not work. For example, some verbs do not inflect, and some transitive clauses can have a non-verbal predicate.

13.1.2 Case Marking

The ergative case *i* only marks the subject of transitive clauses, therefore it is a strong indicator of A. In the above example (335), the argument marked by the ergative case is *ŋú* 'I', indicating that it is the transitive subject.

The A is not marked in this way for all transitive verbs. As we will see in Section 13.2.1, some verbs do not mark A, others mark A with the experiential case. Since O can also be marked in these two ways, either zero-marking or the experiential case cannot be taken as sole indicators of A.

13.1.3 Semantic Role

The canonical subject of a transitive clause is an agent, or the initiator of an action. Therefore, we can say that in a transitive clause, the argument coding the agent will be the subject. Thus in (335), the participant initiating the act of seeing, *ŋɯ́* 'I', is realized as the subject.

However, in Munya, a transitive clause does not necessarily contain an agent. The semantic role of subjects can also be patient-like, such as the undergoer of a state or the experiencer of a feeling. Consider the example below:

(336) *ngɛ́ nɛ́ ngɯ-ʈʂé ra*
1SG+EXP 2SG TS-miss EVID:DIRECT

'I miss you.'

In this example, the predicate *ngɯ-ʈʂé* 'to miss' denotes a kind of psychological state and is a non-control verb. This is why the subject ('I') is grammatically treated as an undergoer and marked by the experential case.

Since participants acting as the undergoer can also function as the object of a transitive clause, this semantic role cannot be used to identify subject.

13.1.4 Constituent Order

The most natural constituent order of a transitive clause is AOV. Hence in normal case, the first argument of a transitive clause is the subject. By this criterion, the first argument in (335), *ŋɯ́* 'I', will be recognized as the subject.

This criterion is also not without exceptions. For example, when the object of a transitive clause is the topic in a discourse, it tends to be positioned before the subject.

To summarize, the most canonical transitive subject in Munya would meet all four criterion mentioned above: it would trigger the person-number inflection on the predicative verb, take the ergative case marker, code the agent of an action, and be the first argument of the clause. While not all transitive subjects meet these criteria, an argument needs to satisfy at least one of these in order for it to be identified as the subject of a clause.

13.2 Clause Types Based on the Nature of Predicates

Predicates in Munya can be verbal, adjectival or nominal. Clauses can subsequently be categorized as verbal predicate clauses, adjectival predicate clauses, and nominal predicate clauses. Although copulas in Munya belong to the verb class, because their argument structures are very different from those of verbs, copula clauses will be discussed separately here.

Verbal predicate clauses can be further distinguished based on their transitivity, yielding intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, and extended transitive clauses.

13.2.1 Verbal Predicate Clauses

13.2.1.1 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses have one core argument, traditionally noted as S. In Munya, intransitive clauses exhibit a split-S pattern, such that S_a is not marked and S_o is marked by the experiential case. S_a verbs are those that denote volitional or controlled actions, such as 'to run' and 'to jump'; S_o verbs are those that denote non-volitional actions, such as 'to be sick' and 'to be hungry'. In the two examples below, (337a) contains an S_a verb and (337b) contains an S_o verb:

(337) a. *[nɯ́]$_S$* ***ɛ-bó*** *ra*
sun DS-appear EVID:DIRECT
'The sun has risen.'

b. *[tsé]$_S$* *ɣɛ* *rí* ***tə́-ro***
REFL/3SG EXP smile UP-come
'He smiled by himself.'

13.2.1.2 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses have two core arguments, a subject, typically noted as A, and an object, typically noted as O. Depending on how the two arguments are marked, six types of

transitive clauses can be recognized.

In the first type, the A is marked by the ergative case and the O is unmarked. This is used in the situation where A is the agent of an action and O is either inanimate or animate but not affected. An example is given in (338):

(338) *[ʂé]$_A$* ***i*** ***[tʰuəlatɕí*** ***tɛ́-gɛ]$_O$*** *kʰɔ́-tɤ* *rɑ*
commune ERG tractor one-CLF:GENR NONS-buy EVID:DIRECT
'The commune bought a tractor.'

When A is the agent of an action and O is a strongly affected animate patient, the former would be marked by the ergative case and the latter by the experiential case. This is the second type of transitive clause. The action can be either benefactive (339a) or malefactive to the patient (339b):

(339) a. ***[tʰíwu=nɛ*** ***ngötʂʰí=ni]$_A$*** ***[ngé]$_O$*** *kʰɔ-ɣɔ́* *vú* *nyú-ŋa*
PN=COLL.PL chieftain=PL+ERG 1SG+EXP NONS-help do NEG-can
'The chieftains of tʰiwu village won't help me.'

b. ***[otsí]$_A$*** ***[məɣé]$_O$*** *ɣɛ* *rutɕǘ* *no-sá* *sə*
3SG+ERG cow EXP bump.into DOWN-kill PFV
'He bumped into a cow and killed it.'

In the third type of transitive clause, A is marked by the ergative case and O by the dative case. This is used when A is the agent of an action and O is a not so strongly affected animate patient:

(340) *[méme]$_A$* ***i*** *[otsé]$_O$* ***le*** *no-rə-rí* *pi*
everybody ERG 3SG DAT DOWN-PLUR-laugh PFV
'Everybody is laughing at him.'

In the fourth type of transitive clause, neither A nor O is marked. This is used in the situation where A is not the agent of an action and O is not affected by A:

(341) *[ŋɯ́]$_A$ [yi]$_O$ tʰa-ɣá sö*
1SG wine AS-be.drunk PFV/1SG
'I am drunk on wine.'

In the fifth type of transitive clause, A is not marked but O is marked by the dative case. This is used in the situation where A undergoes an emotion or feeling of which O is the target or cause.

(342) *[yɛtʂú]$_A$ [kʰɯ́]$_O$* ***le*** *tʰa-kʰá nyɯ́-pi*
wild.pig dog DAT AS-be.afraid NEG-IMPF
'Wild pigs are not afraid of dogs.'

In the sixth type of transitive clause, A is marked by the experiential case and O is unmarked. The situation described is quite similar to the one in the last type, the difference being that the subject participant is more strongly affected in this kind of situation than in the last one. Verbs with this kind of argument structure are called non-control verbs in Section 4.3.6. An example is given below:

(343) a. *[nɛ́]$_A$* ***ɣɤ*** *[mekʰú]$_O$ ngɯ-tʂí ra*
2SG EXP home TS-desire EVID:DIRECT
'You are homesick.'

The meaning of this sentence seems to be that the feeling of homesickness is so strong that the subject, *nɛ́* 'you', is almost controlled by it.

13.2.1.3 Extended Transitive Clauses

The most canonical type of extended transitive clause contains a ditransitive predicate and three core participants, an agent, a gift, and a recipient. In Munya, ditransitive verbs include 'give (*tʰokʰɛ́*)', 'lend (*tʰitsí*)', 'feed (*tʰomú*)', 'tell (*tətə*)', and so on. The agent of such verbs is marked by the ergative case, the recipient by the dative case, and the gift is not marked:

(344) *[ŋí]$_A$ [tsɤ́lɤ]$_O$ le [yayú]$_E$ tʰo-mó ŋo*
1SG+ERG cat DAT potato AS-feed/1SG EGO:SAP

'I fed the cat with potatoes.'

In a ditransitive clause of Munya, the recipient is realized as O and the theme is realized as E. The evidence for this analysis comes from verb inflection. Some transitive verbs involving two animate participants, such as *tə́da* 'hit', inflect for the person-number of both A and O. Similarly, the inflection of some ditransitive verbs is also governed by A and the argument taking the semantic role of recipient, which is marked by the dative case. Thus analyzing the recipient as O would be more consistent with other parts of the grammar.

13.2.2 Copula Predicate Clauses

Copulas in Munya are verbs: they can take directional prefixes and inflect for the person-number of subjects (see Chapter 10 for detailed discussion). Copula clauses are not discussed under the heading of verbal predicate clauses because the argument structures of copula predicates are very different from those of verbal predicates, and are better discussed separately. In what follows, copula clauses will be discussed based on the semantics of copula verbs, which are copulas of IDENTITY, EXISTENCE, LOCATION, POSSESSION, and CHANGE OF STATE.

13.2.2.1 Identity

There is only one copula verb of IDENTITY in Munya, which is *ŋó* 'be'. When denoting a past event, it should take the directional prefix *tʰo-*. This verb always takes two arguments, a copula subject and a copula complement, neither of which is case marked:

(345) *kɛmú **[méme]**$_{CS}$ **[pʰiɐátʂɔlɔ]**$_{CC}$ tʰó-ŋo sə nyi*
before everyone peasant AS-be PFV EGO:AP

'In the past, everybody was peasant.'

13.2.2.2 Existence

Copulas of EXISTENCE take one argument, which function as the CS of the clause and are not marked by any case. This is illustrated with the copula verb *kʰɯ́* 'to exist (within a container)':

(346) *[ndʐé]$_{CS}$ ɛ́-kʰɯ ti?*
rice INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA

'Is there any rice?'

13.2.2.3 Location

Copulas of LOCATION take two arguments, an argument denoting location and an argument denoting person or thing. Either argument can function as CS or CC. The argument denoting location can be optionally marked by the oblique case *kɯ́*, but the other argument is never case marked. In (347a), the CS refers to location but in (347b) the location is coded by CC:

(347) a. *[onɛ́ tətá]$_{CS}$ kɯ [tsʰɯ́ tó-lö]$_{CC}$ tʰó-kʰɯ*
3PL+POSS up.behind.the.house OBL lake one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:CONTAIN
sə nyi
PFV EGO:AP

'There was a lake up behind their house.'

b. *[tsɤ́lɤ]$_{CS}$ [tɕé kʰu]$_{CC}$ ndʑɯ́ nyi*
cat house in COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

'The cat is in the house.'

13.2.2.4 Possession

A copula clause referring to a possessive relation requires two arguments. Three types of case marking patterns are found in this case, which differ in the marking on CS (CC is

never marked).

The CS can first of all be marked by the ergative case:

(348) ***[yoní]***$_{CS}$ *[tɕɛ́kʰɛ́ sɔ́-ka]*$_{CC}$ *ndʑé* *nyi*
1PL.INCL+ERG thing three-CLF:KIND COP:ANIMATE/1/2NONSG EGO:AP
'We have (those) three kinds of things.'

The CS can also be marked by the genitive case:

(349) ***[ngɛ́]***$_{CS}$ *[mɛ́mɛ tó-zə]*$_{CC}$ *ndʑó* *nyi*
1SG+GEN grandmother one-CLF:MAN COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP
'I have a grandmother.'

Note that in both (348) and (349), the verb agrees with the person-number of the possessor, indicating that they are the subject of the two clauses.

In the third type of possessive clause, the CS is marked by the dative case:

(350) ***[tʂótsi]***$_{CS}$ ***le*** *[ngó rɤ́-zɛ]*$_{CC}$ *í* *ti*
desk DAT leg four-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA
'A desk has four legs.'

This type of possessive clause seems to be restricted to part-whole relation.

13.2.2.5 Change of State

There are two copulas of CHANGE OF STATE, which are *tʰəvá* and *kʰɯ́ɕo*. The two copulas can take either one or two arguments. When taking one argument, the meaning is 'to come out', and when taking two arguments, the meaning is 'to become'. (Their difference is not yet clear to me.) (351) shows the two copulas taking one argument, which is not case-marked:

(351) a. *[gé]$_{CS}$* ***tʰə-vá*** *rɑ*
private AS-come.out EVID:DIRECT

‘The land has been contracted to individual families.’

b. *[hú]$_{CS}$* ***kʰɯ́-ɞo*** *sə* *nyi*
night NONS-come.out PFV EGO:AP

‘Night came.’

When taking two arguments, the complement of the two copulas can be either nominal or adjectival. This is illustrated with *tʰəvá* ‘to become’ in (352), where the CC in the first example is nominal while that in the second example is adjectival and neither of them is case-marked:

(352) a. *[tɞɯ́]$_{CS}$* ***[ndʑikú]$_{CC}$*** *tʰə-vá* *sə*
water ice AS-become PFV

‘The water was frozen.’

b. *[tɞe]$_{CS}$* ***[kíko]$_{CC}$*** *tʰə-vá* *sə*
son big AS-become PFV

‘The son has grown up.’

Different from *tʰəvá* ‘to become’, when taking two arguments, the CS of *kʰɯɞó* ‘to become’ can be animate, in which case it should be marked by the experiential case:

(353) ***[ngɛ́]$_{CS}$*** *[nítsʰü]$_{CC}$* *kʰɯ́-ɞo*
1SG+EXP homesickness NONS-become

‘I was homesick.’

13.2.3 Adjectival Predicate Clauses

Compared to verbal predicate clauses, adjectival predicate clauses generally cannot contain perfective or imperfective aspect markers or the direct evidential marker, and their

structures are significantly less diversified. Depending on their semantics, adjectival predicates can take one or two arguments. The single argument of an adjectival predicate is not case marked:

(354) *[mɯ́]$_S$* ***tɕípu*** *ti*
weather be.comfortable STA
'The weather is comfortable.'

When an adjectival predicate takes two arguments, the arguments can be marked in quite different ways. The first way is to leave both arguments unmarked:

(355) *[mənyɛ́ sú]$_A$* *[tɕɛ́]$_O$* ***tsə́tsɛ*** *ti*
Munya language usefulness be.small STA
'Munya is not very useful/The usefulness of Munya is small.'

This type of clause reminds one of the topic-comment structure found in many east Asian languages (C. N. Li and Thompson 1976).

The second way is to leave the subject not marked and mark the object with the dative case:

(356) *[ŋɯ́]$_A$* *[səkɔ́yɛ]$_O$* *le* ***tɕɔ́tɕo*** *tɛ́-gɛ* *nyi*
1SG construction.worker DAT be.similar.to one-CLF:GENR EGO:AP
'I was just like a construction worker.'

The third way is to mark the subject with the dative case while leaving the object not marked:

(357) *[otsə́]$_A$* *le* *[kɔ́]$_O$* ***kíko*** *ti*
3SG DAT price be.big STA
'It is expensive. (lit. The price to it is big.)'

Yet another way is to mark the subject with the ergative case and not mark the object:

(358) *[otsí]$_A$* *[ŋɯ́]$_O$* ***sisí*** *nyi*
3SG+ERG 1SG be.fond.of EGO:AP

'He likes me.'

The majority of predicates of comparative constructions are adjectives. In such constructions, the standard of comparison is always marked by the particle *ti*, which can either be on subject or object. Compare the two examples below:

(359) a. *[ŋɯ́]$_A$* *[nɛ́]$_O$* ***ti*** *kíko*
1SG 2SG SC be.big

'I'm taller than you.'

b. *[ŋɯ́]$_A$* ***ti*** *[nɛ́]$_O$* *kíko*
1SG SC 2SG be.big

'You are taller than me.'

13.2.4 Nominal Predicate Clauses

A nominal predicate clause typically denotes an equative meaning. In such a clause, the first nominal functions as the subject and the second nominal as the predicate. The subject is not marked by any case. In the two examples below, the predicate in the first example is a pronoun, and the one in the second example is a nominalized phrase:

(360) a. *[yonɛ́* *dʑópu]$_S$* ***ótsə*** *nyi*
1PL.INCL+POSS king 3SG EGO:AP

'He is our king.'

b. *[nɛ́]$_S$* ***tɕɯ́*** ***ɛ́-tɕʰɯ*** ***mi***
2SG water DS-drink NMLZ

'You drink a lot of water (lit. You are a water drinker).'

13.3 Clause Types Based on Speech Acts: Imperatives

An imperative clause is used to express command, request, or entreaty, which is typically addressed to a second person (Aikhenvald 2015: 234). As we shall see below, imperatives in Munya can also be addressed to first person inclusive subjects. Not all verbs can function as the predicate of an imperative clause. Only verbs which express controlled actions can form imperatives. Verbs of other semantic types, such as non-control verbs and copula verbs, are not allowed in an imperative.

As with many other languages, fewer grammatical categories are allowed in imperatives than declaratives and interrogatives. No categories of aspect, evidentiality or mirativity can be expressed in imperatives. Verbs still show person-number inflection, and this is an important way of forming second person imperatives. Imperatives in Munya do not have any specific intonation.

An imperative clause is negated with a dedicated prohibitive formative *tɕɯ-*, which is prefixed to the verb (See Section 12.2 for detailed discussion).

The scope of an imperative is one clause. This can be seen from the fact that when an imperative clause functions as the complement clause of a verb, like *tə́* 'say', only the complement clause has the illocutionary force of command. The whole complex clause is declarative, as it can be marked by the various grammatical categories not allowed in an imperative clause.

Depending on the person to which an imperative is directed, imperatives in Munya can be classified as second person imperatives and first person imperatives. Second person imperative has three sub-types, which are immediate imperative, future imperative, and polite imperative.

13.3.1 Second Person Imperative

Second person imperative is directed to the addressee, which is coded as the subject. The subject can be either overtly expressed or not and there does not seem to be any noticeable pragmatic difference. There are three ways to form a second person imperative clause: by inflecting the verb (direct imperative), with the auxiliary *hi* 'will' (future imperative), and with the auxiliary *vo* (polite imperative).

13.3.1.1 Immediate Imperative

The most common way to form a direct imperative is through verb inflection. Imperatives formed in this way implies that the command is to be carried out immediately or in the immediate future. Depending on the number of subject, a verb with inflectional forms can show up as second person singular form (361a) or first/second person non-singular form (361b):

(361) a. *tə́-hu*
UP-go/2SG
'Go up (upstairs)!'

b. *nɛnínə okʰó* ***nbé***
2DU DEM stay/1/2NONSG
'You two stay here.'

In this type of command, the verb cannot be followed by any grammatical categories. This is different from declarative clauses with second person subjects, in which case the verb can often be marked by aspects, evidentials or egophorics. Even if the speaker chooses to leave out all these categories in a declarative clause (which is rare), the addressee can rely on the context to deduce whether it is a command or a statement.

Uninflected verbs can either directly function as an imperative predicate (362a), or form a complex predicate with the auxiliary *vɯ́* 'do', on which the inflection is marked (362b):

(362) a. *ŋaŋá* ***kʰɤ-séŋa***
well NONS-listen
'Listen carefully.'

b. *né i otsə ɣɛ tʰɔ́-ngə* ***vɯ̈́***
2SG ERG 3SG EXP AS-pick.up do/2SG
'You pick up (tree branches) for him/her.'

If a serial verb construction is used as the predicate of an imperative clause, only the last verb inflects for the number of subject:

(363) *nɛ́ i ɛ́-tɕori* ***hú***
2SG ERG DS-look go/2SG
'You go and have a look.'

In this example, only the second verb *hə́* 'to go' inflects for the second person singular form. The first verb, *ɛ́tɕori* 'look', which does have a second person singular form (*ɛ́tɕɛrɛ*), is not inflected. This conforms to the tendency in Munya of marking person-number inflection once per clause.

While adjectives and nouns can function as predicates, they cannot directly function as the predicate of an imperative clause. To be used in an imperative clause, they need to function as the complement of *nóvɯ* 'to do'. In the pair of examples below, the complement of (364a) is an adjective and those of (364b) are noun phrases.

(364) a. ***ʈʂʰöntʂʰő*** *nó-vü*
good DOWN-be/2SG
'Be good.'

b. ***məní sívɯ*** *nó-ve,* ***sɛ́npɛ ʈʂʰőtʂʰö*** *nó-ve*
person good DOWN-do/1/2NONSG heart white DOWN-do/1/2NONSG
'Be a good person and have a kind heart.'

13.3.1.2 Future Imperative

Another way of forming direct imperative is to use the auxiliary *hi* at the end of an imperative clause. This auxiliary is grammaticalized from a motion verb which means 'go', and can also be used as a modal auxiliary meaning 'will'. Imperatives formed in this way generally imply that the command is not to be carried out immediately but in the future. In this type of imperative, the verb is not inflected. (365) can be addressed to a person who has done something wrong, as a gentle reminder:

(365) *ómənə ɛ-tɕɯ́-ro* ***hi***
DEM DS-NEG-come IMP

'Don't do that anymore. (Lit. Make things like that not come.)'

13.3.1.3 Polite Imperative

Another type of second person imperative is formed with the auxiliary *vo*, which is analyzable as the first person singular form of the auxiliary *vɯ́* 'to do'. This type of imperative is used when the one issuing a command wants to be polite and sounds less domineering, especially when asking someone to do something for the speaker. The addressee is normally someone not very close to the one issuing the command (e.g., non-family members). The verb is not inflected in this type of imperative:

(366) *ŋɯ́ ɣɛ tɕɯ́ tó-sə rəkʰə́* ***vo***
1SG EXP water one-CLF:FULL fill REQ

'Please fill a full (bowl) of water for me.'

13.3.2 First Person Imperative

First person imperative is used to invite the addressee(s) to join the speaker to do something. This type of imperative is formed in the same way as the future imperative, i.e., with the auxiliary *hi*. The subject, if overtly expressed, can only be first person inclusive. Two examples are given below:

(367) a. *yonɯ́ tɕʰí hə́* ***hi***
1PL.INCL run.away go IMP

'We should run away.'

b. *yoní mɔmɔ́ ni-rə́* ***hi***
1PL.INCL+ERG steamed.dumpling DOWN-share IMP

'Let us share this steamed dumpling.'

First person imperative clause can be optionally ended by the sentence final particle *pɑ*. This particle can also be used in a declarative clause, when the speaker is unsure of something. When used in a first person imperative clause, it can make the command sound less direct, as if the speaker is making a suggestion. A speaker thinks that it is time for us to start working, and said:

(368) *kʰɔ́-rə hí* ***pɑ***
NONS-start IMP CFP
'Shall we start?'

13.3.3 Imperative Strategies

In the appropriate context, an interrogative clause can have the illocutionary force of a command. A grandmother, realizing that it is bedtime, said (369) to her grand-daughter, who was watching TV:

(369) *mú, kʰí nyú̱-pi?*
girl sleep NEG-IMPF
'Girl, you are not sleeping?'

This can be seen as an indirect way of issuing a command.

13.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the basic main clause types in Munya from the perspectives of predicates and speech acts. Because in discussing clause types one has to make frequent reference to grammatical roles, the identification of subject was discussed first. Based on the nature of predicates, clause types were classified into verbal predicate clause, copula predicate clause, adjectival predicate clause, and nominal predicate clause. Each type was then further discussed based on their internal structures. After this, imperative clauses were discussed. It was shown that such clauses can be categorized into

second-person imperative clauses and first person imperative clauses, and the former can be further classified into immediate imperative, future imperative and polite imperative.

Chapter 14

Complex Clauses

A complex clause is defined here to be a self-contained unit of speech consisting of more than one component clauses. A complex clause forms one intonational group, and may or may not contain intonational breaks within it. Following this characterization, three broad types of complex clauses are recognized, which are relative clauses (Section 14.1), complement clauses (Section 14.2), and complex clauses joined by clause-linking devices (Section 14.5). Speech reports are formally complement clauses but are treated separately due to their complexity (Section 14.4).

14.1 Relative Clause Construction

A relative clause construction involves a main clause (MC) and a relative clause (RC). The two clauses share a common argument (CA), which is syntactically modified by the RC (Dixon 2012b: 314).

In Munya, the common argument is stated in the main clause. There is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Whether a relative clause should be interpreted as restrictive or not depends on the context. A relative clause precedes the common argument, and is marked by *ɣɛ* (homophenous to the possessive marker and the experiential case). The marker is part of the relative clause. The evidence is that the discourse marker, *tsəkɯ́*, can be inserted after *ɣɛ*, but not before it.

An example of relative clause is given below:

(370) *[tu-rə́ ma-ndá sə ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ <u>túnko</u> sɛ́sə*
UP-blow NEG-used.to PFV REL white.conch.shell.trumpet tomorrow
tu-ré
UP-blow/1/2NONSG

'Tomorrow (you) blow a white conch shell trumpet that has never been blown before.'

In this example, the main clause is an imperative construction, and its subject is omitted. The common argument, *túnko* 'white conch shell trumpet', which is underlined, functions as the object of the relative clause and the main clause. The relative clause is marked by the relative marker.

Below we take a more detailed look at the relative clause constructions in Munya. We will first look at the possible structures of relative clauses, and then at the properties of CA.

14.1.1 The Structure of a Relative Clause

In (370), the relative clause contains an aspect marker (*sə* 'PFV'). A relative clause can also contain an auxiliary such as *hi* 'will' or *ro* 'go' (both are grammaticalized motion verbs, cf. Chapter 9). An example is given in (371), where the relative clause ends with *ro* 'go':

(371) *[mɯ́ kʰu-ɕə́ **ró** ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ <u>dʑɔ́</u> tó-lö tʰó-tɕɯ sə*
fire NONS-preserve go REL stone one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:INANIMATE PFV

'There was a stone for keeping embers alive.'

The grammatical categories allowed in a relative clause are quite restricted. The categories found so far are perfective and imperfective aspect markers, *hi* 'will' and *ro* 'go'. The stative aspect, evidentials and egophorics are not allowed in the relative clauses. Among these categories, aspect markers and the auxiliary *hi* 'will' can also function in an independent clause, but not *ro* 'go'.

When none of these categories are present, the verb in the relative clause needs to be nominalized (cf. Section 6.5.4). Consider the example in (372):

(372) *nɛnɛ́ ɣutɕɯ́ [məní ɛ́-ndzə* ***ri*** *ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ ɣu tɕɛ́-ŋo*
2PL+POSS lawn person DS-eat NMLZ REL grass NEG-be

'The grass on your lawn is not for people to eat.'

The verb in the relative clause, *ɛ́ndzə* 'to eat', is nominalized by *ri*. The common argument *ɣu* 'grass' functions as the O of the relative clause and the copula complement of the main clause.

14.1.2 Common Argument

The common argument can only be a common noun—it cannot be a proper noun, a demonstrative or a pronoun. The grammatical roles that the common argument takes in both main and relative clauses is an important issue. However, this issue cannot be addressed here in a systematic way at the present stage of the research. In the above examples, the CA functions as the O in both clauses in (370); in (371), the CA functions as an oblique argument (the instrument) of RC and the copula subject of MC; in (372), the CA functions as the O of RC and the copula complement of MC.

In (373), it acts as the copula subject of RC and the possessor in the possessive construction of MC:

(373) *[sə́nbu tʰó-ndʑɯ sə ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ dʑópu ɣɛ pándzö kʰu kɯ*
demon AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV REL king POSS treasure.house in OBL

nə́pu mú
treasure COP:MOVE

'There are treasures in the treasure house of the king who had a demon.'

In some cases the 'common argument' is not stated—it is an argument of the main clause, but not the relative clause. Consider the two examples below:

(374) a. *yipʰosí ŋɯ́ le [lɤ́ ná-ndzɔ* ***ri*** *ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ kʰɛ́ tu-dó vó*
last.time 1SG DAT milk DOWN-process NMLZ REL word UP-say REQ

'Last time (he) asked me to say a few words on how to process milk.'

b. *[yoné tʰó-sə pe ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ tətsʰű́ pu kɯ, tɕʰő́ i mətsʰé*
1PL.INCL AS-die IMPF/1/2NONSG REL time on OBL Dharma ERG only
tínə tɕá-tʂɤ
anything NEG-be.useful

'At the time when we are dying, only Dharma alone can help.'

In the first example, the common argument, *kʰɛ́* 'words', functions as the O of the main clause but not as an argument in the relative clause. The relative clause has an overt object, *lɤ́* 'milk'. Its subject, if stated, would normally be a human (or anything that can process milk). In the second example, the common argument *tətsʰű́* 'time' is the oblique argument in the main clause but not an argument in the relative clause. The relative clause is intransitive, and its S is already overtly expressed. This is reminiscent of the T-relative clauses discussed in K. Hale (1976).

A relative clause construction can in some instances contain no argument in common with the MC. This is termed as 'headless relative clause'. Once I mispronounced *vó* 'barley powder' as *vɯ́* 'snow'. A native speaker corrected me by saying:

(375) *[[ɛ́-ndzə ri ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ ∅]$_A$ [vó]$_O$ tə̀pi; [[ná-ndʑa ri ɣɛ]$_{RC}$ ∅]$_A$*
DS-eat NMLZ REL CA barley.powder be.called DOWN-fall NMLZ REL CA
[vɯ́]$_O$ tə̀pi
snow be.called

'The thing for eating is called *vó*, the thing that falls is called *vɯ́*.'

This example contains two relative clause constructions parallel in structure. In both constructions, the subject of the main clause consists of the relative clause and the relative marker, without any head noun. Notice that the two nouns following the relative marker, which are *vó* 'barley powder' in the first construction and *vɯ́* 'snow' in the second, are not common arguments. If they were analyzed as the common argument, then the two constructions would have only one argument, which is both ungrammatical and semantically incomplete, because *tə̀pi* 'be called' requires two arguments. The common argument is

not overtly stated here probably because its meaning is too generic; it simply denotes ‘thing’.

14.2 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument of another clause. In this section we look at the possible syntactic functions of complement clauses, how they are marked, and the types of complement taking verbs.

14.2.1 Syntactic Functions

In Munya, the most common argument slot that a complement clause takes is O. (This is consistent to the observation of Dixon (2012b: 377).) Consider the example in (376), where the complement clause functions as the object of *kʰɯ́tɐorö* ‘I see’:

(376) *[yoló tɛ́-pʰa tə́-tə ɛ-pi]*$_{CoCl:O}$ *kʰɯ́-tɐorö ŋo*
again UP-split UP-say INTRG-IMPF NONS-see/1SG EGO:SAP

‘(I) went to see if they say more (wood) needs to be split.’

In Munya, complement-taking verbs can be copulas. The complement clauses that these copula verbs take generally function as CS (377):

(377) *[níɐɯ gú le kɯ tsəkɯ́ gútʰu tə́pi tó-u kʰi-tsə́ ri]*$_{CoCl:CS}$
twenty ninth at OBL D.M PN be.called one-CLF:MEAL NONS-cook NMLZ
ndə́ *nyi*
COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

‘It is the case that on the twenty ninth (of December), a kind of food called gutʰu will be cooked.’

Complement clauses are not found to take other argument slots. In the following discussion, we focus on the form of complement clauses and the types of complement-taking verbs.

14.2.2 The Marking of Complement Clauses

Munya does not have any dedicated markers for complement clauses. Certain markers that occur at the end of complement clauses are also nominalizers. Consider the two examples below, where the complement clauses are respectively marked by *tsə* (378a) and *ri* (378b):

(378) a. *ŋí* *[ngötʂʰí=ni* *tətɕʰə* *tə́* *pi* ***tsə]***$_{CoCl:O}$ *kʰɤ-séŋa*
1SG+ERG chieftain=PL+ERG order say IMPF NMLZ NONS-listen.to
po *nyi*
IMPF/1SG EGO:AP
'I listen to all the orders issued by chieftains.'

b. *[putsʰí* *tó-lö* *tsʰű* *kʰu* *né-dɛ* ***ri]***$_{CoCl:CS}$ *tʰo-ŋó* *sə*
child one-CLF:GENR lake in DOWN-throw NMLZ AS-be PFV
'It was the case that a child needed to be thrown into the lake.'

In (378a), the complement clause functions as the object of *kʰɤséŋa* 'to listen to', and in (378b) the complement clause functions as the copula subject of *tʰoŋó* 'be'. The two markers in the two complement clauses were analyzed as nominalizers in Section 6.5. The reason why they show up in complement clauses seems to be this: since arguments tend to be nominal in nature, and since complement clauses function as arguments, they need to be nominalized before they can perform that function. This seems to be typical of Tibeto-Burman languages, cf. Noonan (1997).

The nominalization of a complement clause is optional. This can be seen from the two examples below:

(379) a. *[dʑɯtsɛ́ kɯ́tɕɑ nó-vɯ ri]$_{CoCl:S}$ nyɯ́-ts^{h}u, [məní nó-so]$_{CoCl:S}$*
property steal DOWN-make NMLZ NEG-allow people DOWN-kill
nyɯ́-ts^{h}u, [məní tə́-da]$_{CoCl:S}$ nyɯ́-ts^{h}u
NEG-allow people UP-hit NEG-allow

‘It is forbidden to steal the property of other people, to kill other people, and to hit other people.’

b. *nɛ́ i [tɤ́rɤ ɛ́-ndzə (ri)]$_{CoCl:O}$ le ɛ-gɛ́ ti?*
2SG ERG tsampa DS-eat NMLZ DAT INTRG-like STA

‘Do you like eating tsampa?’

The first example contains three complex clauses parallel in structure, but only the first complement clause is nominalized. In the second example, the complement clause can be marked by *ri*, but that is optional. The factors determining the marking of complement clauses is a question to be further investigated.

While the above analysis illustrates that there is no dedicated maker of complement clause in Munya, I do find that in some cases, the erstwhile general classifier, *tólö*, seems to have this function (see also the discussion in Bai 2019). Consider the two examples below:

(380) a. *[dʑópu sɔ́-zə **tólö**]$_{CoCl:CS}$ tɕɛ́-ndə, dʑópu tó-zə*
king three-CLF:MAN COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT king one-CLF:MAN
mətsʰé
only

‘It cannot be the case that there are three kings, there can only be one king.’

b. *[nɛ́ i tə-tʂɛ́ **ri** **tólö**]$_{CoCl:CS}$ tɕɛ́-ndə*
2SG ERG UP-arrive NMLZ COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘It is not the case that you can reach (there).’

In (380a), *tólö* occurs after a noun phrase, *dʑópu sɔ́zə* ‘three kings’, indicating that it cannot be a nominalizer. Also, it cannot be a numeral classifier, as there is already a numeral

classifier (*sɔ́-zə* 'three-CLF:MAN') before it. The function of *tólö* here seems to be to transform the nominal phrase into a complement clause. In (380b), since the complement clause is already nominalized by *ri*, the most plausible function of *tólö* is as a complementizer. Using *tólö* as a marker of complement clause seems to be quite restricted—in both examples, the complement taking verb is the copula *ndə́*. Because of this, *tólö* was analyzed as a complementation strategy instead of a full-fledged complementizer (Section 6.4.2; Bai 2019).

14.2.3 Complement Taking Verbs

Both complement clauses and complement taking verbs can be classified based on their semantics. Following the categorization of Dixon (2012b: Chapter 18), the complement taking verbs in Munya and the semantic types of complement clauses that they take are given in Table 14.1. Note that in Munya, it is very common for copula verbs to take complement clauses, which denote fact or activity.

Table 14.1: Complement Taking Verbs

Semantic types	Examples	Semantic types of CoCl
Copula	*ŋɔ́* 'be', *ndə́* 'to exist'	Fact, Activity
Attention	*kʰɯtɕóri* 'look', *kʰɯseŋá* 'listen'	Fact
Thinking	*sɔ́* 'think, plan', *hákʰuko* 'know'	Fact, Activity
Liking	*gɛ́* 'like'	Activity
Speaking	*tə́tə* 'say'	Fact
Negator	*mé* 'not'	Fact
Modal-type	*tsʰú* 'allow', *tő* 'can'	Potential
Beginning	*kʰɔ́re* 'begin', *tʰodí* 'finish'	Activity
Make	*tɕʰí* 'make'	Activity

The grammatical categories that a complement clause can be marked for has to do with its semantics. Generally speaking, complement clauses of fact can take the widest range of grammatical categories. All clausal categories are allowed for the complement clauses of the verb of saying, *tə́tə* 'say', and the verb of thinking, *sɔ́* 'think'. The complement clauses that these two verbs take are never nominalized. The complement clauses in the two examples below function as the object of *sɔ́* 'think', which respectively take the egophoric marker and the evidential marker: (the complement clauses that *tə́tə* 'say' take will be discussed in Section 14.4.)

(381) a. *[tɕɯtɕʰétɕɯ yoné tʰó-sə hé* ***nyi]***$_{CoCl:O}$ *sɔ́*
one.hundred.percent 1PL.INCL AS-die will/1/2NONSG EGO:AP think
'(We should) think that we will certainly die.'

b. *[pʰúke yoné gé tʰə-vá* ***rɑ]***$_{CoCl:O}$ *sɔ́*
finally 1PL.INCL private AS-come.out EVID:DIRECT think
'(People) think that finally the land was contracted to the individuals.'

Other fact-type complement clauses can either be nominalized or take a restricted number of grammatical categories, which are mostly aspect; they are not found to take categories such as evidentiality or egophoricity. Consider the example in (382):

(382) *[ókʰo nbətʂá ɛ-hí* ***ti]***$_{CoCl:O}$ *kʰɯ́-tɕɛrɛ*
DEM caterpillar.fungus INTRG-need STA NONS-look/2SG
'Have a look if the people over there need caterpillar fungus.'

In this example, the complement taking verb *kʰɯ́tɕɛrɛ* 'you look' denotes fact. It takes a full complement clause, which contains a stative aspect marker, *ti*.

Complement clauses denoting activity or potential cannot be marked for any grammatical categories, but can be nominalized. This can be seen from (379a) above, where the complement clauses denote potential, and (379b), which denotes activity.

14.3 Nominalization, Relativization and Complementation

It is well-known that in many Tibeto-Burman languages nominalization and relativization are intimately connected (cf. Bickel 1999; DeLancey 2005; Matisoff 1972; Noonan 1997, among others; see also Dixon 2012b: 342). In some languages, such as Lahu (Matisoff 1972) and Chantyal (Noonan 1997), the nominalizer is in the same form as the relativizer, while in Tibetan, 'prenominal relative clause is marked as dependent by genitive case' (DeLancey 2005).

In Section 14.1.1, it was shown that some relative clauses need to be nominalized by *ri* before they can be marked by the relativizer. Also, recall that in the discussion on free-

standing nominalization, which is marked by the nominalizer *ri* and the general numeral classifier *tólö* (Section 6.5.5), it was shown that this type of construction is related to the complement clause headed by the copula *ndə́* 'to exist'. Thus, it seems that in Munya, the three phenomena—nominalization, relativization, and complementation—are closely connected. This connection can be seen from two aspects. Firstly, as has been pointed out above, the same morpheme, *ri*, shows up in all three types of constructions. Secondly, some structures can be analyzed from all three perspectives. Consider (383):

(383) a. *[[ndʑú=ni tə́-tə pi] tsə]$_O$ há-u-kɛ ŋo?*
people=PL+ERG UP-say IMPF NMLZ formative-INTRG-know/2SG EGO:SAP
'Can you understand other people's saying?'

b. *[ndʑú=ni tə́-tə pi]$_{CoCl:O}$ tsə há-u-kɛ ŋo?*
people=PL+ERG UP-say IMPF COMP formative-INTRG-know/2SG EGO:SAP
'Can you understand what other people say?'

c. *[[ndʑú=ni tə́-tə pi]$_{RC}$ tsə]$_O$ há-u-kɛ ŋo?*
people=PL+ERG UP-say IMPF CA formative-INTRG-know/2SG EGO:SAP
'Can you understand the thing that other people say?'

This clause was analyzed as a case of nominalization in Section 6.5.3 (example 159b), with *tsə* functioning as a nominalizer, which nominalizes the clause before it. The nominalized element then functions as the O of the predicate. This is the analysis given in (383a). Now, since the clause functions as an argument, why not analyzing *tsə* as a complementizer and treating this as a case of complement clause construction? This is the analysis proposed in (383b). Furthermore, an analysis from the perspective of relativization is also possible (383c). All we need to do is to analyze *tsə* as the common argument, and the clause before it as a modifier. The common argument has a very general meaning ('thing'), which functions as the O in the main clause and the relative clause.

It is hard to tell which analysis is better. Treating this phenomenon as nominalization would increase the types of nominalization devices, but simplify the other two phenomena. The same trade-off exists if it is categorized as relativization or complementization.

Perhaps the more important thing is to notice that there are certain constructions which are amenable to three analyses.

The connection between these three phenomena may not be language-specific, as it was found that languages without complement clause constructions may employ strategies like relative clause or nominalization (Dixon 2012b: 407 – 9), indicating that there might be common cognitive or other functional motivations behind these phenomena.

14.4 Speech Report

This section discusses speech report in Munya, which is the way of reporting what someone else has said. According to Aikhenvald (2011b: 291), a speech report construction consists of the speech report content, the reporting marker, and optionally a linker between the two. Munya has two markers of speech report, a verb, *tə́-tə* 'UP-say', and a reported evidential, *tə́pi*. There is no obligatory linker between the two markers and the speech report content. A speech report can also be directly embedded in a discourse, without being overtly marked. In what follows, we will first look at the structure of speech report constructions which contain the two reporting markers, focusing on those containing *tə́tə* 'to say'. Next we look at speech report constructions from the perspective of directness, including indirect speech report, direct speech report and semi-direct speech report. We will discuss in some detail the properties of semi-direct speech report construction and briefly explore the functional motivations behind it.

14.4.1 The Structure of Speech Report Constructions

As was mentioned, there are two reporting markers in Munya, a speech report verb and a reported evidential marker. The verb *sɔ́* 'to think' behaves in many ways similar to the speech report verb, but since the content reported by *sɔ́* is not real speech, it was treated as a complement-taking verb in Section 14.2 instead of a speech report marker. Another verb that can introduce speech report is *tə́-kəra* 'UP-yell'. It can only introduce indirect speech and does not occur as frequently as *tə́tə* 'to say', therefore it will not be discussed in details. We now look at the structure of speech report constructions headed by the two markers.

14.4.1.1 The Speech Report Marked by *tə́tə*

The speech report construction marked by *tə́-tə* 'UP-say' is always multiclausal, as the speech report content occupies the complement clause slot and functions as the O of the report verb:

(384) *[tɕíro.wántɕʰu]$_A$ i [tsé ɣɛ nyɯ́-ke ti, tú-yü vó]$_{CoCl:O}$*
PN ERG REFL/3SG EXP NEG-be.free STA UP-change.shift REQ
tə́-tə
UP-say
'tɕiro wantɕʰu said "I'm not free, please change shift with me." '

The constituent order in this example is AOV. The original speaker (the person by the name of *tɕiro wantɕʰu*) is realized as A, and is marked by the ergative case. This also indicates that the speech report verb is transitive. The report content, marked in brackets, follows the subject and thus is identifiable as the O.

The addressee of the original speech can also be overtly mentioned, in which case it is realized as an oblique argument and marked by the dative case. In the following example, the addressee is *dʑópu=nɛ mətsá* 'the daughter of the king's family':

(385) *[məɣé]$_A$ i tsəkɯ́ **dʑópu=nɛ** **mətsá** le [tɕʰú ɛntólö vá*
bull ERG D.M king=COLL.PL daughter DAT then like.what come.out
ti]$_{CoCl:O}$ tə́ sə nyi
STA say PFV EGO:AP
'The bull said to the daughter of the king's family, "how are things going this time?"'

In the two examples above, the constituent order is the normal one, which is AOV. The reported content can also be positioned at the end, and in this case the report verb should be followed by *tsəkɯ́*, which can be analyzed as a speech report introducer here:

(386) *tá i **tə́-tə** **tsəkʉ́** [tsé le dʑópu=nɛ tɕe ɛ́-ndzə rí*
tiger ERG UP-say SRI REFL/3SG DAT king=COLL.PL son DS-eat NMLZ
kʰɯ-tʰú pi nyi]
NONS-turn IMPF EGO:AP

'The tiger said "it is my turn to eat the son of the king's family." '

When a speech report spans across more than one clause, the report content can be summarized with the clause *omənə́ tə́tə sə* 'It was said like that':

(387) *[tɕé tə-dʑó nyʉ́-tsʰu] tə́-tə tsəkʉ́; [domá tʰo-kó nə́ nyʉ́-tsʰu;]*
house UP-build NEG-allow UP-say D.M wood AS-cut also NEG-allow
ómənə tə́-tə sə nyi
like.that UP-say PFV EGO:AP

' "Building a house is forbidden", (they said); "It is also forbidden to cut down any trees". It was announced like that.'

The speech report verb *tə́tə* 'to say' can also be used as the main verb in an imperative construction, in which case it means 'ask'. Most commonly, the situation is one where the reporter relays the command from the original speaker, who is the issuer of the command, to the addressee, who is the one expected to carry out the action. The verb in the reported imperative clause inflects for the second person:

(388) *otsí nɛ́ le [ɣásu tahá tə́ vű] tə́ pi*
3SG+ERG 2SG DAT Chinese some say do/2SG say IMPF

'He asks you to speak some Chinese. (lit. He says to you: "Speak some Chinese".)'

In the following example, the reporter is the command-taker, the original speaker is the one issuing the command, and the addressee is also overtly mentioned:

(389) *[otsí]$_A$ nɛ́ ɣɛ ŋɯ́ le [tɕɯ́ tsɛ́ hú]$_{CoCl:O}$ tə́ pi*
3SG 2SG EXP 1SG DAT water fetch go/2SG say IMPF

'He asks me to fetch some water for you.'

Here the addressee, *nɛ́* 'you', is marked by the experiential case as it is the beneficiary of the action. The speaker, shown in first person form, is marked by the dative case.

14.4.1.2 The Speech Report Marked by *tə́pi*

Another way to report a speech is with the reported evidential *tə́pi*. The properties of this marker and how to tell whether *tə́pi* is an evidential marker or a verb plus the imperfective marker (*tə́ pi* 'say IMPF') were discussed in Section 8.4.2. Therefore it will be discussed only briefly here. The speech report introduced by this marker is indirect, as there is shift in personal deixis. Consider the example below:

(390) *[nɛ́ ɣɛ tɔ́-tsɔ ra]* ***tə́pi***
2SG EXP UP-be.hungry EVID:DIRECT EVID:REP

'It is said that you are hungry.'

Imagine that someone tells me that a person (other the speaker or the addressee) is hungry, and uses a third person form to refer to that person. Now if I report that message to the one who is said to be hungry by saying (390), I need to change the subject from third person to second person. The shift in personal deixis indicates that this type of speech report construction is indirect.

14.4.1.3 Speech Report Without Any Marking

A direct speech report can also be directly embedded in a discourse, without any overt marking. In a dialogue, a speaker was talking about his working experience in a monastery, and as he turned to the issue of payment, he said:

(391) *ɛkő-si ti lɛ́kɛ́ tʰu-vɯ́ ra pa, [ndʑú=nə le dʑédɛ*
ten-day about work AS-do EVID:DIRECT PAR people=PL DAT one.hundred
*ŋétɕɯ ɛ-lé **po** nyi, **nɛnə́** le dʑɛ́ tʰɛnbɛ́ mətsʰé*
fifty DS-pay IMPF/1SG EGO:AP 2PL DAT one.hundred yuan only
*ɛ-lé **nyɯ́-po]***
DS-pay NEG-IMPF/1SG

'The work lasted for about ten days. "Although I pay other people one hundred and fifty yuan (per day), I pay you only one hundred,"(he said).'

The two clauses in brackets are a direct speech report, which are not put in any quoting frame. The original speaker is the one who hired the reporter to work. We know this is a direct speech report because the imperfective markers in the two clauses inflect for the first person singular, and the personal deixis in the second speech report clause is *nɛnə́* 'you', in this case referring to the participants including the addressee and is not shifted. In this example, the reported speech does not bear any special intonational feature.

14.4.2 Indirect, Direct and Semi-direct Speech Report

Speech report constructions are commonly classified into direct speech report and indirect speech report. In a direct speech construction, the report content corresponds more or less exactly to what the original speaker had said, whereas in an indirect speech construction, there is a shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis to fit in with the reporter's perspective (Aikhenvald 2011a). Besides direct and indirect speech report, languages can also have 'semi-direct' speech report. For example, in some African languages and Papuan languages, such as Manambu, there is incomplete person shift in speech report, in the sense that pronominal person deixis shifts to the perspective of the reporter but the verb form remains the same as it is in direct speech report (Aikhenvald 2011a).

In Munya, the speech report constructions marked by the reported evidential (*tə́pi*) is indirect, while those marked by the speech report verb (*tə́tə*) can be direct, indirect or semi-direct. In the follow sections, after a brief discussion of indirect and direct speech report, we will take a detailed look at semi-direct speech reports.

14.4.2.1 Indirect Speech Report

In indirect speech report, there is a shift in personal, temporal, or spatial deixis and the person-number information cross-referenced on verbs or auxiliaries changes accordingly. Suppose someone says she is going to a place the day after tomorrow. Some else reports her words and says (392):

(392) ***[otsə́*** *ɣɔ́sə* *kʰɯ-ʈʂɛ́* ***pi*** *nyi]* *tə́* *pi*
3SG the.day.after.tomorrow NONS-arrive IMPF EGO:AP say IMPF

'She$_i$ says she$_i$ will arrive the day after tomorrow.'

In this example, the original speaker is not mentioned in the main clause, and the reporter recasts the original speech from her own perspective. This is done by changing the pronoun from the first person to the third person, and the person-number information marked on the imperfective auxiliary from the first person singular form (*po*) to the third person form (*pi*).

14.4.2.2 Direct Speech Report

Only *tə́tə* 'say' can mark direct speech report. This is illustrated with the example below, which comes from a story. A king and his bodyguard lost their hunting dog called *tɕʰimu tɕɑtʂɑ moɕi* during a hunt. They traced its trail up to a temple on a mountain, where an old couple lived. They wanted the old couple to open the door and said:

(393) ***[ɣɤ*** ***tí-he,*** ***ŋənɛ́*** *tɕʰímu.tɕɑtʂɑ́.móɕi* *tsə́* ***nɛnɛ́***
door UP-open/1/2NONSG 1PL.EXCL+POSS PN FOC 2PL+POSS

okʰú *tə-rá* *sə,* *ɣɤ* *tí-hɛ* ***vó]*** *tə́* *sə* *nyi*
DEM UP-go PFV door UP-open REQ say PFV EGO:AP

' "Open the door! Our hunting dog, tɕʰimu tɕɑtʂɑ moɕi, went into your place, please open the door!" they said.'

Since this example comes from a story, the reporter is the storyteller and the original speakers are the characters (in this case, the king and his bodyguard) in the story. There

is no personal shift here: the first person exclusive plural, referring to the original speakers, and the second person plural, referring to the addressees, are kept in the speech report. The first and the last clauses are imperatives. The verb in the first clause inflects for the first/second person non-singular, agreeing with the imperative subject ('you two'). The last clause has a marker of request, *vó*, which is used in second person imperative to show politeness (Cf. Section 13.3). All these indicate that this is an instance of direct speech report.

Direct speech report is also used to confirm what someone has just said. This is done by repeating the predicate of the previous clause, followed by ***tə́ pɛ*** 'say IMPF/2SG' or simply ***pɛ*** 'IMPF/2SG'. The main clause is an interrogative, and the verb in the speech report inflects for the first person form. Two examples are given below:

(394) a. *nyʉ́-tɐʰo* ***tə́ pɛ?***
NEG-drink/1SG say IMPF/2SG

'Are you saying "I don't drink"?'

b. *tʰo-dő* *rɑ* ***pɛ?***
AS-finish/1SG EVID:DIRECT IMPF/2SG

'Are you saying "I finished"?'

14.4.2.3 Semi-direct Speech Report

In semi-direct speech report, there is partial shift in person: the personal pronoun is shifted to the perspective of the reporter, but the person information cross-referenced on verbs or auxiliaries is kept as it is in the original speech. Compare the two examples below:

(395) a. *otsí*$_i$ ***[tsé***$_i$ *ɣɛ* *tɔ-tsɔ́* ***sö*** *nyi]* *tə́-tə* *sə*
3SG+ERG REFL/3SG EXP UP-be.hungry PFV/1SG EGO:AP UP-say PFV

nyi
EGO:AP

'He$_i$ said "I$_i$ (lit. himself) am hungry." '

b. *otsí*$_i$ ***[otsé***$_j$ *ɣɛ tɔ-tsɔ́* ***sə*** *nyi]* *tə́-tə* *sə* *nyi*
3SG+ERG 3SG EXP UP-be.hungry PFV EGO:AP UP-say PFV EGO:AP
'He$_i$ said he$_j$ was hungry.'

The speech report in (395a) is semi-direct, while the one in (395b) is direct. In (395a), the subject of the main clause, which refers to the original speaker, is coreferential with the referent of the subject of the embedded clause, and the pronoun used in the embedded clause is the third person reflexive form ('himself/herself') (cf. Section 5.3 for discussion on the use of reflexive pronouns). The shift in personal deixis indicates that this is an indirect speech report. However, notice that the person-number form of the perfective marker remains first person singular, agreeing with pronominal form prior to shifting (*ŋɯ́* 'I'). This is the feature of direct speech report. (395a) thus can be treated as an instance of semi-direct speech report.

In (395b), the subject of the main clause still refers to the original speaker, but the participant mentioned in the embedded clause, the one who was hungry, is a different person. There is neither shift of personal deixis nor change of person-number marking in the aspect auxiliary. This is thus an example of direct speech report.[1]

When the participants in the matrix and embedded clauses are in third person and are coreferential, as is the case of (395a), shift in personal deixis in non-direct speech report is obligatory.

In (395a), the coreferential participant in the embedded clause is the subject. It can also be in the object slot, as is shown in the example below:

(396) *kɛ́tʂi*$_i$ *i* *tə́-tə* *tsəkɯ́* *[tɐʰú* *nɛní* *tʂʊ́kɛ* *tə́* *vɯ́* *nyɯ́-hi,* *tsʰɯ́*
PN ERG UP-say D.M then 2PL+ERG discussion say do NEG-need lake
tɐʰó ***tsé***$_i$ *nó-de]* *tə́-tə* *sə* *nyi*
in REFL/3SG DOWN-throw/1/2NONSG UP-say IMPF EGO:AP
'kɛtʂi said "You don't need to discuss that, throw me into the lake." '

[1] If the original speaker were describing the situation of an addressee, this example would be a case of indirect speech report. Since the aim of these two examples is to illustrate how semi-direct speech report differs from direct speech report, this scenario doesn't affect our analysis.

In this example, *tsé* is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause, and functions as the object of *nodé* ‘throw’ in the embedded clause.

As another example of semi-direct speech report, first imagine a situation where A told B that I was hungry. If I heard what A said and report his speech, I would say (397):

(397) *otsí$_i$ [**ŋɯ́**$_j$ ɣɛ tɔ-tsɔ́ **sə** nyi] tə́-tə sə nyi*
3SG+ERG 1SG EXP UP-be.hungry PFV EGO:AP UP-say IMPF EGO:AP
‘He$_i$ said I$_j$ was hungry.’

In this example, the third person pronoun in the matrix clause refers to the original speaker, in this case, A, and the first person pronoun in the embedded clause refers to the reporter, in this case, I. We can see that in the embedded clause, the person shifted from the third person to the first person, to fit with the perspective of the reporter, but the aspect auxiliary still inflects for the third person form.

A speech report content consisting of more than one clause can have mixed direct and semi-direct speech reports. In a story, a king won the fight with a demoness and was going to kill her. She begged for her life, saying:

(398) ***[no-tɐɯ́-su]***$_{C1}$*;* ***[tsé*** *ɣɛ tólö nɛ-ndő* *ra]*$_{C2}$*;* ***[yonínə***
DOWN-PROH-kill/2SG REFL/3SG EXP thought DOWN-error EVID:DIRECT 1DU.INCL
tsəkɯ́.ŋot^{h}ónyí mózə nú-vɯ ŋá]$_{C3}$*;* ***[ŋɯ́*** *nɛ́ ɣɛ ɛlɛ́*
D.M mother.and.son DOWN-do be.good 1SG 2SG POSS aunt
nú-vɯ nə ŋá nyi]$_{C4}$
DOWN-do also be.good EGO:AP

‘ “Don’t kill me! I was wrong. The two of us can be mother and son. I can also be your aunt.” ’

There are four clauses in this speech report. The first clause is an imperative construction, which contains a prohibitive prefix and a verb inflecting for the second person singular (‘you don’t kill’). This is an instance of direct speech report. In the second clause we see a third person reflexive pronoun, which is coreferential with the original speaker (the

demoness), indicating that this is a semi-direct speech report. The subject of the third clause is a first person inclusive pronoun, which refers to the original speaker and the original addressee, showing that this is a direct speech report. Finally, the last clause contains a first person pronoun, referring to the original speaker, and a second person pronoun, referring to the original addressee. Non-shift in personal deixis indicates that this is a direct speech report. The coexistence of direct and semi-direct speech report in one chunk of speech report lends support to the argument made in Aikhenvald (2011b), that the difference between speech reports, from verbatim quote to indirect speech, should be considered as a continuum.

In speech reports, using reflexive pronouns in the embedded clause when the participants in the embedded clause and matrix clause are coreferential is also seen in other persons, but this is optional. In (399a), the coreferential participants are both in second person, and in (399b), they are both in first person:

(399) a. *nɛ́$_i$ i **[nɛ́/né**$_i$ ɣɛ tɔ-tsɔ́ rɑ] tə́-tə sü*
2SG ERG 2SG/2SG.REFL EXP UP-be.hungry EVID:DIRECT UP-say PFV/2SG
nyi
EGO:AP

‘You said you/yourself were hungry.’

b. *tsəkɯ́ vɛ́vɯ i ó-lü tə́ pi kɯ **[ŋɯ́** nyó-nɑ*
D.M grandfather ERG DS-slid/2SG say IMPF OBL 1SG NEG-dare/1SG
ŋo] tə́-tə sö nyi
EGO:SAP UP-say PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘When grandfather said “you slide”, I said “I don’t dare.” ’

In (399a), where the participant is in second person form, both reflexive and non-reflexive forms are acceptable. In (399b), the reporter is reporting her own speech, and in such a situation it is more common to use the non-reflexive first person form, although the reflexive form, *ŋí* ‘myself’, is also acceptable.

To summarize what we have seen so far, in semi-direct speech report, when the par-

ticipant in the matrix clause and that in the embedded clause are coreferential, the degree of obligation of using reflexive pronouns in embedded clauses varies according to person. When the participant is in third person, using the reflexive form is obligatory. When the pronoun is in first or second person, using that form is optional.

This tendency may have to do with the need for disambiguation, and can be explained as follows. When both the reporter and the original speaker are in first person, it is plain that they are coreferential and all refer to the reporter (or the original speaker), hence there is no need for disambiguation. In this case it suffices to use the first person pronoun in the embedded clause. When both the reporter and the original speaker are in second person, the possibility of ambiguity is very low. In direct speech report, the 'you' in the embedded clause can only refer to the former addressee (You_i said "you_j are hungry."), while in indirect speech report, the 'you' in the embedded clause can only refer to the original speaker (You_i said you_i are hungry.) The two situations can generally be easily distinguished as the speaker and the addressee share the same context.

The situation is different when both the reporter and the original speaker are in third person. The third person in the embedded clause can either refer to the original speaker (coreferential) or someone else (non-coreferential). There is thus a need to distinguish between the two scenarios (although not all languages feel the need to do so). What Munya does is to use semi-direct report when the reporter and the original speaker are coreferential (e.g. 395a), and keep the report the way it was, i.e., using direct speech report, when the two participants are not coreferential (e.g. 395b). The semi-direct speech report is reminiscent of the phenomenon called logophoricity found in the African languages of the Macro-Sudanic belt (Ameka 2017).

14.5 Other Complex Clauses and Clause Linking Devices

This section discusses the complex clauses other than relative clauses and complement clauses. These complex clauses are composed of at least two component clauses, which are joined together by at least one clause linkers. These clauses are classified based on the semantic relationships between the component clauses as shown through these linkers. The classification is primarily based on the parameters given in Dixon (2009) and

Aikhenvald (2009).

Following Dixon (2009), for most types of these complex clauses, a distinction can be made between focal clauses and supporting clauses. The focal clause refers to the central activity or state of the complex clause, while the supporting clause sets out the conditions or presupposition for it. The distinction is therefore primarily made based on the semantic relations between the component clauses. However, sometimes certain formal features are also available. For example, a complex clause may contain more than one supporting clauses, but normally there is only one focal clause. Also, a supporting clause may only take a restricted range of grammatical categories but a focal clause has access to all suitable categories.

There are two types of complex clauses for which the distinction between focal clauses and supporting clauses cannot be made, which are those involving the relations of conjunction and disjunction. This is because the component clauses in these two types of clauses have an equal semantic status.

In almost all these complex clauses the supporting clause comes before the focal clause. There are only two exceptions: in complex clauses involving the relationship of consequence and same-event addition, the focal clause is positioned before the supporting clause.

The meaning and position of clause linkers will also be discussed. It will be shown that in most cases, linkers occur at the end of supporting clauses. Some linkers can occur at either the end of supporting clauses or the beginning of focal clauses. In some rare cases, they are also marked after the subject of focal clauses.

Eight types of complex clauses are recognized, which are those involving the relationships of temporal (Section 14.5.1), conditional (Section 14.5.2), consequence (Section 14.5.3), contrast (Section 14.5.4), conjunction (Section 14.5.5), disjunction (Section 14.5.6), same-event addition (Section 14.5.7) and concession (Section 14.5.8). These will be next discussed in detail.

14.5.1 Temporal

There are three sub-types of temporal clause linking devices, which are temporal succession, immediate succession and relative time. In all these complex clauses, the supporting clause comes before the relative clause, and can only be marked for a restricted set of grammatical categories, primarily aspect. Clause linkers are all marked at the end of the supporting clause.

14.5.1.1 Temporal Succession

In this type of complex clause, the events referred to occur in a sequence, following the order of the clauses. The clause linker is *tsəkɯ́* 'and, then', which occurs at the end of the supporting clause. This is illustrated with the example below:

(400) *[otsíni pʰúɐɛ tú-ku* ***tsəkɯ́]***$_{SC}$ *[ɣɤ tí-hɛ* ***tsəkɯ́]***$_{SC}$ *[tə-rá*
3DU+ERG force UP-carry.on.back and door UP-open and UP-go
sə nyi]$_{FC}$
PFV EGO:AP

'The two of them used force and opened the door and went up.'

This complex clause contains three clauses, which code three actions in sequence: using force, opening the door, and going up. The three clauses are connected by *tsəkɯ́*. Note that both aspect and egophoricity are marked only once, in the last clause. This indicates that the first two clauses are supporting clauses and the last one is the focal clause.

Other functions of *tsəkɯ́* include speech report introducer, which was discussed in Section 14.4.1. It can also be used as a discourse marker and a topic marker. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

14.5.1.2 Immediate Succession

If an event occurs immediately before another one, the clause denoting the first event can be marked by *rə* 'soon after, as soon as'. The supporting clause comes before the focal

clause and can only take the category of aspect. In a story, a boy is thrown off a cliff, and (401) describes what happens after that:

(401) *[nɛ-dɛ́ pi* ***rə]***$_{SC}$ *[ngɤ́tɕʰü tsə pu tɕóki tɛ́-vɛ i upʰɛ́*
DOWN-throw IMPF as.soon.as below FOC on vulture one-CLF:BIRD ERG wing
kʰu-tsʰú sə nyi]$_{FC}$
NONS-catch PFV EGO:AP

'As soon as he was thrown (off the cliff), a vulture below (the cliff) caught him with its wing.'

14.5.1.3 Relative Time

The temporal information for an event can be specified with reference to another event. In this case, the clause which provides the relative time frame for another event is the supporting clause, and is marked by *kɯ* or *le* in the end. *kɯ* is also the oblique case marker, and is used when the supporting clause is affirmative. *le* also functions as the dative case marker, and is used when the supporting clause is negative. Using case markers as a means of clause linking is also found in some Tibetic languages, such as Kham (Watters 2009). For a comprehensive treatment on this topic, see Aikhenvald (2011c).

Between the verb and the relative time marker, the supporting clause can optionally take three other markers, which are the aspect marker (either perfective or imperfective), the postposition *pu* 'on', and the nominalizer *tsə*. A supporting clause has four possible structures:

- V+ *kɯ/le* (Cf. 402a)
- V + Aspect + *kɯ/le* (Cf. 402b)
- V + Aspect + *pu* +*kɯ* (Cf. 402c)
- V +Aspect + *tsə* + *pu* + *kɯ* (Cf. 402d)

(402) a. *[mə to-mó-sɑ* ***le]***$_{SC}$ *[tə́-hə tsəkɯ́ nɔ-tɕó hí nyi]*$_{FC}$
sky UP-NEG-brighten when UP-go and DOWN-drive will EGO:AP

‘Before daybreak, we need to go up (to the mountain) and drive down (the cattle).’

b. *[putsʰí sɔ́-gɛ ɛ́-bo* ***pi kɯ]***$_{SC}$ *[tsəkɯ́ tópi i tə́*
child three-CLF:GENR DS-appear IMPF when and someone ERG say
sə nyi]$_{FC}$
IMPF EGO:AP

‘When the three children appeared, someone spoke.’

c. *[ótsə tʰo-dí* ***sə pu kɯ]***$_{SC}$ *tsəkɯ́ [rə kʰɯ́-rə pi nyi]*$_{FC}$
DEM AS-finish PFV on when and land NONS-plow IMPF EGO:AP

‘After that is finished, the land will be plowed.’

d. *[tɕudó tʰo-dí* ***sə tsə pu kɯ]***$_{SC}$ *[tɕʰənə́ kɤ́ tsəkɯ́*
milk.product AS-finish PFV NMLZ on when still milk.product D.M
tó-lö kʰɯ́ nyi]$_{FC}$
one-CLF:GENR COP:CONTAIN EGO:AP

‘After tɕudo is extracted, there is still a thing called kɤ (that can be extracted).’

A supporting clause can sometimes take more than one marker of temporal relation. For example, in (402b) above, the relative time marker *kɯ* is followed by the temporal succession marker *tsəkɯ́*. A supporting clause can also take both the immediate succession marker and the relative time marker:

(403) *[putsʰí=nə ɣɤ́-tʂɛ pi* ***rə kɯ]***$_{SC}$ *[tínə mó-ndʑɯ vɯ́*
child=PL US-arrive IMPF as.soon.as OBL anyone NEG-COP:ANIMATE do
sə nyi]$_{FC}$
PFV EGO:AP

‘As the children arrived, (they found) that nobody was there.’

14.5.2 Conditional

Munya does not make the distinction between possible and counterfactual conditionals. There is only one marker of conditional, *tʰo/tʰónyi* 'if', which is positioned at the end of the supporting clause. If the predicate of the supporting clause is adjectival, the clause can be marked by *ti* (404a). If the predicate is verbal, the clause is generally not marked for any grammatical category (404b):

(404) a. *[ké ti]$_{SC}$ **tʰó** [ɣɤ-tʰɔ́]$_{FC}$*
be.free STA if US-come/1SG

'If I have time I will come.'

b. *[tɕʰú tu-ɕó]$_{SC}$ **tʰó** [ŋɯ́ ɛ-ɕó ti]$_{FC}$*
next UP-talk if 1SG DS-be.tired STA

'If I talk more I will get tired.'

The two examples above are possible conditionals. In the following example, the conditional clause refers to a counter-factual situation:

(405) *[kɛŋú kəmíta ɣɛ ríle tó-lö tʰə-vá **tʰó**]$_{SC}$,*
before Nationalist.Party POSS era one-CLF:GENR AS-become if
[kɛ́-tɕípu kʰɯ́-ɕo mí óməna mú]$_{FC}$
more-happy NONS-come.out NMLZ DEM COP

'There are such people (who think that) if the era of the Nationalist Party in the old days came back, things would be better.'

The supporting clause marked by *tʰo* can also express a topic. In this case, the clause has the copula *ŋo* 'be' as its predicate, and the copula and the conditional marker combine to yield the meaning of 'as to', 'speaking of'. The copula only takes one nominal as its CS argument:

(406) *[tɕʰɯ́ ɣɛ lötɕó=nə* ***tʰo-ŋó]***$_{SC}$ ***tʰó*** *[kɛmú ɣɛ kəmítá ɣɛ lédʑü=nə*
now LK young=PL AS-be if before LK Nationalist.Party POSS policy=PL
há-nyu-kö]$_{FC}$
formative-NEG-know

'As to the young people nowadays, they don't know about the policies of the Nationalist Party in the old days.'

Even if the supporting clause is not marked for aspect, there is reason to believe that it is treated as perfective. This can be seen from two aspects. Firstly, as was mentioned in Section 10.6, copula verbs only take the directional prefix *tʰo-* 'away from the speaker' when they occur in perfective clauses. When a conditional supporting clause has a copula verb as its predicate, the copula needs to take that prefix. In the following example, the copula *ndʑɯ́* 'to exist' is prefixed by *tʰo-* 'AS' (also see the above example):

(407) *[dʑópu* ***tʰó-ndʑɯ]***$_{SC}$ *tʰó [tʰɛ́-ndö mópisə ótsə le kʰɔ́-lə pi]*$_{FC}$
king AS-COP:ANIMATE if AS-error won't 3SG DAT NONS-present IMPF

'If the king is there, (it) won't make any mistake and will present (the hada) to him.'

Secondly, it was mentioned in Section 12.2 that the negative prefix *mo-* is used in a perfective situation. If a conditional supporting clause is to be negated, it is this negator that should be used. In the following example, the speaker is talking about her plan for tomorrow, but notice that the auxiliary *ɣa* 'will' is negated by *mo-* (the supporting clause is dislocated to the right part of the complex clause):

(408) *[tɕɯ́mɛ tsɛ́ hə́ hi pi rə́ ɛ-ŋo]*$_{FC}$*, [mə́ na-kʰá* ***ma-ɣá]***$_{SC}$ *tʰo*
sand get go will IMPF will INTRG-be sky DOWN-fall NEG-will if

'Will we go carry sand, if it does not rain (tomorrow)?'

From the behavior of copula verbs and the negative prefix it can be seen that the conditional supporting clause is treated as inherently perfective.

14.5.3 Consequence

Munya has a clause linker for consequence, which is *mətsʰé*. As a clause linker, this word has two related senses, one relating to consequence and can be translated as 'because', the other relating to possible consequence and can be translated as 'lest, otherwise.' In both cases, *mətsʰé* can either occur at the end of the focal clause, which is the one denoting result, purpose, or what is to be done or not to be done, or the beginning of the supporting clause, when denoting reason.

In (409), *mətsʰé* 'because' occurs at the end of the focal clause, which is a negative imperative. It is followed by two supporting clauses:

(409) *dʑópu kɛ́lɛ.ánpu i [okʰó tɕɯ́-re]$_{FC}$ **mətsʰé** [tɛtɛ́ pə́sə dəmú*
king PN ERG DEM PROH-come/2SG because just.now today demoness
hatɕá i má tʰá-ra sə nyi]$_{SC}$, [nɛnɛ́ tɛtɛ́ nó-se
PN ERG soldier AS-send PFV EGO:AP 2PL soon DOWN-kill/1/2NONSG
ri]$_{SC}$ tə́ sə nyi
will say PFV EGO:AP

'King kɛlɛ anpu said "Don't come here, because the demoness hatɕɑ had sent troops early today, and will kill you very soon." '

In the following example, *mətsʰé* 'because' occurs in the supporting clause and after the subject:

(410) *[momó=rónə le tə-mó-to]$_{FC}$, [momó i **mətsʰé** ŋɯ́ le mé*
mum=ASSC.PL DAT UP-NEG-tell/1SG mum ERG because 1SG DAT medicine
tósə tʰí-tɕʰɯ ɣá nyi]$_{SC}$
much AS-make.drink will EGO:AP

'I didn't tell mum and other people (that I was sick), because/otherwise she would make me take lots of medicine.'

Note that in this example, *mətsʰé* is glossed as 'because'. The complex clause still makes sense if it is analyzed as meaning 'otherwise' or 'else', in other words, denoting possible

consequence, as the situation denoted by the supporting clause is hypothetical and did not actualize. This is different from (411), where it is more appropriate to analyze *məts^{h}é* as meaning ‘least, otherwise’, because the supporting clause refers to a possible situation in the future:

(411) *[tu-tɕɯ vǘ* ***məts^{h}é,***$]_{FC}$ *[ŋətsɛ́ tɔ-tsɔ́ pi nyi]$_{SC}$*
UP-be.full do/2SG lest in.a.moment UP-get.hungry IMPF EGO:AP
‘Do eat until you are full, otherwise you will get hungry very soon.’

When the possible consequence is clear from context, as in this example, the supporting clause can be omitted.

It can be seen from the above analysis that the interpretation of *məts^{h}é* is related to the situation expressed in the supporting clause. If the supporting clause denotes a real situation in the past, *məts^{h}é* denotes consequence, as in (409). If the supporting clause denotes a hypothetical situation in the past, *məts^{h}é* can either denote consequence or possible consequence, as in (410). If the supporting clause denotes a future hypothetical situation, *məts^{h}é* denotes possible consequence, as in (411).

məts^{h}é can also be used as an adverb. In that case it has two meanings, which are ‘only’ and ‘certainly’. When it means ‘only’, it is positioned before the predicate, and the predicate needs to be negated. This is illustrated in (412):

(412) *tɕətsʉ́ tó-lö* ***məts^{h}é nyɯ́-mu***
livestock one-CLF:GENR only NEG-COP:MOVE
‘There is only one head of cattle.’

This sentence, however, can be analyzed in a different way, i.e., to still analyze *məts^{h}é* as a marker of consequence, as *[tɕətsʉ́ tó-lö]$_{FC}$ [məts^{h}é nyɯ́-mu]$_{SC}$* (the position of the marker is of no significance for this clause). It is possible that because the predicates in the focal clause and the supporting clause are the same, only the one in the supporting clause is kept, making it look like one simple clause. With this analysis, the clause can be roughly translated as ‘there is one head of cattle, otherwise there is none.’

When it means ‘certainly’, it occurs at the end of the whole clause:

(413) *zəpú ɛntólö tʰo-í nə, otsə́ tʰɛ-ndɛ́ rí nyi* ***məts^{h}é***
body how AS-COP:UPRIGHT no.matter 3SG AS-get.old will EGO:AP certainly

'No matter how good the body is, it will certainly get old.'

As with the above example, it is also possible to analyze *məts^{h}é* as a clause linker here. It was mentioned above that when the consequence is clear from the context, it can be omitted. (411) can be shortened as (414):

(414) *[tu-tɕɯ vű]$_{FC}$* ***məts^{h}é***
UP-be.full do/2SG lest

'Do eat so as to make sure you are full.'

After the clause referring to consequence is omitted, *məts^{h}é* can be interpreted as meaning 'certainly', as in (413). However, because in (413) the consequence was not overtly stated, we cannot tell whether it is the result of omission or whether this is another use of this linker.

14.5.4 Contrast

If in a complex clause, the information provided in one clause contrasts with that provided in another, the two clauses can be linked by *sá/sára* 'although, but'. In this case, it is always the second clause which provides the unexpected information, and thus should be recognized as the focal clause. The supporting clause can take all possible grammatical categories. The marker of contrast can either be put at the end of the supporting clause (415a) or at the beginning of the focal clause (415b).

(415) a. *[tʰó-sə ri tsə dʑɛtɕʰúdʑɛ ɛ-tʰű nyi* ***sára****]$_{SC}$, [tʰó-sə*
AS-die NMLZ FOC one.hundred.percent DS-come EGO:AP although AS-die
nyú-hi ɣɛ tsəkú tʰóɕɛ kʰó-lə ri é-ndə
NEG-will REL D.M method NONS-provide NMLZ INTRG-COP:ABSTRACT
ti]$_{FC}$?
STA

'Although death is certain to come, is there any way for us not to die?'

b. *[tsəkú mɛ́ntɕʰa kə́lö é-ndzə, sɔ́və é-ndzə, ɔ́mənə hí kʰɯ-ɕó*
D.M grass root DS-eat sawdust DS-eat DEM will NONS-come.out
*sə nyi]$_{SC}$, [****sá*** *mənɨ́=ni há-nyu-kö nyi]$_{FC}$*
PFV EGO:AP but people=PL+ERG formative-NEG-know EGO:AP

'We ate grass roots, we ate sawdust, we had to do those things. But people don't know about that.'

14.5.5 Conjunction

Clauses denoting two or more events that are semantically or pragmatically of equal status can be organized into one complex clause. In such a case, all conjoined clauses can take all possible grammatical categories, and they cannot be classified into focal or supporting clause. Each clause should be marked by *rə*, which has two variants, *nɛrə́* and *lɛrə́*.

rə can first and foremost function as a coordinator, which links two elements of equal syntactic functions within a clause. It links two nominal arguments in (416a) and two predicates in (416b):

(416) a. *[mɛ́ndɛ]* ***rə*** *[vɛ́ndɛ]=ni tə́ tsəkú né le tʰo-kʰé*
old.woman and old.man=PL+ERG say SRI 2SG DAT AS-give/1/2NONSG
nyú-pe
NEG-IMPF/1/2NONSG

'The old woman and the old man said "we are not giving (her) to you." '

b. *[dʐɛ́ ŋaŋá]* ***rə*** *[tsʰalá kə́kə]*
voice be.good and dance be.good.at

'sings well and dances well'

Alternatively, both coordinands can be marked. This is what we see in (417), where the second coordinand is marked by *nɛrə́*:

(417) *[tʂə́pu]* ***rə*** *[tsʰúntʂɑ]* ***nɛrə́*** *nyú-ke* *nyi*
party.branch.secretary and chieftain and NEG-be.free EGO:AP

'The party branch secretary and the chieftain were not free.'

As a clause linker, the behavior of *rə* 'and' is very similar to its functions as an inter-clausal coordinator. When performing this function, it tends to follow the subject of the coordinated clauses:

(418) *tsəkú [dʑonkʰó* ***rə*** *tə́-to],* *[məsé=nə* ***rə*** *tə́-to],* *tɕípu*
D.M country and UP-get.rich people=PL and UP-get.rich happy
kʰú-ɕo
NONS-come.out

'The country has got rich, the people have got rich, we are living a happy life.'

rə 'and' can also link two complex clauses, as in (419) below. Here, the two complex clauses are of the conditional linking type, marked by *tʰo* 'if', and *rə* 'and' occurs at the end of the supporting clause:

(419) *[tsé* *tʰo-mó-so* *tʰó* ***rə****,* *tʂá* *tʂʰőtʂʰö* *tsə́* *nó-pətɕo* *rű*
REFL/3SG AS-NEG-die/1SG if and cliff white FOC DOWN-collapse will
ŋo]; *[tse* *tʰó-so* *tʰó* ***rə****,* *tʂá* *nyínyi* *tsə́* *nó-pətɕo* *rű*
EGO:SAP REFL/3SG AS-die/1SG if and cliff red FOC DOWN-collapse will
ŋo]
EGO:SAP

' "If I don't die, the white cliff will collapse. If I die, the red cliff will collapse." '

A complex clause that denotes two actions occurring simultaneously or in alternatively can also be marked by *rə* 'and'. But in this case, the clause should be further marked by *tɕɯra* 'as':

(420) *[otsí* ***tɕɯrá rə*** *ɛ́-ndzə pi], [**tɕɯrá rə** kʰɛ́ tú-to pi]*
3SG+ERG as and DS-eat IMPF as and word UP-talk IMPF

'He eats as he talks.'

14.5.6 Disjunction

Two or more clauses in a disjunctive relationship can be linked by *sü/si* 'or'. The component clauses are in an equal relationship, can occur in any order, and can take all possible grammatical categories, hence they cannot be classified into focal clauses and supporting clauses. Although the component clauses are in declarative form, the whole complex clause is always an interrogative (cf. Section 12.1). This marker can either occur at the end of a component clause or the beginning of a non-initial component clause. In the following example it is marked at the beginning of the second clause:

(421) *[Pengbuxi yonɛ́ sú tə́ vɯ́ tʰonyí ka-ŋá sɔ́*
PN 1PL.INCL+POSS language speak do if more-be.good think
*pɛ **[sü]** pɤ́su tə́ vɯ́ tʰonyí ka-ŋá sɔ́ pɛ]?*
IMPF/2SG or Tibetan say do if more-be.good think IMPF/2SG

'In Pengbuxi, do you think it is better to speak our language or to speak Tibetan?'

14.5.7 Same-event Addition

The clause linker *nə* indicates that the content provided in that clause is of the same nature as the previous clause, but adds more information to it. In this situation, the first clause is the focal clause and the second one is the supporting clause. The supporting clause can take all possible grammatical categories. The linker tends to be marked after the

subject of the supporting clause, and can be translated as ‘also’, ‘besides’, or ’moreover’. Consider the example below:

(422) *[ngɔ́ tə́-ŋe, vəlő kʰú tə́-ŋe]$_{FC}$, [tsəkɯ́ tʂʰáɕu tsə́* ***nə*** *kərɛ́*
leg UP-hurt stomach in UP-hurt D.M blood.pressure FOC also a.little
kíko ti tə́ pi]$_{SC}$
big STA say IMPF

‘My legs hurt, I have a stomachache, and they say that my blood pressure is also a little bit high.’

The complex clause describes the health conditions of the speaker. The speaker first describes her leg and her stomach, then adds some information about her blood pressure. *nə* ‘moreover’ is marked after the subject of the final clause, *tʂʰáɕu* ‘blood pressure’.

Another clause-linking function of *nə* is to denote concession, and this will be discussed below.

14.5.8 Concession

In a concessive clause linking type, the supporting clause indicates something conceded but not distracting from the proposition made in the focal clause. In a complex clause of this type, the first clause is the supporting clause and the concessive marker, *nə* ‘although, even if’, is marked at the end of it. The only grammatical category allowed in the supporting clause is the stative aspect *ti*. An example is given below:

(423) *[pə́sə nɛ́ ɣɛ sívɯ tɛ́gɛ ngɯ-tʂé]$_{SC}$* ***nə*** *[yitsɛ́ tʰo-mú pɛ*
today 2SG EXP good a.little TS-determine although soon AS-forget IMPF/2SG
nyi]$_{FC}$
EGO:AP

‘Even if you determine to do something good today, you forget about it very soon.’

In the discussion on interrogatives, it was mentioned (in Section 12.1) that some interrogative words can be used as general indefinites, and in that case the clause tends to end

with *nə*. Here *nə* also has a concessive meaning, which can be roughly translated as 'no matter'. An example is given below:

(424) *[hóti tɔ́-tɕo hə́]$_{SC}$* ***nə*** *[tsɛkʰɛ́ ɕíɕɔ nyi]$_{FC}$*
where UP-drive go no.matter graze always EGO:AP

'No matter where I drove (the cattle) to, there was always grass there.'

A concessive complex clause can contain two supporting clauses, in which case the supporting clauses need to be respectively marked by the adjective *ndʐɛ́* 'similar, be the same as':

(425) *[sétɕü tʰo-ŋó* ***nə*** ***ndʐɛ́]$_{SC}$,*** *[ʂɛ́ ɣɛ dʐiló tʰo-ŋó* ***nə***
policy AS-be no.matter same village POSS responsibility AS-be no.matter

ndʐɛ́]$_{SC}$, *[sívɯ tu-kú pi nyi]$_{FC}$*
same good UP-carry.on.back IMPF EGO:AP

'Whether policies or the responsibilities for the village, I performed them all very well.'

In the above examples, the conditional clauses do not contain any grammatical categories. The conditional clauses can actually take the marker of stative aspect, *ti*, especially when the complex clause is very long. This is what we see in the following example. Notice that here the focal clause is itself a complex clause, as can be seen from the conditional marker *tʰo* 'if':

(426) *[dʑonkʰó ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ dʐiló a-hɤ́* ***nə*** ***ndʐɛ́ ti]$_{SC}$,***
nation POSS D.M law DS-loosen no.matter same STA

[káɕi tʰó-ndə ***nə*** ***ndʐɛ́ ti]$_{SC}$,*** *[[róro.sə́sü*
backdoor.connection AS-COP:ABSTRACT no.matter same STA oneself

sívɯ kʰu-ʈʂə́ me-tʰá]$_{SC}$ tʰó, [róro.sə́sü nɛ-npʰó pi nyi]$_{FC}$]$_{FC}$
good NONS-do NEG-can if oneself DOWN-ruin IMPF EGO:AP

'It doesn't matter if the laws of the nation have loosened or people have backdoor connections. If one cannot do good things voluntarily, he will ruin himself.'

Table 14.2: Properties of Clause Linking Devices and Complex Clauses

Linking types	Linkers	Position of linkers	Clause order	Grammatical categories in SC	Additional functions
Temporal					
Temporal succession	*tsəkɯ́* 'and, then'	end of SC	SC – FC	none	discourse marker, topic marker, speech report introducer
Immediate succession	*rə* 'as soon as'	end of SC	SC – FC	imperfective aspect	no
Relative time	*kɯ* 'when' in affirmative SC	end of SC	SC – FC	aspect and nominalizer	oblique case
	le 'when' in negative SC	end of SC	SC – FC	aspect and nominalizer	dative case
Conditional	*tʰo* 'if'	end of SC	SC – FC	stative aspect	no
Consequence	*mətsʰé* 'because, otherwise'	end of SC/beginning of FC/ after the subject of SC	FC – SC	all	adverb meaning 'only' or 'certainly' Possible consequence
Contrast	*sá/sára* 'although, but'	end of SC/beginning of FC	SC – FC	all	no
Conjunction	*rə* 'and'	end of clauses/after subjects	NA	NA	coordinator
Disjunction	*sü/si* 'or'	end of clauses	NA	NA	none
Same-event addition	*nə* 'also, moreover'	after the subject of SC	FC – SC	all	concession
Concession	*nə* 'even if'	end of SC	SC – FC	stative aspect	same-event addition

Table 14.2 summarizes the properties of the clause linking devices and the complex clauses discussed above.

14.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the complex clauses in Munya, which include relative clauses, complement clauses, speech reports, and clause linking devices. I first discussed relative clause constructions, including their structures and the properties of common arguments. I then turned to complement clauses, first exploring the possible syntactic functions that complement clauses can take, then discussing how complement clauses are marked and the types of complement taking verbs. After that, I showed the connections between nominalization, relativization, and complementation in Munya.

In the section on speech report, I first described the structures of speech-report constructions, and then discussed three types of speech report, which are indirect speech report, direct speech report, and semi-direct speech report.

Other types of complex clauses, and clause linking devices, were discussed in the last section. Based on the semantics of clause linkers, eight types of complex clauses were recognized. It was shown that some clause linkers are also case markers. For each type of complex clause, I looked at its general structure, meaning and the properties of clause linkers.

Chapter 15

Discourse Organization and Pragmatic Features

15.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses several phenomena related to discourse organization and pragmatics in Munya. It consists of four sections. Section 15.2 explores the versatile particle *tsəkɯ́* and focuses on its function as a discourse marker. Section 15.3 looks at argument omission, dislocation and coreferential ellipsis. Section 15.4 introduces bridging constructions, a device for maintaining discourse continuity and making the discourse more cohesive. And Section 15.5 briefly explores the archaic honorific style in Munya, which is in danger of disappearing.

15.2 The Discourse Marker *tsəkɯ́*

tsəkɯ́ is a multi-functional word in Munya. It was mentioned several times in previous chapters and here I summarize all its uses, focusing on its functions as a discourse marker.

The first function of *tsəkɯ́* is as a postposition that means 'from':

(427) *ndɯ́* ***tsəkɯ́*** *tʂʰentú pɛ*
PN from PN to
'from Kangding to Chengdu'

The second function of this word is as a clause linker which indicates that two events happen in succession (428a) or simultaneously (428b) (cf. Section 14.5.1).

(428) a. *[tʂə́ɣő tó-lö nó-ro* ***tsəkʉ́]*** ***[tsəkʉ́*** *ótsə tɐ́ótsi pu*
spider one-CLF:GENR DOWN-come then then 3SG table on
kʰɯ-tʂɛ́ tʰo-dí sə nyi]
NONS-arrive NONS-finish PFV EGO:AP
'A spider came down and went on top of the table.'

b. *nbí* ***tsəkʉ́*** *tiɛsə́ kʰu-yɛ́ po nyi*
sit and TV NONS-watch IMPF/1SG EGO:AP
'(I'm) sitting and watching TV.'

The third function of *tsəkʉ́* is as a speech report introducer (cf. Section 14.4.1):

(429) *kɛ́tʂi i tə́-tə* ***tsəkʉ́*** *[nɛnə́ tə́-səso tɐɛ́-hi]*
PN ERG UP-say SRI 2PL UP-fight NEG-will
'kɛtʂi said: "You don't need to fight with each other." '

The fourth function of this word is as a discourse marker. When performing this function, *tsəkʉ́* does not have any concrete meaning and is omissible. In such a case, it can occur at the beginning of a clause, at the end of a clause, or after a nominal element. When present at the beginning or the end of a clause, *tsəkʉ́* does not have any variants. When occurring after a nominal, it has several variants. We first look at the examples where *tsəkʉ́* occurs at the beginning and the end of a clause.

The sentences in (430) come from a narration where the speaker was telling what she did during the day. The four sentences were uttered in the order they are presented. In all these examples *tsəkʉ́* occurs at the beginning:

(430) a. ***tsəkɯ́*** *puhú ɣɛ húndzə rə, yayű́ kətɕɛ́ tósə nó-ve*
D.M tonight POSS dinner and potato pancake many DOWN-make/1/2NONSG
ŋo
EGO:SAP
'And as to the dinner for tonight, we made lots of potato pancakes.'

b. ***tsəkɯ́*** *ná-ndzo tsə, no-tsű́ tʰo-dí tsʰɛ́ nó-vɯ ónovɯ*
D.M DOWN-make NMLZ DOWN-milk AS-finish sour.milk DOWN-do DEM
ŋo
EGO:SAP
'As to milk processing, I made sour milk after milking the cows.'

c. ***tsəkɯ́*** *óntolö ti*
D.M DEM STA
'It was like that.'

d. ***tsəkɯ́*** *sɛ́sə ɛzə́ vɯ́ pi há-nyu-ko ti, tará*
D.M tomorrow what do IMPF form-NEG-know/1SG STA for.now
há-nyu-ko ti
formative-NEG-know/1SG STA
'I don't know what to do tomorrow, I don't know for now.'

In (431), the speaker was commenting on current social situations. The three examples below were also produced in the order they were given. In this case, the discourse marker occurs at the end of the sentence:

(431) a. *kɛmú kəmítá ɣɛ sétɕü le tɕó tólö tʰə-vá pi*
before Nationalist.party POSS policy DAT same.as PAR AS-become IMPF
tə́-tə ***tsəkű***
UP-say D.M

‘ “The policy has become the same as that of the Nationalist Party many years ago,” (he) said.’

b. ***tsəkű*** *mɑtʂúɕi ɣɛ sétɕü kɔtʂʰétá ɣɛ sétɕü nɔ́-tɕo*
D.M PN POSS policy Communist.Party POSS policy DOWN-inherit
po ŋo tə́ ***tsəkű***
IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP say D.M

‘ “I will carry on the policy of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party,” (he) said.’

c. *tɕʰú löŋő nə́-sɔ-ki tʰə-vá pi nyi, otsí ngötʂʰí tú-vɯ*
then year two-three-CLF:YEAR AS-become IMPF EGO:AP 3SG leader UP-do
tsəkű
D.M

‘It has been two or three years, since he became the leader.’

(431b) also shows that as a discourse marker, *tsəkű* can occur at the beginning and the end of a sentence at the same time.

The functions of *tsəkű* in (430) and (431) are not clear. When occurring in the beginning of a clause, the discourse marker seems to be used to mark a new topic. When used at the end of a clause, it seems to mark the end of that clause.

tsəkű can also be used after nominals, in which case it has several variants: *ŋotʰónyí*, *tsəkű ŋotʰónyí*, *tsəkű ŋotʰónyírə*, *tʰonyírə́*, *tsəkű tʰonɛ́rə́* and *tsəkű tʰonírə*. There is no semantic difference between these forms and which variant to use depends on the speaker’s preference. Among these different forms, *ŋotʰónyí* can be analyzed as consisting of *ŋo* ‘be’, *tʰo* ‘if’ and the egophoric marker *nyi*, which can be roughly translated as ‘if that is the case’. Other variants are not analyzable.

Most commonly, *tsəkɯ́* is marked after subjects:

(432) a. *méme* ***tsəkɯ́*** *təndʑá* *tʰə-vá* *nyɯ́-tʰa* *nyi*
everyone D.M peace AS-come.out NEG-can EGO:AP
'Not everyone can live peacefully with others.'

b. *pʰúmi* *mɛ́ndɛ* *i* ***tsəkɯ́*** ***ŋotʰónyi*** *tʰó-ngə* *mó-sə* *nyi*
beggar old.woman ERG D.M AS-be.happy NEG-PFV EGO:AP
'The old beggar woman was not happy.'

The discourse marker is marked after S in the first example and A in the second. The second example also shows that if a nominal is case-marked (here it is marked by the ergative case), the discourse marker needs to follow the case marker.

The nominal that is marked by the discourse marker does not have to be a core argument. It can also be a temporal or a locational nominal which functions as peripheral argument. In the example below, the discourse marker occurs after a nominal of location, *dʑótsʰü ngə́lo* 'the middle of the ocean':

(433) *dʑótsʰű* *ngə́lo* *kɯ́* ***tsəkɯ́*** *tʂá* *i* *dzú* *tɛ́-zɛ* *tómu*
ocean middle OBL D.M cliff LK fortress one-CLF:LONG top
tʰo-tɕɯ́ *sə*
AS-COP:INANIMATE PFV
'(He) is on the top of a fortress made of a cliff in the middle of the ocean.'

It can also occur in the middle of a possessive construction, after the possessive marker *ɣɛ*:

(434) *gé* *ɣɛ* ***tsəkɯ́*** ***ŋotʰónyi*** *dőndá* *tsə* *mətsʰé* *há-nyu-kö*
self POSS D.M thing FOC only formative-NEG-know
'(People) only care about their own business.'

Finally, it is important to note that the discourse marker can occur multiple times in a clause. Consider the example below:

(435) *santɕétɕu.dendé i* ***tsəkɯ́ ŋotʰónyí*** *yonɛ́* ***tsəkɯ́ ŋotʰónyí*** *dipɛ́*
Buddha ERG D.M 1PL.INCL+POSS D.M sin
tsəkɯ́ ŋotʰónyí *ómənə tɕɯ́ i* ***tsəkɯ́*** *ná-ɣɔ ri tólö*
D.M like.that water INS D.M DOWN-wash NMLZ COM
tʰo-ndə́ tʰónyí
AS-COP:ABSTRACT if
'If it is the case that Buddha can just wash off our sins with water like that...'

In this example, the discourse marker occurs four times, which is respectively after the subject (*santɕétɕu dendé* 'Buddha'), the possessor (*yonɛ́* 'our'), the object and also the possessee (*dipɛ́* 'sin'), and the oblique argument (*tɕɯ́* 'water').

More work needs to be done to identify the functions of *tsəkɯ́* especially when it is occurring with nominals.

15.3 Argument Omission, Dislocation and Deletion

15.3.1 Argument Omission

When the referent of an argument is clear from the context, that argument can often be omitted. This is especially so if the subject is a first person pronoun. Consider the four examples below:

(436) a. *tsəkɯ́ tsətsé ró má tə́-dʑɔ*
D.M little time white.pheasant UP-hit.with.stone
'When (I) was young (I) hit white pheasant with stone.'

b. *tsəkɯ́ ómənə kíko tʰə-vá*
D.M DEM big AS-become
'Then (I) grew up.'

c. *tsəkɯ́ nyúlékʰá kʰú lɛ́kɛ́ vɯ́ ró hə́*
D.M agricultural.cooperation in work do go go
'Then (I) went to work in the agricultural cooperative.'

d. *tsəkɯ́ kólo kʰɯ́-ɐo*
D.M hard NONS-come.out
'And (I) had lots of hardships'

These sentences come from the beginning of an autobiography. Since the first person reference is recoverable from the context, it is not overtly mentioned in these examples.

The object can also be omitted, although this is less common. Consider the three examples below:

(437) a. *ŋí tő ra*
1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT
'I see it.'

b. *ŋí há-nyu-ko ti*
1SG formative-NEG-know/1SG STA
'I don't know (it).'

c. *tu-tɐó ra*
UP-be.full/1SG EVID:DIRECT
'I am full (up).'

Each clause in the first two examples contains one argument. From the ergative marker on the subject we know that they are transitive verbs. Here the objects are omitted because the context provides sufficient information on what is seen (in the case of 437a) or known (in the case of 437b). In (437c) both the subject and the object are omitted. If the subject is overtly mentioned it would take the ergative case, indicating that this is also a transitive verb. Since the object would normally be food or a meal, it is more natural to omit it than overtly mentioning it.

15.3.2 Argument Dislocation

Arguments can not only be omitted, they can also be dislocated to the right periphery of a clause. When this happens, the dislocated argument is set off from the body part of the clause by an intonation break. The dislocated element is often used as an afterthought, when the speaker feels the need to give more information to the previous sentence. So far no instance of left dislocation has been found.

Elements that can be dislocated have various syntactic functions. It can be an A argument (the dislocated element is in boldface and its original position is indicated with ∅):

(438) ∅ *mənyɛ́ sú mətsʰé tɕɔ́-vɯ á-ŋɑ,* ***vɛ́və kʰɔ́ i nə?***
∅ Munya language only NEG-do INTRG-be.right grandfather deceased ERG also

'(He) could only speak Munya too, right? —the deceased grandfather?'

In this example, the A argument, together with the ergative case marker *i* and the particle *nə* 'also', is dislocated.

The dislocated element can also be an O argument. In the following example, the dislocated element refers to a spider, which functions as the O of *udɛ́* 'throw':

(439) *kʰɯ́-tsö tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ónə le mɯ́ ɣɤ-tʰé tə́ tsəkɯ́ ∅ mɯ́ ɕəkɔ ú-dɛ sə nyi,* ***otsə́ ʈʂə́ɣö tsə***
NONS-catch and and 3PL DAT fire US-light.up/1/2NONSG say and ∅ fire in DS-throw PFV EGO:AP DEM spider FOC

'(He) caught it and asked them to light up a fire and then threw it into the fire—that spider.'

The dislocated argument can also be a peripheral argument. In the following example, the dislocated argument is marked by the experiential case and functions as the beneficiary:

(440) *mɛ́ndɛ i ∅ tɕɛ́ nó-vɯ pi nyi,* ***putsʰí=nɛ***
housewife ERG ∅ tea DOWN-make IMPF EGO:AP child=PL+EXP
'Housewives will make tea—for children.'

The dislocated element can also be a possessor and the possessive marker. In the following example, the possessor, *domá* 'log', modifies *nengá* 'crime', and is dislocated to the end of the clause:

(441) *tɕʰítɕʰa ∅ nengá kíko nyi,* ***domá ɣɛ***
very ∅ crime be.big EGO:AP log POSS
'The crime was very serious, (the crime) of logging.'

The dislocated element does not have to be an argument. It can also be an adverbial. The dislocated adverbial element is a clause in (442a) and a phrase (442b):

(442) a. *∅ tsaŋá ngá tə́-ro ndá ŋo,* ***nu-sɛ́nbɛ kɯ***
∅ almost cry UP-up used.to EGO:SAP DOWN-think OBL
'I almost cried, when thinking about (that).'

b. *ernyɛtɕi kʰi-tsí mí=nə tɕʰí ∅ rudʑó ra,* ***rosɛ́***
grade.two NONS-study NMLZ=PL with ∅ arrange/1SG EVID:DIRECT directly
'It was arranged for me to study directly with second-graders.'

It is also possible to dislocate two elements in one clause:

(443) *tsəkú* $\varnothing_2$ *[sɛ́sə kú ŋotʰónyi tsé ɣɛ má pú* $\varnothing_1$ *tʰó-ndö*
D.M ∅ tomorrow OBL D.M REFL/3SG POSS army on ∅ AS-send/1SG
*ŋó]$_{SR}$ tə́ sə nyi, **[yű́pemɛ ɣɛ sɛ́tɐʰɛ pu]$_1$** **[dəmú hatɐá***
EGO:SAP say PFV EGO:AP PN POSS place on demoness PN
i]$_2$
ERG

‘ “Tomorrow I will send troops,” (she) said, “to the place of yű́pemɛ,” demoness hatɐa said.’

This example comes from a story, where the subject of this sentence, *dəmú hatɐá* ‘demoness hatɐá’, after hearing that her stepson, whom she tried to kill several times, managed to survive and became the king of *yű́pemɛ ɣɛ sɛ́tɐʰɛ* ‘the place of yű́pemɛ’, decides to send troops to that country. In this example, both the subject (*dəmú hatɐá* ‘demoness hatɐá’) and an oblique argument (*yű́pemɛ ɣɛ sɛ́tɐʰɛ* ‘the place of yű́pemɛ’) are dislocated. The subject refers to the original speaker of a speech report, and the oblique argument denotes the goal of the action of sending troops.

It is possible that argument omission and argument dislocation are two sides of the same coin. A speaker may first omit an argument so as to communicate more efficiently because she thinks that the referent of the argument is clear from the context, then feels the need to be more informative and wants to provide more information. Because speech production is linear, the new information can either be coded in a separate clause or attached to the end of the previous sentence. The second case would lead to the phenomenon of dislocation.

15.3.3 Coreferential NP Ellipsis

If two clauses within a complex clause have an argument in common, that argument can often be ellipsed on its second occurrence. In many languages a syntactic pivot determines which coreferential participant can be omitted (Aikhenvald 2015: 257–9), but Munya does not seem to have such restrictions. Consider first the example in (444):

(444) *[otsí məɣə́ ɣɛ rutɛ́ʉ́]* *[∅$_S$ tʰó-sə sə]*
3SG+ERG cow EXP bump.into ∅ AS-die PFV

'He bumped into a cow then died.'

In this example, the first clause is transitive and the second one is intransitive. The A of the first clause (the one who bumped into a cow) is coreferential with the S (the one who died) of the second clause and the latter is deleted. Now consider the second example:

(445) *[otsí məɣə́ ɣɛ rutɛ́ʉ́]* *[∅$_A$ ∅$_O$ no-sá sə]*
3SG+ERG cow EXP bump.into ∅ ∅ DOWN-kill PFV

'He bumped into a cow and caused it to die.'

Here both clauses are transitive and the A and O of the second clause are coreferential with those of the first clause, and both arguments in the second clause are omitted. While (444) may indicate that Munya has an A=S pivot, (445) shows that this is not the case, as A, S and O can all be omitted as long as their referents are clear from the context.

15.4 Bridging Constructions

The term 'bridging construction' here refers to the phenomenon where a discourse unit is repeated or recapitulated wholly or partially or summarized in the beginning of the succeeding clause. It was first proposed by Guérin and Aiton (2019) in a typological survey of this phenomenon. The device is variously labeled *tail-head linkage*, *recapitulation clauses* or *echo-clauses*, and is widely found in a number of genetically unrelated languages, including some Papuan languages (Thurman 1975; de Vries 2005, 2006) and some Qiangic languages, such as Ersu (S. H. Zhang 2013: 688–93) and Qiang (LaPolla and C. L. Huang 2003: 247–8). (For a comprehensive review of the terminology and a more inclusive list of language families for which this phenomenon is identified, see Guérin and Aiton 2019.)

According to Guérin and Aiton (2019), there are three types of bridging constructions, recapitulative linkage, summary linkage, and mixed linkage. In recapitulative linkage, the bridging clause repeats at least the predicate of the reference clause either verbatim or

with a close paraphrase. A summary linkage contains an anaphoric predicate recapping the event/state of the reference clause. The mixed linkage combines both recapitulative and summary linkage.

In Munya both recapitulative linkage and summary linkage are found. They primarily occur in narrative discourse and are rarely found in conversations. We now look at the two linkage devices separately.

15.4.1 Recapitulative Linkage

Examples of recapitulative linkage are given in (446), which are taken from a story. Following Guérin and Aiton (2019), the clause being repeated or recapitulated is called the 'reference clause' and the part of the second clause that refers back to the reference clause is labeled the 'bridging clause'. In the following examples, the reference clause is put in brackets and the bridging clause is in bold:

(446) a. *[kɛ́tʂi te kʰɯ́-mo-mə sə nyi]*
PN at.all NONS-NEG-sleep PFV EGO:AP

'kɛ́tʂi couldn't sleep at all.'

b. ***kʰɯ́-mo-mə*** *tsəkɯ́ kʰó-ndʐendʐə sə sá [pɛtɕí məɣə́ tə́-tʂɛ*
NONS-NEG-sleep and NONS-eavesdrop PFV but soon bull UP-arrive
sə nyi]
PFV EGO:SAP

'Being unable to sleep, he went to eavesdrop, and soon the bull arrived.'

c. ***məɣə́ tə́-tʂɛ*** *tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ [dʑópu=nɛ mətsá tɕʰí kʰɛ́ tú-do*
bull UP-arrive and and king=COLL.PL daughter with words UP-say
sə nyi]
PFV EGO:SAP

'The bull arrived and talked with the daughter of the king's family.'

d. ***kʰɛ́ tu-dó*** *pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ otsí okʰó tɕɛ́kʰɛ́ kɛ́tɕʰikɛŋá ndʑɯ́*
words UP-say IMPF OBL and 3SG+ERG there thing fine have
nyi, [ókʰo kʰɤ́-seŋa ró na-rá sə nyi]
EGO:AP there NONS-listen go DOWN-go PFV EGO:AP

'As they were talking, kɛtʂí, bringing his good things, went down to listen.'

e. ***kʰɤ́-seŋa ró na-rá*** *tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ otsí məɣə́ i dʑópu=nɛ*
NONS-listen go DOWN-go and and 3SG+ERG bull ERG king=COLL.PL
mətsá le tɕʰú ɛ́ntolö vá ti tə́ sə nyi
daughter DAT then how come.out STA say PFV EGO:AP

'He went down to listen and the bull asked the daughter of the king's family: "How is it going this time?" '

Reference clauses in Munya are generally main clauses, and show no restrictions in predicate type, aspect, evidentiality or egophoricity. They tend to be in the declarative mood. This may be because they are mostly found in monologues, where interrogatives and commands are rare. The reference clauses in (446) are all full clauses in the declarative mood.

Bridging clauses show some features of dependency in both prosody and syntax. In terms of prosody, a bridging clause is uttered faster than the clause being referred to, with a noticeable amount of segment reduction and lenition. A bridging clause can be uttered in a rising intonation, indicating that they are non-final, but this is not obligatory. Syntactically, a reference clause minimally consists of the predicate of the previous clause. They can optionally contain the argument(s) of the preceding clause, but normally do not include any grammatical categories. This is the case of (446b), (446c) and (446e). In (446d), the bridging clause takes the imperfective marker *pi*, but is turned into a subordinate clause by the oblique case marker *kɯ*. Theses prosodic and syntactic features show that bridging clauses are not as independent as canonical clauses.

A special property of bridging clauses in Munya is that they need to be connected to the following clause with the clause linker *tsəkɯ́*. In most cases *tsəkɯ́* indicates that two events happen in succession, but in (446d) it indicates that they occur simultaneously.

The functions of recapitulative linkage seem to be to highlight important turning points and the sequential relationship between events, through which they can add cohesion to the discourse.

15.4.2 Summary Linkage

Summary linkages are used to summarize or anaphorically refer to the preceding discourse unit. In the summary linkage in Munya, the bridging clause always contains a demonstrative, which can be *ómənə* 'like that' or *óntólö* 'like that'. This clause can simply consist of a demonstrative and the stative aspect *ti* (*ómənə ti* 'It is like that'), but more commonly a more full-fledged clause with a verbal predicate is used. The predicate is normally a light verb such as *nóvɯ* 'to do' (when the reference clauses denote events), *tʰəvá* 'to become' (when the reference clauses denote states) or *ndʑɯ́/ndə́* 'to exist' (when the reference clause describes some kind of entity), and, if the summarized unit is a speech report, the verb *tə́tə* 'say'. Such clauses generally don't contain any argument. The bridging clause in a recapitulative linkage forms a complex clause with another clause, but the bridging clause in a summary linkage forms an independent clause in itself.

In the following example, the summary linkage is the last one (447e), in which the predicate is *nóvɯ* 'do':

(447) a. *tsəkɯ́ yonɛ́ ʐsé=nə kʰú ɣɛ məní=nə kɯ́ katɕʰá;*
D.M 1PL.INCL+POSS village=PL in POSS people=PL D.M be.bad
'The people in our villages are bad.'

b. *tsəkɯ́ ndʑú=nə tɕʰísɛ́wú tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ngɯ́-hə;*
D.M other.people outsider D.M TS-go
'They invite outsiders (to our villages).'

c. *tsəkɯ́ tɕə́tső kʰú-kɯ, ɣi kʰú-kɯ;*
D.M livestock NONS-steal horse NONS-steal
'(Those outsiders) steal our livestock, steal our horses.'

d. *məní=nɛ́ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyírə́ tɕé nó-pʰo;*
people=PL+POSS D.M house DOWN-break.into

‘(Those outsiders) break into people’s houses.’

e. ***ómənə nó-vɯ sə nyi***
like.that DOWN-do PFV EGO:AP

‘(They) did things like that.’

A striking difference between the summary linkage and the recapitulative linkage lies in the number of reference clauses. For a recapitulative linkage, the reference clause is always the one clause immediately before the bridging clause, while for a summary linkage, there can be several reference clauses, and the bridging clause anaphorically refers to and summarizes the content of all those clauses. These reference clauses form a discourse unit, or a paragraph. In example (447), there are four reference clauses (447a) to (447d), which describe the bad behaviors of outsiders and the young people in and nearby the speaker’s villages.

The function of a summary linkage is to mark the boundary of a discourse unit. It signals the end of an old topic and the beginning of a new one. It helps to move the narration forward by providing transitions between different events. All these help to add cohesion to the discourse.

15.5 Honorific Style

When the subject of a clause is a respected Buddhist, such as a lama, a living Buddha or the Buddha himself, one needs sometimes to use a set of different words in place of standard ones in order to show deference. These specialized words are mostly verbs, but a few of them are nouns. Things related to Buddhism, such as a monastery, can also be described with specialized verbs. This is what is meant by ‘honorific style’ here. This style is, sadly, largely lost, as young people nowadays either only know a handful of honorific words or are completely unaware of this style. Example (448) comes from an old speaker, where the verb ‘to come’ and ‘to tell’ are in honorific form (the non-honorific forms

are *ngɯró* ‘to come’ and *tuɕó* ‘to tell’), because the subject is Geshe, a knowledgeable and venerable Tibetan Buddhist:

(448) *tɕʰɯ́.tɛtɛ́ tʰo-ŋó tʰó, tsəkɯ́ yonɛ́ gíɕi=ni tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí,*
now AS-be if D.M 1PL.INCL+POSS Geshe=PL+ERG D.M
*ʤóko tsəkɯ́ **ngɯ-tɛŭ́**, tsəkɯ́ yonɛ́ ró tsəkɯ́ tɕʰő **ɣɔ́-nɑ***
India from TS-come and 1PL.INCL+POSS place D.M Dharma US-tell

‘Nowadays, our Geshes came here from India (after studying) and talk to us about Dharma.’

Table 15.1 compares a list of standard-register words with their honorific counterparts. (All in third person forms.)

Table 15.1: Some Standard-register Words and Honorific Words

Meaning	Normal word	Honorific counterpart
‘tears’	*mitɕɯ́*	*zəntɕʰó*
‘urine’	*bí*	*tɕʰɑsá*
‘to laugh’	*ri tə́-ro*	*tʰu-tɛŭ́*
‘to go’	*ngɯ-tɛí*	*tʰo-tɛí/tʰo-tɛŭ́*
‘to sit’	*nbí*	*ɛ-ʤŭ́*
‘to come’	*ngɯ-ró*	*ngɯ-tɛŭ́*
‘to eat/drink’	*ndzə́* ‘eat’; *ɛ-tɕʰɯ́* ‘drink’	*ɔ-sŭ́*
‘to sleep’	*kʰí*	*kʰɔ-tsŭ́*
‘to get up’	*tə́-rə*	*tu-ʤɛ́*
‘to ride’	*kʰɯ́-tsɑ*	*kʰu-tɛé*
‘to speak’	*tə́-tə*	*no-só/nɑ-só*
‘to tell’	*nu-ɕó/tu-ɕó*	*ɣɔ́-nɑ*

As can be seen from this table, the majority of honorific words tend to be verbs, and only the first two are nouns. Honorific verbs, as with standard-register verbs, take directional prefixes, though it is possible that these prefixes are highly lexicalized, in the sense that they do not denote direction and cannot be replaced by other directional prefixes. The verb roots are noteworthy in that many of them end with *ü*. Recall that this is the form of many second person singular inflections (Section 7.3). This curious fact may indicate that honorific forms and the second person singular ending are somehow related to each other.

15.6 Summary

In this last chapter we looked at four phenomena related to discourse and pragmatics in Munya. We first reviewed the functions of *tsəkú* as discussed in previous chapters, before turning to its role as a discourse marker. We saw that as a discourse marker, it can occur in the beginning of a sentence, the end of a sentence, and after nominals. We then discussed argument omission, dislocation and deletion, showing that omission is possible for both subject and object while dislocation can be applied to a wider range of elements, and that omission and dislocation could be functionally related. Next we looked at two types of bridging constructions, which are recapitulative linkage and summary linkage. We focused on describing the structures of bridging clauses and also explored the discourse functions of this construction. In the final section we briefly discussed the obsolete honorific style and the morphology of honorific verbs.

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Appendix A

The Adventure of Three Kings

This story was recorded on September 26, 2016 from a male Munya speaker in his sixties. It is 25 minutes in length.

(449) *dʑópu tó-tsʰe tʰó-ndʑɯ sə; pʰőpɛ tó-tsʰe tʰó-ndʑɯ sə;*
king one-CLF:FAMILY AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV rich.family one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV
pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ tó-lö tʰó-ndʑɯ sə
beggar old.woman one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

‘(Once) there was a king’s family, a rich man’s family, and an old beggar woman.’

(450) *tsəkɯ́ tó-ki kɯ tʂéɣu kʰɯ-ɕó sə*
D.M one-year OBL year.of.monkey NONS-come.out PFV

‘One year, the year of monkey came.’

(451) *tʂéɣu tsə́ki kɯ tsəkɯ́, otsə́ kí kɯ, tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ́ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí*
year.of.monkey that.year OBL D.M DEM year OBL D.M king=COLL.PL D.M
tsə́mu i tsəkɯ́ tɕe tó-lö í-ndʑü sə nyi
queen ERG D.M son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to PFV EGO:AP

‘Then in the year of monkey, in that year, the queen of the king’s family gave birth to a son.’

(452) *pʰőpɛ=nɛ́ tsəkɯ́ mɔ́nyɔ i tsəkɯ́ tɕe tó-lö í-ndʑü sə nyi*
rich.man=COLL.PL D.M wife ERG D.M son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to PFV EGO:AP

‘The wife of the rich man’s family gave birth to a son.’

(453) *pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ i tsəkɯ́ tɕe tó-lö í-ndʑü sə nyi*
beggar old.woman ERG D.M son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to PFV EGO:AP

'The old beggar woman also gave birth to a son.'

(454) *ótsə í-ndʑü pi tsə́ si kɯ tsəkɯ́ dʑópʰu ndzɔ́ pɛ, lɛ́ i nímɛ*
DEM DS-give.birth.to IMPF NMLZ day OBL D.M ? ? ? god LK day

'Their birthday was the best day of the year; it was the day of god.'

(455) *tsəkɯ́ dʑótɕi niɛ́ó ndʐú ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ tɕʰétsʰü pú kɯ tsəkɯ́ tɕe ti sɔ́-lö*
D.M ? sunrise dragon REL D.M hour on OBL ? son D.M three-CLF:GENR
í-ndʑü sə nyi
DS-give.birth.to PFV EGO:AP

'And those three sons were born at sunrise, during the hour of the dragon.'

(456) *tsəkɯ́ otsə́ sɔ́-lö tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí yete.mɛ́ndʐɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí, pítsɔ sɔ́-lö*
D.M DEM three-CLF:GENR D.M distinguished D.M superb three-CLF:GENR
tʰo-ŋó sə nyi
AS-be PFV EGO:AP

'Those three (sons) were very unusual; they were superb.'

(457) *tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ=ni tɕʰiníndʐu tʰó-ngə sə nyi*
D.M king=COLL.PL=PL+ERG extremely AS-be.happy PFV EGO:AP

'The king's family were very happy.'

(458) *tsəkɯ́ tsénɛ tɕe tó-lö í-ndʑü ra, tsəkɯ́ dʑópu ɣɛ*
D.M REFL.3PL+EXP son one-CLF:GENR AS-give.birth.to EVID:DIRECT D.M king POSS
dʑɛsɛ́ nú-ne mí ŋá ti tə́-tə sə nyi
territory DOWN-rule NMLZ be.good STA UP-say PFV EGO:AP

' "Now that we have had a son, he will rule the king's territory," they said.'

(459) *pʰő́pɛ=ni nə́ tsəkɯ́ dʑópu ɣɛ tʂʰo ní-ndʑo sə, tʂéntɕʰi*
rich.man=PL+ERG also D.M king POSS service DOWN-be.competent.for PFV ?
pʰémɛ tʂélɛ tʰó-sü mí ŋá ti, tɕe tó-lö í-ndʑü ra
parents ? AS-finish NMLZ be.good STA son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to EVID:DIRECT
tə́-tə sə nyi
UP-say PFV EGO:AP

'The rich man's family also said: "We begot a son who would be able to serve the king and treat his parents well." '

(460) *tsəkɯ́ pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ i tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tʰó-ngə mó-sə nyi, tsəkɯ́ tsíngə*
D.M beggar old.woman ERG D.M AS-be.happy NEG-PFV EGO:AP D.M clothes
tí-ngə rí mí-ndʑü sə nyi
UP-wear NMLZ NEG-have PFV EGO:AP

'The old beggar woman was not happy, as there wasn't any clothes for her son to wear.'

(461) *tsíngə tí-ngə rí mí-ndʑü tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí, tsəkɯ́ lɛ́ pʰélɛ tɛ́-gɛ kʰú tsəkɯ́*
clothes UP-wear NMLZ NEG-have D.M D.M wool clothe one-CLF:GENR in D.M
tɕe tsə́ u-kí rə́ tsəkɯ́
son FOC DS-wrap ? D.M

'There being no clothes for her son to wear, she wrapped up her son in a piece of woolen cloth.'

(462) *ótsə pi kɯ tsəkɯ́, okʰó urí tsʰɛ́npɛ tó-lö tʰó-ndʑɯ sə*
DEM IMPF OBL D.M there upstream hermit one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

'At that time, there was a hermit upstream over there.'

(463) *ótsə le mí kʰí-mi vó tə́-tə pi kɯ, tsəkɯ́ otsə́ le tsəkɯ́ kɛ́tʂi kʰí-mi*
3SG DAT name NONS-name REQ UP-say IMPF OBL D.M 3SG DAT D.M PN NONS-name
sə nyi, pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ ɣɛ tɕe le kɯ́
PFV EGO:AP beggar old.woman POSS son DAT D.M

'(The old beggar woman) asked him to pick a name for her son, and he named her son "kɛtʂi".'

(464) *kɛ́tʂi kʰí-mi rí tsə́ ɛrí ŋo təpí tʰo?*
PN NONS-name NMLZ FOC why EGO:SAP say if

'Why naming (him) kɛtʂi?'

(465) *tsəkɯ́ kɛ́mɛ ɣɛ ngɤtɕʰṹ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tsəkɯ́ ndəré kʰú tsəkɯ́ tu-tɕé sə ŋo tə́*
D.M star POSS below D.M D.M cloud in D.M UP-appear PFV be say

ri tsə́ ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ kúwɛ tó-lö kʰɔ́-lə sə nyi
NMLZ FOC REL D.M meaning one-CLF:GENR NONS-mean PFV EGO:AP

'The name means "appearing from under stars and out from clouds." '

(466) *tsəkɯ́ otsə́ putsʰí sɔ́-lö tsə́ tɕʰiníndzuɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ndʑándʑa*
D.M DEM child three-CLF:GENR FOC very D.M close

'The three children were very close to each other.'

(467) *onə́ sɔ́-lö tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tə́-ndzo tsəkɯ́ löŋṍ tɕɔní tʰə-vá sə nyi*
3PL three-CLF:GENR D.M UP-grow D.M year twelve AS-become PFV EGO:AP

'They grew up to the age of twelve.'

(468) *löŋṍ tɕɔní tʰə-vá pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ onɛ́ tətá kɯ tsʰṹ*
year twelve AS-become PFV OBL DEM 3PL+POSS up.behind.the.house OBL lake

tó-lö tʰó-kʰɯ sə nyi
one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:CONTAIN PFV EGO:AP

'They came to the age of twelve, and there was a lake up behind their house.'

(469) *tsʰṹ kʰú kɯ tsəkɯ́ tʂíɣu putsʰí tó-lö nɛ-dɛ́ tʰú-hi sə nyi;*
lake in OBL D.M monkey.year child one-CLF:GENR DOWN-will AS-throw PFV EGO:AP

ɐ́átʂʰo nɛ-tʂə́ tʰú-hi sə nyi
meat.service DS-provide DS-will PFV EGO:AP

'Into the lake a child born in the monkey year shall be thrown as a meat offering.'

(470) *tsəkɯ́ otsə́ tsə́ki kɯ tsəkɯ́ méme kʰɯ́-ndzo tsəkɯ́ ótsə putsʰí*
D.M DEM that.year OBL D.M everyone NONS-gather.together D.M DEM child

sɔ́-lö tɕʰó tó-lö nɛ-dɛ́ ri tʰó-ŋo sə
three-CLF:GENR among one-CLF:GENR DOWN-throw NMLZ AS-be PFV

'On that year, everybody gathered together, and from the three children (they had to pick one) to throw into the lake.'

(471) *nɛ-dɛ́ rí ŋo pi kɯ tsəkʉ́ méme i tsəkʉ́.ŋotʰónyí dʑópu=nɛ tɕe*
DOWN-throw NMLZ be PFV OBL D.M everyone ERG D.M king=COLL.PL son
nɛ-dɛ́ ri nyʉ́-kə ti
DOWN-throw NMLZ NEG-can STA

'Now that a child has to be thrown into the lake, everybody says that they can't throw the son of the king's family.'

(472) *dʑópu ɣɛ tsəkʉ́.ŋotʰónyí dʑɛsɛ́ nú-ne, ónovɯ hi nyi*
king POSS D.M territory DOWN-rule DEM will EGO:AP

'He is supposed to rule the king's territory.'

(473) *pʰɔ́pɛ=nɛ tɕe nɛ-dɛ́ ri tɕɛ́-kə*
rich.man=COLL.PL son DOWN-throw NMLZ NEG-can

'Neither can the son of the rich man's family be thrown into the lake.'

(474) *dʑópu ɣɛ tsəkʉ́ tʂʰó ní-ndʑo, tʂántɕʰi pʰémɛ tʂɛ́lɛ tʰó-sü hí nyi*
king POSS D.M service DOWN-be.competent.for ? parents ? AS-finish will EGO:AP

'He is supposed to serve the king and take care of his parents.'

(475) *tɕʰú tsəkʉ́ pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ ɣɛ tsəkʉ́ tɕe nɛ-dɛ́ ri tɕɛ́-kə, ɛ́-no-vɯ*
then D.M beggar old.woman POSS D.M son DOWN-throw NMLZ NEG-can INTRG-DOWN-do
hi nyi
will EGO:AP

'Nor can the old beggar woman's son be thrown into the lake. What should they do?'

(476) *tʂɔ́kɛ tə́ vɯ pi kɯ tsəkʉ́ ótsə kɛ́tʂi tə́pi tsi tə́-tə tsəkʉ́,*
discussion say do PFV OBL D.M DEM PN be.called NMLZ+ERG UP-say D.M

'As they were discussing, the one called kɛtʂi spoke.'

(477) *tɕʰú nɛní tsəkʉ́.ŋotʰónyí tʂɔ́kɛ tə́ vʉ́ nyʉ́-hi, tsʰʉ́ tɕʰó tsé*
then 2PL+ERG D.M discussion say do NEG-will lake place REFL/3SG
nó-de tə́-tə sə nyi
DOWN-throw/1/2NONSG UP-say PFV EGO:AP

' "You don't have to discuss anymore, throw me into the lake." '

(478) *dʑópu=nɛ tɕe nɛ-dɛ́ tɕɛ́-kə, pʰɔ̃́pɛ=nɛ tɕe nɛ-dɛ́ tɕɛ́-kə, tse*
king=COLL.PL son DOWN-throw NEG-can rich.man=COLL.PL son DOWN-throw NEG-can LOG
tsʰɯ́ tɕʰó no-dé tə́-tə sə nyi
lake place DOWN-throw UP-throw PFV EGO:AP

‘ “The son of the king’s family cannot be thrown into the lake, the son of the rich man’s family cannot be thrown into the lake, throw me into the lake then.” ’

(479) *tsəkɯ́ nɛ-dɛ́ tə́ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ méme ná-ngə-ngá tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí*
D.M DOWN-throw say PFV OBL D.M everyone DOWN-PLUR-cry D.M

‘After he said that, everybody cried.’

(480) *putsʰí sɔ́-lö tsə́ le kʰú-tɕori tsəkɯ́ ná-ngə-ngɑ tsəkɯ́*
child three-CLF:GENR FOC DAT NONS-look D.M DOWN-PLUR-cry D.M

‘They looked at the three children and cried.’

(481) *nɛ-dɛ́ nyú-tɕʰo kʰɯ́-ɕo pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ otsí kɛ́tʂi i tə́-tə*
DOWN-throw NEG-have.the.heart.to NONS-come.out PFV OBL D.M 3SG+ERG PN ERG UP-say
tsəkɯ́
D.M

‘Seeing that they couldn’t harden their heart to do it, kɛtʂi spoke.’

(482) *tɕʰú ŋɯ́ nɛ-dɛ́ pi kɯ kí-ɣɔ ɣɛ mə́nə otsə́ tʂéɣu kʰɯ́-ɕo pi*
then 1SG DOWN-throw IMPF OBL year-each LK way DEM monkey.year NONS-come.out IMPF
mə́nə nɛ-dɛ́ nyɯ́-hi
way DOWN-throw NEG-will

‘ “When throwing me into the lake, don’t do it in the same way as before.” ’

(483) *tsé tə́-ndö ŋó tə́ sə nyi*
REFL/3SG UP-go/1SG EGO:SAP say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “I will go up by myself,” said kɛtʂi.’

(484) *tsəkɯ́ ótsə putsʰí tóntʂi tsí né nɛ-dɛ́ pi tʰó, tsénə tə-tʰé*
D.M DEM child two FOC+ERG 2SG DOWN-throw IMPF if 3PL.REFL UP-come/1/2NONSG
ŋó tə́-tə tsəkɯ́
EGO:SAP UP-say D.M

‘The other two children said: “If you are to be thrown into the lake, we will follow you up.” ’

(485) *dʑópu=nɛ tɕe rə́ pʰə́pɛ=nɛ tɕe=ni tə́-pʰɛdʑa vɯ́ sə nyi*
king=COLL.PL son and rich.man=COLL.PL son=PL+ERG UP-follow do PFV EGO:AP

‘The son of the king’s family and the son of the rich man’s family followed him.

(486) *tsəkɯ́ tə́-pʰɛdʑa pi kɯ tɕʰú tə-tɕɯ-pʰédze, ŋɯ́ nó-hə nyɯ-hó pinə́*
D.M UP-follow IMPF OBL for.now UP-PROH-follow.1/2NONSG 1SG DOWN-go NEG-will/1SG ?
tɛdʑɯ́me
possibly

‘As they were following, kɛtʂi said: “Don’t follow me for now, I may not go into the lake.” ’

(487) *tárə́ tə-tɕɯ́-re tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ otsə́ tə́-rɑ sə nyi*
for.nonw UP-PROH-come/1/2NONSG UP-say D.M 3SG UP-go PFV EGO:AP

‘ “Don’t come for now.” After saying that, he went along.’

(488) *kɛ́tʂi tə́-rɑ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ otsə́ tsʰű́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́ kɯ tsəkɯ́ ɣu tósə tʰó-i sə*
PN UP-go D.M D.M DEM lake POSS side OBL D.M grass much AS-COP:UPRIGHT PFV
nyi, ɣu rərə́ tosə́
EGO:AP grass long much

‘kɛtʂi went up to the lake, and there was lots of grass growing at the side of the lake, long grass.’

(489) *tsəkɯ́ ɣu rərə́ tsə́ ɣɛ ngɤtsʰű́ kɯ kʰɯ́-və tsəkɯ́ nbí sə nyi, tsʰű́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́*
D.M grass long FOC POSS below OBL NONS-hide D.M sit PFV EGO:AP lake POSS side

‘He hid himself under that long grass, at the lakeshore.’

(490) *kʰɛ́ nbí pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ ótsə pɛtɕí ti kɯ tsʰű́ tʰáda tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tiɛməɛkʰɔɣɛ*
side sit IMPF OBL D.M DEM a.while STA OBL lake wave D.M D.M oh
tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tə́-tsə tsəkɯ́
D.M UP-boil.up D.M

‘As he was sitting at the lake side, the waves in the lake, my goodness, they boiled up.’

(491) *otsə́ pi kɯ ótsə tɕʰó tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tá tó-lö tə́-ro sə nyi*
DEM IMPF OBL DEM place D.M tiger one-CLF:GENR UP-come PFV EGO:AP

‘At that moment, a tiger came out of the lake.’

(492) *otsə́ tsʰű́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́ ɣɛ tɐ́úmɛtʰá pu tə́-vəla tsəkú́ mónbo i-ndʑɛ́lɛ tsəkú́ ɣátso*
3SG lake POSS side POSS sand on UP-roll D.M whisker DS-lick D.M run.here
mótso tá-ra tú-vɯ tsəkú́
run.there one-VCLF UP-do D.M

'The tiger rolled on the sand on the lakeside, licked its whiskers, and ran around for a while.'

(493) *ótsə pi kɯ tsəkú́ ótsə ótsə ɣɛ ngɤ́tɐʰǘ kʰú́-və sə nyi*
DEM IMPF OBL D.M 3SG DEM POSS below NONS-hide PFV EGO:AP

'All the time, kɛtʂi kept hiding under the grass.'

(494) *pɛtɐ́í ti kɯ tsəkú́ ndzí tó-lö tə́-tʂɛ sə nyi, ótsə tá ɣɛ ndʑú*
a.while STA OBL D.M leopard one-CLF:GENR UP-come PFV EGO:AP DEM tiger POSS pal

'Then, a leopard came out, who was a friend of the tiger.'

(495) *ndzí tá-ra ɣátso mótso tú-vɯ tsəkú́ otsə́ pi kɯ mónbo i-ndʑɛ́lɛ tsəkú́*
leopard one-VCLF run.here run.there UP-do D.M DEM IMPF OBL whisker DS-lick D.M
otsə́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́ tá-ra tʰó-tso tsəkú́
DEM POSS side one-VCLF AS-run D.M

'The leopard ran around for a while, then licked his whiskers, and ran around.'

(496) *tsəkú́ pɛtɐ́í ti kɯ tónna tó-lö tə́-tʂɛ sə nyi*
D.M a.while STA OBL black.bear one-CLF:GENR UP-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'After a while, a black bear came out.'

(497) *tónna i tsəkú́ otsə́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́ tá-ra ɣátso mótso nú-vɯ*
bear ERG D.M DEM POSS side one-VCLF run.here run.there DOWN-do

'The bear ran around for a while.'

(498) *otsə́ pi kɯ tsəkú́ tá i tə́-tə sə nyi*
DEM IMPF OBL D.M tiger ERG UP-say PFV EGO:AP

'Then the tiger spoke.'

(499) *pəvə́ yoní putsʰí sɔ́-lö é-ndzə rí ndə́ nyi;*
this.year 1PL.INCL+ERG child three-CLF:GENR DS-eat NMLZ COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

tɕɯ-zə́ i tsəkɯ́ tɕi-lő́ é-ndzə rí ndə́ nyi, omənə́
each-CLF:MAN ERG D.M one-CLF:GENR DS-eat NMLZ COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP like.that

tə́-tə sə nyi
UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “This year, we have three children to eat; each of us will eat one child,” said the tiger.’

(500) *tsəkɯ́ tá i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ omənə́ tʰo-ŋó tʰó tsəkɯ́ tsé le dʑópu=nɛ́ tɕe*
D.M tiger ERG UP-say D.M like.that AS-be if D.M REFL/3SG DAT king=COLL.PL son

é-ndzə rí kʰɯ-tʰú pi nyi
DS-eat NMLZ NONS-turn IMPF EGO:AP

‘ The tiger said: “If that’s the case, then it will be my turn to eat the son of the king’s family.” ’

(501) *mɯ́ kʰu-ɕə́ ró ɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí dʑɔ́ tó-lö tʰó-ndə sə, kɛmú;*
fire NONS-preserve go REL D.M stone one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ABSTRACT PFV before

ótsə tsə́ mɯ́ɕətʰɛ
DEM FOC fire.preserving.stone

‘ “In the past, there used to be a kind of stone used to keep embers alive, which is called ‘fire-preserving-stone’.” ’

(502) *mɯ́ɕətʰɛ tú-tɕʰɯ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tsé ɣɛ tá-dʑɔ tú-tɕɯ tʰó tɕétɕe*
fire.preserving.stone UP-pick D.M REFL/3SG EXP one-VCLF.hit UP-do if heavily

kʰɯ-tsí tɕɛ́-hi, tsé okʰó tʰó-sə po nyi tə́ sə nyi
NONS-hit NEG-will REFL/3SG DEM AS-die IMPF/1SG EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “If he hits me with the fire preserving stone one time, even very slightly, then I will die there,” said the tiger.’

(503) *tsəkɯ́ ndzí i tə́ tsəkɯ́ tsé le pʰőpɛ=nɛ tɕe é-ndzə rí kʰɯ-tʰú*
D.M leopard ERG say D.M REFL/3SG DAT rich.man=COLL.PL son DS-eat NMLZ NONS-turn

pi nyi
IMPF EGO:AP

‘The leopard said: “it is my turn to eat the son of the rich man’s family.” ’

(504) *tsé ɣɛ tsəkʉ́ ndzəɣɔ́ tsə́ tú-tɕʰɯ rə́, tá-dʑɔ tú-tɕɯ tʰo, tɕétɕe*
REFL/3SG EXP D.M pot.broom FOC UP-pick soon.as one-VCLF.hit UP-do if heavily
kʰʉ́-tsi tɕɛ́-hi, tsé tʰó-sə po nyi tə́ sə nyi
NONS-hit NEG-will REFL/3SG AS-die IMPF/1SG EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “But if he hits me with the pot broom one time, even very slightly, then I will die,” said the leopard.’

(505) *tsəkʉ́ tónna i tə́ tsəkʉ́ tsé le kɛ́tʂi ɛ́-ndzə rí kʰɯ-tʰú pi nyi*
D.M black.bear ERG say D.M REFL/3SG DAT PN DS-eat NMLZ NONS-turn IMPF EGO:AP
sá,
but

‘The black bear said: “Although it is my turn to eat kɛtʂi,” ’

(506) *kɛ́tʂi i tsəkʉ́ tsʰaná tú-tɕʰɯ rə́ tá-dʑɔ tú-tɕɯ tʰó, ɛ́-ndzə rí*
PN ERG D.M pot.holder UP-pick soon.as one-VCLF.hit UP-do if AS-eat NMLZ
tɕɛ́-tö, tʰó-sə po nyi tə́ sə nyi
NEG-find/1SG AS-die IMPF/1SG EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “if kɛtʂi hits me with a pot holder one time, I can’t get anything to eat and will die,” said the black bear.’

(507) *tsəkʉ́.ŋotʰó ɣɔ́ɣɔ ótsə ɛ́-ɛu tsəkʉ́ na-rá sə nyi, nó-tɕʰi ra sə nyi*
D.M slowly 3SG DS-slip D.M DOWN-go PFV EGO:AP DOWN-flee go PFV EGO:AP

‘After hearing that, kɛtʂi went out of the grass and went away. He fled.’

(508) *nó-tɕʰi ra tsəkʉ́ tsəkʉ́ mʉ́ɛitʰɛ, ndzəɣɔ́, tsəkʉ́ tsʰaná oné*
DOWN-flee go D.M D.M fire-preserving-stone pot.broom and pot.holder 3PL
sɔ́-ka tsə́ tə́-tɕʰɯ ra tsəkʉ́ putsʰí sɔ́-lö tsə́ tə́-ra sə
three-CLF:KIND FOC UP-get EVID:DIRECT D.M child three-CLF:GENR FOC UP-go PFV

‘He fled back and got a fire-preserving stone, a pot broom and a pot holder. With those three things, the three children went off.’

(509) *otsə́ tsʰʉ́ ɣɛ kʰɛ́ tə́-tʂɛ pi kɯ oné mo-ndʑʉ́ sə nyi*
DEM lake POSS side UP-arrive IMPF OBL 3PL NEG-COP:ANIMATE PFV EGO:AP

‘When they got to the lakeshore, the three beasts were not there.’

(510) *tsʰű kʰú nó-ɕu ra sə tʰoŋósə ndzə́ rí mo-tá sə nyi*
lake in DOWN-slip go PFV MIR eat NMLZ NEG-get PFV EGO:AP

'It turned out that they had gone back into the lake, having found nothing to eat.'

(511) *mo-tá pi kɯ okʰó tsəkɯ́ yú oné sɔ́-zə okʰó kʰɯ́-və sə nyi*
NEG-see IMPF OBL DEM D.M again 3PL three-CLF:MAN DEM NONS-hide PFV EGO:AP

'They found nothing to eat, and the three children again hid themselves over there.'

(512) *kʰɯ́-və tsəkɯ́ tá tə́-ʈʂɛ sə nyi*
NONS-hide D.M tiger UP-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'As they were hiding there, the tiger came.'

(513) *tá i mónbo i-ndʑɛ́lɛ tsəkɯ́ dʑóp=nɛ tɕe ɛ́-ndzə po ŋo tə́-tə tsəkɯ́*
tiger ERG whisker DS-lick D.M king=COLL.PL son DS-eat IMPF/1SG EGO:AP UP-say D.M
okʰó tɕɯ́mɛtʰá pú tʰó-tso tsəkɯ́
there sand on AS-run D.M

'The tiger licked his whiskers and said he would eat the son of the king's family and ran onto the sand.'

(514) *ótsə pi kɯ dʑópu=nɛ tɕe i mɯ́ɕɯtʰɛ i tá-dʑɔ tə́-tɕɯ vɯ kɯ*
DEM IMPF OBL king=COLL.PL son ERG fire.preserving.stone INS one-VCLF.hit UP-do do D.M
okʰó tɕétɕe kʰɯ-tsí mó-hi tá okʰó tʰó-sə nyi
there heavily NONS-hit NEG-will tiger DEM AS-die EGO:AP

'The son of the king's family hit the tiger with the fire preserving stone once very slightly, and the tiger died there.'

(515) *tá okʰó tʰó-sə tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ pɛtɕí ti kɯ ndzí tsə́ tə́-ʈʂɛ sə nyi*
tiger there AS-die D.M D.M soon STA OBL leopard FOC UP-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'The tiger died there, and after a while the leopard came.'

(516) *ndzi tə́-ʈʂɛ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ pʰő̞pɛ=nɛ tɕe ɛ́-ndzə po ŋo tə́ okʰó*
leopard UP-arrive D.M D.M rich.man=COLL.PL son DS-eat IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP say DEM
ɣátso mótso tú-vɯ
run.here run.there UP-do

'The leopard came and said he would eat the son of the rich man's family and ran here and there.'

(517) *otsə́ pi kɯ pʰə́pɛ=nɛ tɕe i ndzəɣɔ́ i tá-dʑɔ tə́-tɕɯ vɯ́ tsəkɯ́*
DEM IMPF OBL rich.man=COLL.PL son ERG pot.broom INS one-VCLF.hit UP-do do D.M
ndzí okʰó tʰó-sə nyi
leopard there AS-die EGO:AP

'At that moment, the son of the rich man's family hit the leopard with the pot broom and the leopard died there.'

(518) *pɛtɕí ti kɯ tonná tə́-tʂɛ sə nyi*
soon STA OBL black.bear UP-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'After a while the black bear came.'

(519) *tónna tə́-tʂɛ tsəkɯ́ ɣátso mótso tá-ra tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́ kɛ́tʂi otsí*
black.bear UP-arrive D.M run.here run.there one-VCLF UP-do D.M PN 3SG+ERG
tsʰaná i tá-dʑɔ tə́-tɕɯ vɯ́ tsəkɯ́ sɔ́-lö tsə́ tʰó-sə nyi
pot.holder INS one-VCLF.hit UP-do do D.M three-CLF:GENR FOC AS-die EGO:AP

'The black bear came and ran here and there and kɛtʂi hit it with the pot holder, and all three were dead.'

(520) *tʰó-sə pi kɯ tsʰű́ tə́-tsə tsəkɯ́ tsʰű́ no-rí tsəkɯ́ mé tʰə-vá sə nyi*
AS-die IMPF OBL lake UP-boil.up D.M lake DOWN-dry.up D.M NEG AS-become PFV EGO:AP

'After they died, the lake boiled up, went dry, and disappeared.'

(521) *mé tʰə-vá pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ löŋő kɛ́yi rile tsəkɯ́ okʰú ɐɛ́tʂʰo*
NEG AS-become IMPF OBL D.M year many generation D.M in.there meat.service
nɛ́-tʂɑ hí tsə́, ɐɛ́tʂʰo nɛ-tʂá nyɯ́-hi tʰə-vá sə nyi
DOWN-provide will NMLZ meat.service DOWN-provide NEG-will AS-become PFV EGO:AP

'As they had died, the meat sacrifice, which had been provided to the lake for many generations, did not need to be provided anymore.'

(522) *tsəkɯ́ sɔ́-zə nɑ-rá tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ démise méme kʰú-ndzo tsəkɯ́*
D.M three-CLF:MAN DOWN-go D.M D.M people everyone NONS-gather.together D.M

'The three children went down and everybody gathered around.'

(523) *tsəkɯ́ tɐʰú yoní tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí okʰú ɐ́ʈʂʰo né-ʈʂa nyɯ́-hi*
D.M then 1PL.INCL+ERG D.M inside.that meat.service DOWN-provide NEG-will
nó-ve ŋo
DOWN-do/1/2NONSG EGO:SAP

‘ “From now on we don’t have to provide meat sacrifice to the lake anymore.” ’

(524) *é-ndzə mi=nə tséni no-sé ŋo, tsʰű́ nó-ri to-dí*
DS-eat NMLZ=PL 3PL.REFL+ERG DOWN-kill/1/2NONSG EGO:SAP lake UP-dry.up AS-finish
ra
EVID:DIRECT

‘ “Those who eat meat have been killed and the lake is all dried up.” ’

(525) *tɐʰú tsəkɯ́ löŋő kɛ́yi ɣɛ rilé tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ɐ́ʈʂʰo né-ʈʂa*
then D.M year many LK generation D.M meat.service DOWN-provide
se nyi; tɐʰú tsəkɯ́ ɐ́ʈʂʰo né-ʈʂa nyɯ́-hi nó-ve
PFV/1/2NONSG EGO:AP then D.M meat.service DOWN-provide NEG-will DOWN-do/1/2NONSG
ŋo tə́-tə sə nyi
EGO:SAP UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “We provided meat sacrifice for so many generations, and finally we don’t have to do it anymore,” people said.’

(525) *tsəkɯ́ tɐʰiníndzu tsəkɯ́ tʰó-ngə tsəkɯ́ méme i tsəkɯ.ŋotʰónyi onə́ le tsəkɯ́*
D.M very D.M AS-be.happy D.M everyone ERG D.M 3PL DAT D.M
okʰó mekʰú tú-hə tsəkɯ́ tɐʰiníndzu nó-vɯ tsəkɯ́ otsə́ sə nyi
there house UP-welcome D.M very DOWN-do D.M DEM PFV EGO:AP

‘They were extremely happy and everyone welcomed the three children to their homes and they celebrated.’

(526) *pɛtɕí ti kɯ ótsə kɛ́ʈʂi təpi tsí tɐʰú tsé nbí nyɯ́-po, tsé hə́*
soon STA OBL DEM PN called FOC+ERG then REFL/3SG stay NEG-IMPF/1SG REFL/3SG go
po ŋo
IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP

‘After a while kɛʈʂi said that he wouldn’t stay here, that he will go.’

(527) *dʑópu=nɛ tɕe rə́ otsə́=nə lɛrə́ nɛnínə okʰó nbé tə́-tə sə nyi*
king=COLL.PL son and 3SG=PL and 2DU DEM stay/1/2NONSG UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘He said to the son of the king’s family and the son of the rich man’s family: “You two stay here”.’

(528) *dʑópu=nɛ tɕe lɛrə́ dʑópu ɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí dʑɛ́sɛ nú-ne hí nyi, ókʰo*
king=COLL.PL son and king POSS D.M territory DOWN-rule will EGO:AP DEM
nbɛ́ tə́ sə nyi
stay/2SG say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “The son of the king’s family is to rule the territory of the king, you two stay here,” he said.’

(529) *pʰőpɛ=nɛ tɕe lɛrə́ tsəkɯ́ dʑópu ɣɛ tʂo ní-ndʑo, tʂəntɕʰi*
rich.man=COLL.PL son and D.M king POSS service DOWN-be.competent.for ?
pʰémɛ tʂɛ́lɛ tʰo-sű́ hí nyi, nɛ́nə nbé
parents ? AS-finish will EGO:AP 2PL stay/1/2NONSG

‘ “And the son of the rich man’s family is to serve the king and take care of his parents, you two stay here.” ’

(530) *ŋɯ́ tɕʰi tɕɯ́-re, tsé rə́ hə́ po ŋo tə́-tə sə nyi*
1SG with NEG-come/1/2NONSG REFL/3SG and go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “Do not come with me, I am leaving now.” ’

(531) *tsəkɯ́ ónovɯ pi kɯ otsíni kʰɤ́-seŋa vɯ́ má-ŋa*
D.M do.like.that IMPF OBL 3DU+ERG NONS-listen.to do NEG-be.good

‘In spite of what he said, the two children would not listen.’

(532) *tsəkɯ́ kɛ́tʂi tsə́ hə́ pi kɯ, tsəkɯ́ tʰá-pʰɛdʑa tsəkɯ́ sɔ́-zə hə́ hi kʰɯ́-ɕo*
D.M PN FOC go IMPF OBL D.M AS-follow D.M three-CLF:MAN go will NONS-come.out
sə nyi
PFV EGO:AP

‘As kɛtʂi was leaving, the two followed him, so that the three went together.’

(533) *sɔ́-zə hə́ hi kʰɯ́-ɐo tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tɛ́-kʰɛ ró tʰɛ-ʈʂɛ́ pi kɯ,*
three-CLF:MAN go will NONS-come.out D.M D.M one-CLF:PLACE place AS-arrive IMPF OBL
putsʰí tósə i dɯnbɯ́ tɛ́-zɛ no-tə́-tu pi ti kɯ tʰɛ-ʈʂɛ́ sə
child many ERG stick one-CLF:LONG NONS-PLUR-fight.for IMPF D.M OBL AS-arrive PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

'The three left and as they arrived at a place, they found that there were many children fighting for a stick.'

(534) *tsəkɯ́ nɛní omənə́ dɯnbɯ́ tɛ́-zɛ no-tə́-tu tsəkɯ́ ɛ-tʰɑ*
D.M 2PL+ERG like.that stick one-CLF:LONG DOWN-PLUR-fight.for D.M INTRG-do
pe tə́ sə nyi, putsʰí=nə tə́-sə-so pi tʰo-ŋó sə pu
IMPF/1/2NONSG say PFV EGO:AP child=PL UP-PLUR-fight IMPF AS-be PFV CFP

' "Why are you fighting for a stick?" they asked—the children were fighting with each other.'

(535) *otsə́ dɯnbɯ́ tɕʰiníndʐu pítsɔ tɛ́-zɛ nyi*
DEM stick very superb one-CLF:LONG EGO:AP

' "This stick is superb." '

(536) *ndʐɵ́ ndɵ́ i pékɛ təpi tsə́ nyi*
walk wish LK stick be.called NMLZ EGO:AP

'It is called the stick of "wish-and-walk".'

(537) *yoní hóti tʰo-hə́ hí se nə́ otsə́ tʰí-ndzu kɯ rəkə́ hí nyɯ́-ŋo ti*
1PL.INCL+ERG where AS-go will want/1/2NONSG if DEM AS-point OBL walk will NEG-be STA
ókʰo tʰɛ-ʈʂɛ́ pi nyi, tə́-tə sə nyi
DEM AS-arrive IMPF EGO:AP UP-say PFV EGO:AP

' "No matter where we want to go, just point the stick in that direction and we will arrive there, without any need to walk," they said.'

(538) *tsəkɯ́ kɛ́ʈʂi i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ nɛnə́ tə́-sə-so tɕɛ́-hi*
D.M PN ERG UP-say D.M 2PL UP-PLUR-fight NEG-will

'kɛʈʂi said "You don't need to fight." '

(539) *otsə́ pá tómu ɛ́-he tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí*
DEM lawn top DS-go/1/2NONSG D.M

‘ “Go downstream to the end of that piece of lawn.” ’

(540) *ɛ́-he, tsəkɯ́ mídʑu ɣɔ́-le kɯ tónpu tə-ʈʂɛ́ mí tsə́ le tʰó-kʰɛ tsʰɯ́ tə́*
DS-go/1/2NONSG D.M run US-go D.M first UP-arrive NMLZ FOC DAT AS-give can say
sə nyi
PFV EGO:AP

‘ “Go downstream, then run upstream against each other. The first one to come back can claim the stick,” he said.’

(541) *putsʰí=nə kʰɔ́ i ʈʂʰapi ŋómɯ ɑ-rá sə nyi okʰó*
child=PL ? ? ? ? DS-go PFV EGO:AP DEM

‘The children fell for that and went downstream.’

(542) *ɑ-rá kɯ́, putsʰí=ni ɣí-ro nyɯ́-tʰɑ ró ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ hí tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ dɯnbɯ́*
DS-go OBL child=PL+ERG US-catch.up NEG-can place US-arrive will UP-say D.M stick
ɣí-ndzu tsəkɯ́ ókʰo ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ sə nyi
US-point D.M DEM US-arrive PFV EGO:AP

‘As they went downstream, the three children said: “To an upstream place where we cannot be reached,” and pointed the stick upstream, and they arrived in a place.’

(543) *tsəkɯ́ ɣɤ-rá sə nyi*
D.M US-go PFV EGO:AP

‘So they went upstream.’

(544) *tɛ́-kʰɛ ró ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ pi ti kɯ tsəkɯ́ putsʰí tósə i tá tó-lö*
one-CLF:PLACE place US-arrive IMPF D.M OBL D.M child many ERG hat one-CLF:GENR
no-tə́-tu pi ró kʰɯ́-ʈʂɛ sə nyi
DOWN-PLUR-fight IMPF place NONS-arrive PFV EGO:AP

‘They went to a place where many children were fighting for a hat.’

(545) *nɛní omənə́ tá tó-lö no-tə́-tu tsəkɯ́ ɛ-tʰá pe tə́*
2PL+ERG like.that hat one-CLF:GENR DOWN-PLUR-fight.for D.M INTRG-do PFV/1/2NONSG say
sə nyi
PFV EGO:AP

‘ “Why are you fighting for a hat like that?” ’

(546) *otsə́ tá kɯ, tə́-ta tʰo-dí kɯ, ndʑú=ni tɕa-tá tə́ sə nyi, ndʑɯté*
DEM hat OBL UP-put.on AS-finish OBL other=PL+ERG NEG-see say PFV EGO:AP world
məní tínə tɕa-tá
people any NEG-see

‘ “When putting on this hat, others cannot see you, nobody in the world can see you.” ’

(547) *mɛrí pi tʂoʑɛ́ tə́pi tsə́ nyi tə́ sə nyi*
? ? ? be.called NMLZ EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “It is called ‘the invisibility hat’, ” they said.’

(548) *tsəkɯ́ nɛní no-tə́-tu tɕɛ́-hi*
D.M 2PL+ERG DOWN-PLUR-fight NEG-will

‘ “You don’t need to fight with each other.” ’

(549) *nɛnə́ otsə́ pá ɣɛ tomú tsəkɯ́ mídʑu ɣɔ́-lə ró ɛ́-he*
2PL DEM lawn POSS end D.M run US-go come DS-go/1/2NONSG

‘ “Go downstream to the end of that lawn then run back against each other.” ’

(550) *tónpu ɣɤ́-tʂɛ mí tsə́ le tséni tʰó-kʰe pe ŋo tə́ sə*
first US-arrive NMLZ FOC DAT 3PL.REFL+ERG AS-give IMPF/1/2NONSG EGO:SAP say PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

‘ “We will give the hat to the first one who comes back,” the three children said.’

(551) *putsʰí=nə kʰó okʰó ɑ-rá kɯ lő̃ŋo otsə́ dɯnbɯ́ tsə́ ɣí-ndzu vɯ́ tsəkɯ́*
child=PL ? there DS-go OBL certainly DEM stick FOC US-point do D.M
séyó.úyó ɣɤ́-tʂɛ
far.away.upstream US-arrive

‘After they went downstream, the three children, needless to say, (took the hat) and pointed the stick and arrived upstream (far away).’

(552) *putsʰí=nə ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ pi ré kɯ tínə mó-ndʑɯ vú́ sə nyi*
child=PL US-arrive IMPF as.soon.as OBL anyone NEG-COP:ANIMATE do PFV EGO:AP

'As the children ran back, nobody was to be found.'

(553) *tsəkú́ okʰó ɣɤ-rá sə nyi*
D.M DEM US-go PFV EGO:AP

'The three children went further to a place upstream.'

(554) *ɣɤ́-ra tsəkú́ okʰó wurí ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ pi ti kɯ, putsʰí tósə i kʰə́lö*
US-go D.M DEM upstream US-arrive IMPF D.M D.M child many ERG tsampa.container
tó-lö no-tə́-tu pi ró ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ sə nyi
one-CLF:GENR DOWN-PLUR-fight.for IMPF place US-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'As they arrived at that place, they found that many children were fighting for a tsampa container.'

(555) *nɛní ontólö no-tə́-tu tsəkú́ ɛ́-tʰa pe tə́ sə nyi*
2PL+ERG like.that DOWN-PLUR-fight D.M INTRG-do IMPF/1/2NONSG say PFV EGO:AP

' "Why are you fighting like that ?" they asked.'

(556) *otsə́ kʰə́lö kɯ tsəkú́ ɛməkʰó tsɛ́ndu i pórə təpi tsə́ nyi*
DEM tsampa.container D.M D.M oh ? ? ? be.called NMLZ EGO:AP

' "This tsampa container is called 'the container of requirement.' " '

(557) *yoní ɛntólö ɛ́-ndzə hí sɔ pe tʰó-ŋo ti, múlo tó-lö*
1PL.INCL+ERG like.what DS-eat will want IMPF/1/2NONSG AS-be D.M wish one-CLF:GENR
tú-ʈɐo kɯ ti, kʰála tú-tsütsü pi tsə́ ɛ́-ndzə mɛrɛ́ nyi tə́ sə nyi
UP-make D.M D.M hot.steam UP-go IMPF FOC AS-eat ? EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

' "Whatever we want to eat, we make a wish and the food will come out with hot steam, ready to be eaten." '

(558) *tsəkú́ nɛní no-tə́-tu ʈɐɛ́-hi, okʰó wuvə́ pá tómu ɛ́-he,*
D.M 2PL+ERG DOWN-PLUR-fight.for NEG-will DEM downstream lawn end DS-go/1/2NONSG
mídʑu ɣó-lə ro ɛ́-he
run US-go come DS-go/1/2NONSG

' "There's no need to fight, go downstream to the end of that lawn, then run upstream against each other." '

(559) *tónpu ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ mí tsə́ le tʰo-kʰé tsʰú tə́ sə nyi*
first US-arrive NMLZ FOC DAT AS-give can say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “And the first one to come back will be given the container.” ’

(560) *putsʰí=nə ɑ-rá kɯ məndʑɯ́ rə́ ndʐɛ́ndʐɛ, okʰó ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ pi rə́ kɯ ti,*
child=PL DS-go OBL just.now with same DEM DS-arrive IMPF as.soon.as OBL D.M
tɛ́-kʰɛ nyɯ́-ndʑɯ tʰə-vá sə nyi
one-CLF:PLACE NEG-COP:ANIMATE AS-become PFV EGO:AP

‘The children went downstream, and just as before, when they came back nothing (and nobody) was to be found anywhere.’

(561) *tsəkɯ́ ókʰo ɣɤ-rá sə nyi, sɔ́-zə ti, ómənə tɕɛ́kʰɛ́ ti sɔ́-kɑ tʰó-ta*
D.M DEM US-go PFV EGO:AP three-CLF:MAN D.M like.that thing D.M three-CLF:KIND AS-find
sə nyi
PFV EGO:AP

‘So they went upstream over there, the three of children, after having found those three things.’

(562) *sɔ́-kɑ tʰó-ta tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ɣɤ́-rɑ, tsəkɯ́ tɛ́-kʰɛ ró ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ sə nyi*
three-CLF:KIND AS-find D.M D.M US-go D.M one-CLF:PLACE place US-arrive PFV EGO:AP

‘ They found those three things and went upstream, and arrived at a (certain) place.’

(563) *dʑonkʰó kʰɛ́kʰɛ́ tó-lö pu ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ pi tʰoŋósə*
country different one-CLF:GENR to US-arrive IMPF MIR

‘They arrived at a different country.’

(564) *dʑonkʰó kʰɛ́kʰɛ́ tó-lö pu ɣɤ́-ʈʂɛ pí kɯ tsəkɯ́ onɛ́ kɯ dʑópu tsə́*
country different one-CLF:GENR on US-arrive IMPF OBL D.M 3PL+POSS D.M king FOC
tsəkɯ́ ɛmukʰó té nyɯ́-ŋa
D.M oh at.all NEG-right

‘They arrived at a different country, and the king of that country was not well at all.’

(565) *dʑópu kutʂʰɛ́ tʰó-ndə nə́, kutʂʰɛ́ tə́-tʰö nyɯ́-tʰɑ ti*
king reincarnation AS-COP:ABSTRACT even.if reincarnation UP-grow NEG-can STA

‘Even if the king was reincarnated, he could not grow up.’

(566) *tínə tə́-ndzo nyɯ́-tʰa tsəkɯ́*
anyone UP-grow.up NEG-can D.M

'No king could grow up.'

(567) *ótsə pú kɯ tʰó-sə ɸéɸo mí tɛ́-kʰɛ tʰo-ŋó sə nyi*
DEM on OBL AS-die always NMLZ one-CLF:PLACE AS-be PFV EGO:AP

'It was a country where its kings kept dying.'

(568) *ókʰo ɣɤ́-tʂɛ pi tʰoŋósə*
there US-arrive PFV MIR

'It was in such a place that they arrived.'

(569) *ótsə dʑópu tí-si pi tsə́ si kɯ ónə okʰó ɣɤ́-tʂɛ sə nyi*
DEM king UP-select IMPF NMLZ day OBL 3PL DEM US-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'On the day they arrived, the king of that country was in the process of being selected.'

(570) *tí-si pi tsə́ pu kɯ omənə́ nó-vɯ pi tʰoŋósə nyi*
UP-select IMPF NMLZ on OBL like.this DOWN-do IMPF MIR EGO:AP

'The selection is carried out in this way.'

(571) *tsəkɯ́ tsénɛ dépu tsəkɯ́ putsʰí rínindzɛ títi ómənə putsʰí sívɯ=ménə*
D.M 3PL.REFL+POSS country D.M child extraordinary ? like.that child good=SIM.PL
ómənə saasá=ménə ónə méme okʰó tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tʂó nú-dzi tɕʰí tsəkɯ́
like.that clear=SIM.PL 3SG all DEM D.M D.M line DOWN-line.up make D.M

'All the children of that country who are extraordinary, good, and clever, they form a line over there.'

(572) *rədʑɯ tsəkɯ́ lánputɕʰe sɛ́lɛ róte tə́pi tsi tsəkɯ́ nɛ́dʑa pú tsəkɯ́ kʰátɛ aɕí*
arrange D.M elephant ? ? be.called NMLZ+ERG D.M trunk on D.M hada best
tɛ́-zɛ ɛ́-tɕʰɯ tsəkɯ́
one-CLF:GENR DS-carry D.M

'Having formed a line, an elephant called *sɛlɛ rote* will carry a piece of fine hada on its trunk.'

(573) *dʑópu tʰó-ndʑɯ tʰó tʰɛ́-ndö mópisə ótsə le kʰɔ́-lə pi tʰoŋósə nyi*
king AS-COP:ANIMATE if AS-get.wrong won't DEM DAT NONS-present IMPF MIR EGO:AP

'If the king is among them, the elephant will present the hada to him without any mistake.'

(574) *tsəkɯ́ oní otsə́ putsʰí ʈʂó nú-dʐi sə nɛ́pʰɛ ti kɯ, ótsə putsʰí só-lö*
D.M 3PL+ERG D.M child line DOWN-line.up PFV crowd STA OBL DEM child three-CLF:GENR
tsí tsəkɯ́ otsə́ tá tsə́ tə́-ta tsəkɯ́ ókʰo tə́-tɕatɕa nbí sə nyi
FOC+ERG D.M DEM hat FOC UP-put.on D.M DEM UP-close sit PFV EGO:AP

'As those children were lined up and crowding each other, the three children put on the invisibility hat and sat down to the side close to each other.'

(575) *nbí pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ lánputɕʰe tə́-ro tsəkɯ́ otsə́ putsʰí=nə le té kʰáta*
sit IMPF OBL D.M elephant UP-come D.M DEM child=PL DAT at.all hada
kʰɔ́-mo-lə sə rəká pi kɯ
NONS-NEG-present PFV walk IMPF OBL

'As they were sitting there, the elephant came and walked around, but didn't present the hada to anyone.'

(576) *okʰó pʰɛ́ ti kɯ kʰáta rutɕɯ́ sə nyi*
DEM side D.M OBL hada put PFV EGO:AP

'It put down the hada on the side.'

(577) *tsəkɯ́ ókʰo ná-ntsʰu sə nyi, tópi i tsəkɯ́ ɛrí ŋo, yonɛ́*
D.M DEM DOWN-go.chaos PFV EGO:AP someone ERG D.M why EGO:SAP 1PL.INCL+POSS
dʑópu tə́-tʰö nyɯ́-tʰa ti
king UP-grow NEG-can STA

'Then the crowd went into a chaos, and someone said: "Why is this? Why is it that our king can never grow up?' "

(578) *tsəkɯ́ lánputɕʰe i lɤ́təhi pi tə́-tə sə nyi*
D.M elephant ERG trick IMPF UP-say PFV EGO:AP

' "That elephant is making fool of us !" someone said.'

(579) *tsəkɯ́ tópi i tə́ tsəkɯ́ lánputɕʰe i lɤ́təhi tɕɛ́-ndɑ*
D.M someone ERG say D.M elephant ERG trick NEG-used.to

' Then someone else said "The elephant never fooled us before." '

(580) *dʑópu kɛ́yi ɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí kutʂʰɛ́ tʰu-tsɛ́ sə nyi, tʂʰítsəkʰɛ tsə́ mətsʰé*
king many POSS D.M reincarnation AS-find PFV EGO:AP right ? only
lɤ́təhi tɕɛ́-ndɑ
trick NEG-used.to

‘ “It has found many reincarnated kings correctly and never played any tricks on us.” ’

(581) *tɕʰú ɛrí ŋo tə́-tə tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí otsə́ pi kɯ nə́-ntsʰu pi ti kɯ*
then why EGO:SAP UP-say D.M DEM IMPF OBL DOWN-go.chaos IMPF D.M OBL

‘ “Then why is that ?” As the crowd was in a chaos, ’

(582) *tsəkɯ́ tá tsə́ mɯ́mɯ i ɣɤ́-dɛvə tsəkɯ́ okʰó putsʰí sɔ́-gɛ ɛ́-bo sə*
D.M hat FOC wind ERG US-lift.up D.M DEM child three-CLF:GENR DS-appear PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

‘a wind blew the hat off and the three children became visible.’

(583) *putsʰí sɔ́-gɛ ɛ́-bo pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ tópi i tə́ sə nyi, dʑópu*
child three-CLF:GENR DS-appear IMPF OBL D.M someone ERG say IMPF EGO:AP king
tó-lö okʰú ndʑɯ́ rɑ
one-CLF:GENR in.there COP:ANIMATE EVID:DIRECT

‘As the three children appeared, someone said: “A king is among them.” ’

(584) *dʑópu sɔ́-zə tólö tɕɛ́-ndʑɯ, tɕʰú ti dʑópu tó-zə mətsʰé*
king three-CLF:MAN COMP NEG-COP:ANIMATE then D.M king one-CLF:MAN only

‘ “There is no such thing as there being three kings, there can only be one king.” ’

(585) *tsəkɯ́ putsʰí sɔ́-lö tsə́ okʰó ɛ́-tʂɑ tsəkɯ́ lánputɕʰe yólo tə́-ro tsəkɯ́*
D.M child three-CLF:GENR FOC DEM DS-arrange D.M elephant again UP-come D.M

‘The three children were seated there and the elephant came up again.’

(586) *tsəkɯ́ kʰáta tsə́ kʰɔ́-lə pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ ótsə dʑópu=nɛ tɕe tsə́ le*
D.M hada FOC NONS-present IMPF OBL DEM DEM king=COLL.PL son FOC DAT
kʰɔ́-lə sə nyi
NONS-present PFV EGO:AP

‘And the hada was presented to the son of the king’s family.’

(587) *dʑópu=nɛ tɕe le kʰó-lə pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ onɛ́ dʑópu tsə́ otsə́*
king=COLL.PL son DAT NONS-present IMPF OBL D.M 3PL+POSS king FOC DEM
dʑópu=nɛ tɕe tʰo-ŋó sə nyi
king=COLL.PL son AS-be PFV EGO:AP

'After the hada was presented, their king was the son of the king's family.'

(588) *tsəkɯ́ okʰó ʈʂʰőndö tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́, tsʰőndö tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́ otsə́ pi tʰoŋósə nyi*
D.M DEM ascension UP-do D.M ascension UP-do D.M DEM IMPF MIR EGO:AP

'Then the ceremony of ascension is performed, it will be done.'

(589) *tsəkɯ́ tsə́hu okʰó nbí sə nyi*
D.M that.night DEM stay PFV EGO:AP

'The three children stayed there that night.'

(590) *tsə́hu okʰó nbí tsəkɯ́ okʰó tsəkɯ́ mekʰú tsəkɯ́ ʈʂʰőndö tú-vɯ tʰo-dí sə nyi,*
that.night DEM stay D.M DEM D.M house D.M ascension UP-do AS-finish PFV EGO:AP
dʑópu=nɛ tɕe tsə́
king=COLL.PL son FOC

'They stayed there and the son of the king's family finished his ascension in the house.'

(591) *sɛ́sə tsəkɯ́ tʰótsa gú ɣɛ tómu tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tsʰőndö tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́ tʰo-dí*
next.day D.M building nine POSS top D.M ascension UP-do D.M AS-finish
pi kɯ dʑópu támɛ tsə́ tʰə-vá pi tʰoŋósə nyi
IMPF OBL king real FOC AS-become IMPF MIR EGO:AP

'After finishing his ascent to the top of a nine-storey building the next day, he will formally be the king.'

(592) *tsəkɯ́ ótsə hú kɯ, tsəkɯ́ okʰó tólo rúdʑɯ sə nyi, sɔ́-zə*
D.M DEM night OBL D.M DEM together stay PFV EGO:AP three-CLF:MAN

'They stayed together over there on that night, the three children.'

(593) *tólo rútɕɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ otsə́ pi kɯ dʑópu=nɛ mətsá tó-lö*
together stay D.M D.M DEM IMPF OBL king=COLL.PL daughter one-CLF:GENR
tʰó-ndʑɯ sə nyi
AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV EGO:AP

'They stayed together and at that time the former king's family had a daughter.'

(594) *dʑópu=nɛ mətsá tsə́ otsə́ dəmú tʰo-ŋó sə nyi*
king=COLL.PL daughter FOC 3SG demoness AS-be PFV EGO:AP

'The daughter of the king's family turned out to be a demoness.'

(595) *otsɛ́ ɕípɛ tsə́ sénbu tó-lö ngú-ro tsəkú̱ məní le tú-tɕe*
3SG+POSS husband FOC demon one-CLF:GENR TS-come D.M human DAT UP-reincarnate
ri mo-tá
NMLZ NEG-can

'Her husband was a demon but was not able to reincarnate as a human being.'

(596) *ŋémo tó-lö le tú-tɕe tsəkú̱*
COW one-CLF:GENR DAT UP-reincarnate D.M

'He reincarnated through a cow.'

(597) *sénbu tsə́ ŋémo le tú-tɕe rə, biyí tó-lö í-ndʑü pi, məɣé*
demon FOC cow DAT UP-reincarnate as.soon.as calf one-CLF:GENR DS-be.born IMPF bull
tó-lö í-ndʑü tsəkú̱ ɔ́ləthő̱ thó-ndʑɯ sə nyi
one-CLF:GENR DS-be.born D.M cattle.shed AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV EGO:AP

'He reincarnated through a cow and was born as a calf then grew up to a bull, and lived in a cattle shed.'

(598) *tsəkú̱ otsí hákʰukö sə nyi, kɛ́tʂi i hákʰukö sə nyi*
D.M 3SG+ERG know PFV EGO:AP PN ERG know PFV EGO:AP

'And he knows about it, kɛtʂi knows it all.'

(599) *otsínə kʰú̱-mə sə nyi*
3DU NONS-sleep PFV EGO:AP

'The other two children went to sleep.'

(600) *tsəkú̱ ótsə tsə́ té kʰú̱-mo-mə sə nyi, kɛ́tʂi té kʰú̱-mo-mə sə nyi*
DEM 3SG FOC at.all NONS-NEG-sleep PFV EGO:AP PN at.all NONS-NEG-sleep PFV EGO:AP

'He couldn't sleep, kɛtʂi couldn't sleep at all.'

(601) *kʰú̱-mo-mə tsəkú̱ kʰóndʐendʐə sə sá pɛtɕí məɣé tə́-tʂɛ sə nyi*
NONS-NEG-sleep D.M eavesdrop PFV but soon bull UP-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'Unable to fall to sleep, he went to eavesdrop, and soon the bull came.'

(602) *məɣə́ tə́-tʂɛ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ mətsá tɕʰí kʰɛ́ tú-to sə nyi*
bull UP-arrive D.M D.M king=COLL.PL daughter with word UP-talk PFV EGO:AP

'The bull arrived and talked with the daughter of the king's family.'

(603) *kʰɛ́ tu-tó pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ otsí okʰó tɕɛ́kʰɛ́ ti kɛ́tɕʰikɛŋá ndʑɯ́ nyi, ókʰo*
word UP-talk IMPF OBL D.M 3SG+ERG DEM thing D.M superb have EGO:AP there
kʰɤ́-seŋa ró na-rá sə nyi
NONS-listen go DOWN-go PFV EGO:AP

'As they were talking, kɛtʂi, who had those three good things, went down to listen.'

(604) *kʰɤ́-seŋa ró na-rá tsəkɯ́ otsí məɣə́ i tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ mətsá le tɕʰú*
NONS-listen go DOWN-go D.M 3SG+ERG bull ERG D.M king=COLL.PL daughter DAT then
ɛntólö vá ti tə́ sə nyi
like.what come.out STA say PFV EGO:AP

'He went down to listen and the bull said to the daughter of the king's family "how is it this time?" '

(605) *tɕʰú ti dʑópu ɣɛ sɔ́lɛ ná-ntɕʰɔ ɛ-kú rasə, oməná tə́ sə nyi*
then D.M king POSS life DOWN-take INTRG-can possible like.that say IMPF EGO:AP

' "Can we take the life of the king this time?" The bull asked.'

(606) *tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ mətsá i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ tɕʰuwú yonínɛ kólo ɕó ti*
D.M king=COLL.PL daughter ERG UP-say D.M this.time 1DU.INCL+EXP hard come.out STA
tə́ sə nyi
say PFV EGO:AP

'The daughter of the king's family said: "We have trouble this time." '

(607) *sɔ́lɛ ná-ntʂʰɔ kú ro kólo ɕó ti*
life DOWN-take can go hard come.out STA

' "It is not easy to take his life." '

(608) *dʑópu támɛ tsə́ rə́ kʰɛ́kʰɛ́ tó-zə i kʰó tínə hányukö ti sɑ,*
king real FOC and different one-CLF:MAN ERG at.all anything formative-NEG-know STA but
onɛ́ ndʑú katɕʰá tó-lö mú
3PL+POSS friend bad one-CLF:GENR COP:MOVE

' "While the real king and the other one know nothing, they have a very bad friend." '

(609) *otsə́ tɕʰí kólo ɕó ti tə́ sə nyi*
3SG with hard come.out STA say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “It is difficult to deal with him,” said the daughter of the king’s family.’

(610) *tsəkɯ́ məɣə́ i tə́ tsəkɯ́ nyú-ngɛ*
D.M bull ERG say D.M NEG-matter

‘The bull said: “Don’t worry about that.” ’

(611) *sɛ́sə kɯ nɛ́ i okʰó tsəkɯ́ tánpu mekʰú tsəkɯ́ ʈʂʰőndö tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́ hí ŋo*
next.day OBL 2SG ERG DEM D.M first house D.M ascension UP-do D.M will EGO:SAP
tə́-tɛ
UP-say/2SG

‘ “Tomorrow you tell them that the ascension ceremony shall be first held in the house.” ’

(611) *ʈʂʰőndö tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́ méme i tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ʈʂʰó nú-dʑi tsəkɯ́ yutʂi nónʈʰe*
ascension UP-do D.M everyone ERG D.M line DOWN-arrange D.M chair ?
tsəkɯ́ okʰu nbí tsəkɯ́
D.M in.there sit D.M

‘ “During ascension everybody will be seated at the table according to the order of seniority.” ’

(612) *tsəkɯ́ ókʰu tsəkɯ́ yű rə tɕɛ́ kʰɯ́-tʂa pʰúke tsəkɯ́ ɕɛ́ tʰú mó só*
D.M in.there D.M wine and meat NONS-provide ? D.M meat dairy butter three
nbépu nó-vɯ tsəkɯ́ pʰúke ʈʂándʑinbɛ ómənə rəká tsəkɯ́
usual DOWN-make D.M ? servant like.this walk D.M

‘ “Then in the house wine and tea shall be provided, and common food such as meat, dairy products and butter should also be there; there should also be some servants walking around to serve guests.” ’

(613) *tsəkɯ́ tɕʰiníndʑu tɛ́dʑɛ tólö no-vű tə́ sə nyi*
D.M very impressive ADV DOWN-make/2SG say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “You should make everything impressive,” said the bull.’

(614) *tsé i tsəkɯ́ mɯ́kʰö kʰú tsəkɯ́ ʈʂə́ɣö tó-lö le ʈʂőpɛ nó-vɯ*
REFL/3SG ERG D.M chimney in from spider one-CLF:GENR DAT transformation make
tsəkɯ́ ná-tʰɔ ŋo
D.M DOWN-come/1SG EGO:SAP

‘ “Meanwhile I will transform into a spider in the chimney and come down through it.” ’

(614) *mɯ́ té ɣɤ-ʈɕɯ́-tʰü tə́ sə nyi*
fire at.all US-PROH-light.up/2SG say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “And don’t light up any fire no matter what,” he said.’

(615) *ʈʂə́ɣö tó-lö le ʈʂőpɛ nó-vɯ nó-ro tsəkɯ́ ókʰo ɣɤ́-ro*
spider one-CLF:GENR DAT transformation DOWN-make DOWN-come D.M there US-come
tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ ʈɕe ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ pʰúla kʰú yű́ tó-sə rəkʰɯ́ vɛ́
D.M king=COLL.PL son POSS D.M bowl in wine one-CLF:FULL fill do/2SG

‘ “After I have transformed into a spider and come down, you fill wine into the bowl of the son of the king’s family.” ’

(616) *ótsə le tó-kuwɛ nó-ʈɕɯ pi rə́ kɯ sɔ́ tə́-le tʰo-dí po*
3SG DAT one-VCLF.circle DOWN-do IMPF as.soon.as OBL life UP-get AS-finish IMPF/1SG
nyi tə́ sə
EGO:AP say PFV

‘ “After walking around him once, his life will be taken by me,” said the bull.’

(617) *tsəkɯ́ sɛ́́sə mɯ́ tó-sɑ sə nyi*
D.M next.day sky UP-brighten PFV PFV

‘Then, the next day came.’

(618) *mɯ́ tó-sɑ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ dʑópu=nɛ mətsá i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́*
sky UP-brighten IMPF OBL D.M king=COLL.PL daughter ERG UP-say D.M

‘On the next day, the daughter of the king’s family spoke.’

(619) *kɛmú tʰótsa gú ɣɛ nbóto tsəkɯ́ nényu no-tɕɯ́ rénbɛ tʂʰőndö tú-vɯ ri*
before building nine POSS top.floor D.M downward DOWN-do ? ascension UP-do NMLZ
tó-lö tʰó-ŋo sə
one-CLF:GENR AS-be PFV

‘ “Traditionally, the ascension was carried out by going down from the top floor of a nine-storey building.” ’

(620) *nényu no-tɕɯ́ rénbɛ nyɯ́-po, tɕʰu tényu té-tɕɯ rénbɛ po ŋo té*
downward DOWN-do ? NEG-IMPF/1SG, then upward UP-do ? IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP say
sə nyi, dʑópu=nɛ mətsá i
IMPF EGO:AP king=COLL.PL daughter ERG

‘ “I won’t do it downward, this time I want to do it by going upward,” said the daughter of the king’s family.’

(621) *tsəkɯ́ otsí kɛ́tʂi i té tsəkɯ́ tényu té-tɕɯ rénbɛ né ŋá nyi, tɕʰu*
D.M 3SG+ERG PN ERG say D.M upward UP-do ? also be.fine EGO:AP then
yoné.mɛné né nyi
person.in.charge 2SG EGO:AP

‘ Then kɛtʂi said: “It is fine to do it upward, this time you are the one to issue the order.” ’

(622) *né ɣɛ ŋa tsé nó-vɯ hí nyi té sə nyi*
2SG POSS be.fine NMLZ DOWN-make will EGO:AP say IMPF EGO:AP

‘ “We will do whatever suits you,” said kɛtʂi.’

(623) *tsəkɯ́ mɯ́ ɣɤ́-tʰü nyɯ́-ŋa ŋo té sə*
D.M fire US-light.up NEG-be.fine EGO:SAP say IMPF

‘ Then the daughter of the king’s family reminded him: “It is not fine to light up any fire.” ’

(624) *tsəkɯ́ okʰó tsəkɯ́ tópi le tʰökɛ́ kʰú tsʰərő tósə kʰí-kʰɛ tɕʰi*
D.M DEM D.M some.people DAT fireplace in wood many NONS-carry order

‘kɛtʂi asked several people to put lots of wood into the fireplace.’

(625) *tsé i tsəkɯ́ mɯ́ kʰɔ́-sü tə́ pi rə́ kʰɔ-sé tə́*
REFL/3SG ERG D.M fire NONS-light.up say IMPF as.soon.as NONS-light.up/1/2NONSG say
sə
PFV

‘ “As soon as I say light up the fire, you light the fire,” said kɛtʂi.’

(626) *okʰó mɯ́ kʰɔ́-sü mí tópi rútɛɯ tsəkɯ́*
DEM fire NONS-light.up NMLZ some.people arrange D.M

‘He designated several people to light up the fire.’

(627) *tsəkɯ́ okʰó tʂó nú-dʐi tsəkɯ́ tʂʰə́ndö tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́ ɣɤ́tsətsə tsəkɯ́ tɛ́dʑɛ*
D.M DEM chair DOWN-line.up D.M ascension UP-do D.M ? D.M impressive
nópi ti kɯ tʂéɣö tó-lö nó-ro sə nyi
? STA OBL spider one-CLF:GENR DOWN-come IMPF EGO:AP

‘As people were seated according to the order of seniority and the ascension was going on quite well, a spider came down.’

(628) *tʂéɣɵ́ tó-lö nó-ro tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ótsə tɛɔ́tsi pu kʰɯ-tʂɛ́ tʰo-dí sə*
spider one-CLF:GENR DOWN-come D.M D.M DEM table on NONS-arrive AS-finish PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

‘A spider came down and went onto the table.’

(629) *tɛɔ́tsi pu kʰɯ-tʂɛ́ tʰo-dí kɯ dʑópu=nɛ mətsá i tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tá tsəkɯ́*
desk on NONS-arrive AS-finish OBL king=COLL.PL daughter ERG D.M say D.M
lɤ́ tósə kʰɯ́-tʂe vú tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ókʰo tɛʰúɐe tə́-tə
milk many NONS-spray do D.M D.M DEM make.sacrifice.to UP-say

‘As it arrived on the table, the daughter of the king’s family saw it. She sprayed some milk towards it while saying “tɛʰuɐe”.’

(630) *ótsə́ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ otsí kɛ́tʂi i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ omənə́ nbətʂá nbə́ tə-né otsə́*
DEM IMPF OBL D.M 3SG+ERG PN ERG UP-say D.M DEM worm stink UP-smell 3SG
le tínə tɛʰúɐe ri tó-lö tɛɛ́-ndə
DAT at.all make.sacrifice.to NMLZ one-CLF:GENR NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘At that time, kɛtʂi said: “There is no such thing as making sacrifice to a stinky worm like that.” ’

(631) *kʰɯ́-tsö tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ónə le mɯ́ ɣɤ-tʰé tə́ tsəkɯ́ mɯ́ ɐə́kɔ ú-dɛ*
NONS-catch D.M D.M 3PL DAT fire US-light.up/1/2NONSG say D.M fire in DS-throw
sə nyi, otsə́ tʂə́ɣö tsə́
PFV EGO:AP DEM spider FOC

'He caught the spider, asked them to light a fire, and threw the spider into it.'

(The storyteller left out a character, which is the real father of the daughter of the king's family, also a demon. It is he who transformed into a spider and was thrown into the fire, not the bull. With this knowledge the following content would be less confusing.)

(632) *otití kɯ lőŋo, hú kʰɯ́-ɐo sə nyi*
? OBL of.course night NONS-come.out PFV EGO:AP

'Then of course, night came.'

(633) *hú kʰɯ́-ɐo pi kɯ, kʰándʐendʐə vɯ́ sə nyi*
night NONS-come.out IMPF OBL eavesdrop do PFV EGO:AP

'After night came, kɛtʂi went to eavesdrop.'

(634) *kʰándʐendʐə vɯ́ tsəkɯ́ yú məɣə́ tə́-tʂɛ sə nyi*
eavesdrop do D.M again bull UP-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'He went to eavesdrop and the bull came again.'

(635) *tɐ́ú ɛ-tʰə-vá rɑ tə́ sə nyi*
then INTRG-AS-come.out EVID:DIRECT say PFV EGO:AP

' "How was it ?" he asked.'

(636) *pə́sə kʰɔ ŋó tʰə-má-va ɛmɛkʰɔ́ tɐʰú ti mɯ́ ɐəkɔ́ u-dɛ́ rɑ*
today ? be AS-NEG-become oh then D.M fire in DS-throw EVID:DIRECT

' "Things were messed up today, and he was thrown into the fire." '

(637) *otsə́ tɐétɐe tʰə-vá sə ndə́ ŋo tə́ sə nyi*
3SG seriously AS-become PFV must EGO:SAP say PFV EGO:AP

' "He must have taken it very badly," she said.'

(638) *ótsə sə́nbu məɣə́ tsə́ sə́nbu mətsá ɣɛ vó tʰo-ŋó sə*
D.M demon bull FOC demon daughter POSS father AS-be PFV

'The demon bull was the father of the demoness daughter.'

(639) *dʑótsʰű́ ngɯ́lo kɯ tsəkɯ́ tʂá i dzú tɛ́-zɛ tómu tʰó-ndʑɯ sə*
sea middle OBL D.M cliff LK high.fortress one-CLF:LONG top AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

'He lives on the top of a high fortress, in the middle of the sea.'

(640) *tsəkɯ́ tó-ŋɯ tʰó-tɕori tʰó-hu mətsʰé tɕétɕe tʰə-vá sə ndə́ ŋo tə́ sə*
D.M one-time AS-look AS-go/2SG lest heavily AS-come.out PFV must EGO:SAP say PFV

' "You go have a look, he must have suffered quite a bit," the bull said.'

(641) *tsəkɯ́ mətsá tsə́ ti mɯ́mɯ tʰo-ŋó sə, tʰi-ndʑé pi tʰoŋósə*
D.M daughter FOC D.M wind AS-be PFV AS-fly IMPF MIR

'The daughter was a wind, and she could fly.'

(642) *tʰi-ndʑé pi rə́ otsí tá tə-tá rə́ dɯnbɯ́ tʰí-ndzu vɯ́ kɯ mətsá*
AS-fly IMPF as.soon.as 3SG+ERG hat UP-put.on and stick AS-point do D.M daughter
tɕʰí ndʐɛ́ndʐɛ tʰɛ-tʂɛ́ pi tʰoŋósə
with same AS-arrive IMPF MIR

'As soon as she flew away, kɛtʂi put on the hat and pointed the stick, and just like her, he arrived at that place.'

(643) *tʰɛ-tʂɛ́ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ ɛmkʰɔ, tʰó-sə mó-sə*
AS-arrive IMPF OBL D.M oh AS-die NEG-IMPF

'After she arrived, her father didn't die.'

(644) *tɕɯ́ndze ɛ-ró tsəkɯ́ tɕɯ́ pʰusí tó-lö tʰə-vá sə teɛmɛkʰɔ́*
blister DS-come D.M water blister one-CLF:GENR AS-come.out PFV oh

'There was a blister on him.'

(645) *ɛ-tɕʰípʰo tsəkɯ́ tʰó-ndʑɯ sə*
DS-gasp D.M AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

'And he was gasping.'

(646) *tɕʰú né i ŋú le té kʰɯ-má-seŋa ra, tɕʰú tʰó-so rű rasə́*
then 2SG ERG 1SG DAT at.all NONS-NEG-listen.to EVID:DIRECT then AS-die/1SG will probably
tə́ sə nyi
say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “You didn’t listen to me at all, now I’m probably going to die,” he said.’

(647) *tɕʰú yáro tʰó-hu, páhu kɯ né i kʰɯ́-seŋa*
then quickly AS-go/2SG tonight OBL 2SG ERG NONS-listen

‘ “You go right now, you go and listen tonight.” ’

(648) *ʈʂá tsʰötsʰő tó-lö nyínyi tó-lö tʰó-ndə sə, dʑópu=nɛ*
cliff white one-CLF:GENR red one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ABSTRACT PFV king=COLL.PL
tətá
up.behind.the.house

‘ “Up behind the house of the king’s family, there is a white cliff and a red cliff.” ’

(649) *tsé tʰo-mó-so tʰó rə́, ʈʂá ʈʂʰötʂʰő tsə́ nó-pətɕo rű ŋo*
REFL/3SG AS-NEG-die/1SG if and cliff white FOC DOWN-collapse will EGO:SAP

‘ “If I don’t die, the white cliff will collapse.” ’

(650) *tsé tʰó-so tʰó rə, ʈʂá nyínyi tsə́ yonɛ́ tɕóri nó-pətɕo*
REFL/3SG AS-die/1SG if and cliff red FOC 1PL.INCL+POSS deity.mountain DOWN-collapse
rű ŋo
will EGO:SAP

‘ “If I die, the red cliff, which is our deity mountain, will collapse.” ’

(651) *tsəkɯ́ yonɛ́ tɕóri nó-pətɕo rá tʰó, tsəkɯ́ nɛnínə okʰó nbí*
DEM 1PL.INCL+POSS deity.mountain DOWN-collapse EVID:DIRECT if D.M 2DU DEM stay
sə́yi tɕá-ʈʂʏ, sóngö tɕɛ́-tʰu, tɕʰíhə ɣɛ nó-vü tə́ sə nyi
even.if NEG-help life NEG-? run.away ? DOWN-do/2SG say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “If our deity mountain collapses, it would be useless for you two to stay any longer, as you will lose your lives. Prepare to run away,” he said.’

(652) *tsəkɯ́ ngú-dzu sə nyi*
D.M TS-return PFV EGO:AP

‘Then the daughter of the king’s family returned.’

(653) *ngú-dzu tsəkɯ́ ngɯ-ʈʂɛ́ pi kɯ sə́nbu mətsá mɯ́mɯ nyi pu, tsénɛ*
TS-return D.M TS-arrive IMPF OBL demon daughter wind EGO:AP CFP 3PL.REFL+POSS
ke ngɯ-ʈʂɛ́ sə nyi
home TS-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'Like a wind the demoness daughter went back, she went back to her home.'

(654) *otsí dɯnbɯ́ ngí-ndzu, tá tə́-ta, meripí ʈʂoyɛ́ tə́-ta, ndʐɛ́ndʐɛ okʰó ngɯ́-ʈʂɛ*
3SG+ERG stick TS-point hat UP-put.on ? ? UP-put.on same DEM TS-arrive
tʰo-dí sə nyi
AS-finish PFV EGO:AP

'kɛtʂi pointed that stick towards the home direction, put on the hat, the invisibility hat, and just like her, he also went back.'

(655) *tsəkɯ́ pə́hu tsə́hu tsə́ pu tʰó-seŋa sə pʰu*
D.M tonight that.night FOC on AS-eavesdrop PFV CFP

'And for sure he went to eavesdrop that night.'

(656) *tʰó-seŋa kɯ sə́nbu vɛ́ndɛ tʰó-sə pi tʰoŋósə pʰu*
AS-listen OBL demon old.man AS-die IMPF MIR CFP

'He went to eavesdrop and the old man demon died.'

(657) *onɛ́ ngő ɣɛ ʈʂá nyínyi tsə́ nó-pətɐo sə pʰu*
3PL+POSS high.place POSS cliff red FOC DOWN-collapse PFV CFP

'And the red cliff at the high place behind their house collapsed.'

(658) *nó-pətɐo pi ré, tí-ɣɛ tɐʰí só pi tsə́ ré, sə́nbu*
DOWN-collapse IMPF as.soon.as UP-surround order want IMPF NMLZ as.soon.as demon
mətsá tɐʰíhə po, tɐʰíhu tə́ sə nyi
daughter run.away IMPF/1SG run.away say PFV EGO:AP

'As soon as the cliff collapsed, the demon daughter was going to run away, but was surrounded on the order of kɛtʂi.'

(Although every word in this sentence is analyzable, I have not been able to figure out the exact meaning of it.)

(659) *tɕʰíhi nyú-tʰɔ nó-vɯ sə nyi, okʰó tí-ɣɛ tsəkú*
run.away NEG-can DOWN-make PFV EGO:AP DEM UP-surround D.M

'She wasn't able to run away, having been surrounded there.'

(660) *tsəkú ɣa tó-lö nó-sɑ tsəkú ɣa pő tsə́ tú-tɕʰɯ tsəkú*
D.M goat one-CLF:GENR DOWN-kill D.M goat body FOC UP-carry D.M

'Then a goat was slaughtered and its carcass was brought here.'

(661) *tsəkú dʑópu=nɛ tɕe ɣɛ tsíngə tsə́ ɣa pő le tí-ngɯ tsəkú*
D.M king=COLL.PL son POSS clothes FOC goat body DAT UP-put.on.for D.M

'The goat carcass was dressed up in the clothes of the son of the king's family.'

(662) *tsəkú dʑópu=nɛ tɕe ókʰo pʰɛ́ rúdʑɯ tsəkú ótsə tá tsə́ tə́-ta tsəkú*
D.M king=COLL.PL son DEM side put D.M DEM hat FOC UP-put.on D.M

'The son of the king's family was seated beside with the hat on.'

(663) *tsəkú dʑópu tʰó-sə rɑ tə́ sə nyi, tɕʰú ŋó tʰə-má-va*
D.M king AS-die EVID:DIRECT say PFV EGO:AP then be AS-NEG-come.out

'The demoness daughter was told that the king was dead, and things have gone extremely bad.'

(664) *tsəkú ótsə məɣə́ tsə́ ólətʰö ɕɛ́ndʐə tɛ́-zɛ i tú-wo*
D.M DEM bull FOC cattle.shed chain one-CLF:LONG INS UP-tie

'And the bull was tied in the cattle shed with a chain.'

(665) *mətsá le tsəkú.ŋotʰónyí tɕʰú dʑópu tʰó-sə rɑ*
daughter DAT D.M then king AS-die EVID:DIRECT

'The daughter was told that "now that the king was dead," '

(666) *nɛ́ i tsəkú nó-sɑ ri ɣɛ tsʰərő tʰí-ngə rí ɣɛ tɕʰétɕʰɛ*
2SG ERG D.M DOWN-cremate NMLZ POSS wood AS-pick.up NMLZ POSS preparation
kʰú-vü
NONS-do/2SG

' "you prepare some wood to be used for cremation." '

(667) *nyű-yü nyü-sí pú kɯ dʑópu no-sá hí nyi, ónovɯ hí tə́ sə*
seven-night seven-day on OBL king DOWN-cremate will EGO:AP do.like.that will say PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

‘ “The king will be cremated after seven days. That’s what will be done.” ’

(668) *tsəkɯ́ dʑonkʰó tó-lö tsə́ pú tsəkɯ́ tsʰərő́ ngɯ́-tɕʰe tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ tsʰərő́*
D.M country one-CLF:GENR FOC on D.M wood UP-bring.1/2NONSG UP-say D.M wood
ngɯ́-tɕʰɯ tsəkɯ́
TS-bring D.M

‘Then it was ordered that wood from the whole country shall be brought here, and so it was done.’

(669) *tsəkɯ́ tsʰərő́ i tsəkɯ́ tɕé tó-lö tú-tɕɯ sə nyi*
D.M wood INS D.M house one-CLF:GENR UP-build PFV EGO:AP

‘With that wood a building was made.’

(670) *tɕé tó-lö tú-tɕɯ tsəkɯ́ ngɯ́-tsa tú-tɕɯ sə nyi*
house one-CLF:GENR UP-build D.M nine-storey UP-build PFV EGO:AP

‘A nine-storey building was made.’

(671) *lé tsəkɯ́ ngɯ́-tse pú tə́-hə ró nó-vɯ sə nyi; tsəkɯ́ kʰú ngɯ́-tse*
outside D.M nine-stair on UP-go come DOWN-make PFV EGO:AP D.M inside nine-stair
pú nó-hə tsəkɯ́
on DOWN-go D.M

‘There are nine stairs outside of the building which lead upward, and nine stairs within the building which lead downward.’

(672) *tsəkɯ́ otsɛ́ tɕodʑé tsə́ pú kɯ dʑópu rədʑɯ́ ró*
D.M 3SG+POSS floor FOC on OBL king put go

‘And the king was put on the ground floor of that building.’

(673) *ókʰu tsəkɯ́ tʂʰítsəkʰɛ nó-vɯ tʰo-dí sə nyi, nyú-yü nyü-sí*
in.there D.M right.and.ready DOWN-make DOWN-finish PFV EGO:AP seven-night seven-day
pu kɯ
on OBL

‘By the seventh day everything was made ready.’

(674) *tsəkɯ́ nyú-yi nyu-sí kʰɯ́-ntsʰɑ pɛ́ tsə́ si kɯ tsəkɯ́ dʑópu mɯ́ le*
D.M seven-night seven-day NONS-arrive to NMLZ day OBL D.M king fire DAT
kʰɔ́-lə rí ɣɛ tə́tʰü
NONS-release NMLZ POSS time

'The seventh day was the time to send the king to the fire.'

(675) *tsəkɯ́ okʰó mɯ́ kʰɔ́-sü mí pú tsəkɯ́ tiɛmɛkʰɔ́ tsəkɯ́ mánɑ kʰɯ́-ʈʂe mí pú*
D.M DEM fire NONS-light NMLZ on D.M oh D.M oil NONS-spray NMLZ on
tsəkɯ́ ʈʂʰítsəkʰɛ tɕʰɛ́tɕʰɛ tólö nú-vɯ tsəkɯ́
D.M right.and.ready preparation STA DOWN-make D.M

'The persons in charge of lighting the fire and those in charge of spraying oil were all made ready.'

(676) *tsəkɯ́ tɕʰú otsə́ dʑópu tsə́ nɛ́ i tu-ku hí, kʰɛ́kʰɛ i tu-ku*
D.M then DEM king FOC 2SG ERG UP-carry.on.back IMP other ERG UP-carry.on.back/2SG
tɕá-ŋa, nɛ́ i tu-kʰɯ́ tə́ sə nyi
NEG-be.good 2SG ERG UP-IMP say IMPF EGO:AP

'The daughter was told: "You shall carry the king on your back, it is not right for others to carry him, you carry him." '

(677) *nɛ́ i tu-kɯ́ tə́ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tə́-tɕʰɯ rɑ́ sə nyi*
2SG ERG UP-carry.on.back/2SG say D.M D.M UP-carry go PFV EGO:AP

'Having been told to carry the king, she carried him upstairs.'

(678) *mətsɑ́ i otsə́ ɣa pɔ́ tú-ku tsəkɯ́ pʰúke ngɯ́-tsa tə́-tɕʰɯ rɑ*
daughter ERG DEM goat body UP-carry.on.back D.M oh nine-storey UP-carry EVID:DIRECT
ngɯ-tɕʰɯ́ nó-tɕʰɯ́ rɑ
nine-? DOWN-carry EVID:DIRECT

'The daughter carried the goat body up to the ninth floor then went back down.'

(679) *tsəkɯ́ okʰó yú nɛ́-ʈʂɛ pi tsə́ pú kɯ, mɯ́ tɛ́-zɛ kʰɔ́-sü tsəkɯ́*
D.M DEM again DOWN-arrive IMPF FOC on OBL fire one-CLF:LONG NONS-light.up D.M
tsəkɯ́ mánɑ ɣɤ́-təvə tsəkɯ́
D.M oil US-pour D.M

'As she was going downward, a fire was lit and oils were poured around.'

(680) *okʰó ngɯ-tsá tə́-ʈʂö pi kɯ sə́nbu mətsá ní ɣa pő=nə okʰó kʰí-ndə sə*
DEM nine-storey UP-burn IMPF OBL demon daughter ? goat body=PL DEM NONS-burn PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

'As the nine-storey building was burnt, the demon daughter and the goat body were burnt to ashes over there.'

(681) *tsəkɯ́ sə́nbu vɛ́ndɛ tsə́ tʰó-sə sə nyi; tsəkɯ́ məɣə́ tsə́ no-sá sə nyi*
D.M demon old.man FOC AS-die PFV EGO:AP D.M bull FOC DOWN-kill PFV EGO:AP

'The old man demon was dead, and the bull was killed.'

(682) *sə́nbu ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ te ʈʂə́me nyɯ́-ne nú-vɯ sə nyi*
demon POSS D.M at.all smell NEG-smell DOWN-make PFV EGO:AP

'Not even the smell of a demon was left there.'

(683) *tsəkɯ́ ókʰo dʑópu tsə́ ʈʂʰőndö tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí dʑópu=nɛ tɕe okʰó dʑópu tú-vɯ*
D.M DEM king FOC ascension UP-do D.M king=COLL.PL son DEM king UP-do

'Then the king performed the ceremony of ascension and the son of the king's family became the king over there.'

(684) *pʰőpɛ=nɛ tɕe tsə́ tsénɛ pʰoyű ɣɛ dʑópu tʰo-ŋó sə, dʑópu tú-vɯ*
rich.man=COLL.PL son FOC REFL/3SG+POSS hometown POSS king AS-be PFV king UP-do
ró tʰu-dző sə nyi
go AS-be PFV EGO:AP

'The son of the rich man's family became the king of their own hometown, he became the king.'

(685) *tsé i tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí okʰó nbí nyɯ́-po, ndő ŋó tə́ sə nyi*
REFL/3SG ERG D.M DEM stay NEG-IMPF/1SG go/1SG EGO:SAP say PFV EGO:AP

' "I'm not staying here, I'm leaving," kɛʈʂi said.'

(686) *dʑópu sɔ́-zə tólö tɕɛ́-ndə, dʑópu tó-zə mətsʰé tɕɛ́-ndə*
king three-CLF:MAN COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT king one-CLF:MAN only NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

'There is no such thing as there being three kings, there can only be one king.'

(687) *tsəkɯ́ nɛ́ i tólo nbí hí tə́ sə nyi sa, kɔ́tsɛ má-ŋa sə nyi*
D.M 2SG ERG together stay will say PFV EGO:AP but very NEG-be.good PFV EGO:AP

‘ “You asked me to stay with you, that is not good at all.” ’

(688) *tsəkɯ́ otsínə tʰu-dzö, sɔ́-gɛ tsə́ nó-nbo sə nyi*
D.M 3DU AS-be three-CLF:GENR FOC DOWN-separate PFV EGO:AP

‘The other two had became the king, and the three went their separate ways.’

(689) *nó-nbo pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ nɛ́ i tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ti ɛzə́ hɛ́ ŋo?*
DOWN-separate IMPF OBL D.M 2SG ERG D.M anything what want/2SG EGO:SAP

‘Before they separated, the two children asked kɛtʂi :“Is there anything that you want?” ’

(690) *yoní tɕɛ́kʰɛ́ sɔ́-ka ndʑé nyi pu, onə́ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí*
1PL.INCL+ERG thing three-CLF:KIND COP:ANIMATE/1/2NONSG EGO:AP CFP 3PL D.M
nɛ́ i tə́-dzö hú
2SG ERG UP-take go/2SG

‘ “We have those three things, you take them with you.” ’

(691) *sə́nbu tʰó-ndʑɯ sə ɣɛ dʑópu=nɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí pándzö kʰú kɯ*
demon AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV REL king=COLL.PL D.M treasure.house in OBL
nə́pu mú
treasure COP:MOVE

‘ “There are treasures in the treasure house of the king who had a demon.’

(692) *ŋá, ŋú, titɕúrə ti nə́pu ɛzə́ mú nɛ́ i tə́-dzü hə́ vó tə́ sə*
gold silver coral anything treasure what COP 2SG ERG UP-take/2SG go REQ say IMPF
nyi
EGO:AP

‘ “There are treasures such as gold, silver and coral; whatever there are, please go take them.” ’

(693) *kɛtʂi i tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ ti kʰɛ́kʰɛ́ tə́-dzö nyɯ́-po ŋo*
PN ERG UP-say D.M anything different UP-take NEG-IMPF EGO:AP

‘kɛtʂi said: “I don’t want anything else.” ’

(694) *nɛnɛ́ pándzö kʰu kɯ ŋá i rətɕé tɛnpɛ́ tɕúdʑe tɛ́-zɛ*
2PL+POSS treasure.house in OBL gold LK knife two.arms.span eighteen one-CLF:LONG
mú
COP:MOVE

‘ “In your treasure house there is a knife which is as long as eighteen two-arms’ span.”’

(695) *otsə́ tsé i tə́-dzö hə́ po ŋo tə́ sə*
3SG REFL/3SG ERG UP-take go IMPF/1SG EGO:AP say IMPF

‘ “I’m taking that,” he said.’

(696) *tsəkɯ́ otsə́ dɯnbɯ́ tsə́ tsé i tə́-dzö hə́ po ŋo tə́ sə*
D.M DEM stick FOC REFL/3SG ERG UP-take go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP say IMPF

‘ “I’m also taking that stick,” he said.’

(697) *rəká nyɯ́-hi ɣɛ tʰi-ndzú rü*
walk NEG-need REL AS-point NMLZ

‘ “It is a stick which one can point and which can save one walking.” ’

(698) *tsəkɯ́ nó-nbo tsəkɯ́ tʰá-rɑ sə nyi*
D.M DOWN-separate D.M AS-go IMPF EGO:AP

‘The three separated and kɛtʂi left.’

(699) *tʰá-rɑ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tɛ́-kʰɛ ró tʰɛ́-tʂɛ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ ɛmɛkʰɔ́ té dʑonkʰɔ́*
AS-go D.M D.M one-CLF:PLACE place AS-arrive IMPF OBL D.M oh at.all country
kʰɛ́kʰɛ́ tó-lö pú tʰɛ́-tʂɛ sə
different one-CLF:GENR on AS-arrive PFV

‘He left and went to a place, and it was a totally different country.’

(700) *tɛ́-kʰɛ ró tʰɛ́-tʂɛ pi kɯ méme kʰɯ-ndzo tsəkɯ́ tɛ́ɛmɛkʰɔ́ ndzə́ ri*
one-CLF:PLACE place AS-arrive IMPF OBL everyone NONS-gather D.M oh eat NMLZ
í-ndʑü tsə́ ɛ́-ndzə, tə́-ngə rí í-ndʑü tsə́ tə́-ngə
DS-have FOC DS-eat UP-put.on NMLZ DS-have FOC UP-wear

‘At the time when he arrived, all were sitting together and were eating all the food they had and wearing the best clothes they had.’

(701) *tsʰalá rótsə pʰúke méme tólo nbí ómənə tɛ́-kʰɛ tʰɛ́-ʈʂɛ sə nyi*
dance dance oh everyone together sit DEM one-CLF:PLACE AS-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'They were dancing and all were sitting together. Such was the place where he arrived.'

(702) *tsəkɯ́ nɛnɛ́ sɛ́ omənə́ nówɑ tə́-tɸi tsʰalá rótsə ndzə́=nə méme i ɛ́-ndzə*
D.M 2PL+EXP very DEM spirit UP-come dance dance food=PL everyone ERG DS-eat
pe, tsíngɯ=nə méme i tə́-ngə pe, ɛrí nyi tə́ sə
IMPF/1/2NONSG clothes=PL everyone ERG UP-wear IMPF/1/2NONSG why EGO:AP say PFV

'kɛʈʂi asked: "Why is it that all of you are so happy and dancing, and eating what you have and wearing what you have?" '

(703) *tsénɛ dʑópu ɣɛ tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí sə́nbu kʰɯ́-ɐu vɯ́ sə nyi tə́ sə*
3PL.REFL+POSS king EXP D.M demon NONS-possess do PFV EGO:AP say PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

' "Our king is possessed by a demon," they said.'

(The storyteller made a mistake—it is the daughter of the king's family who was possessed, not the king. This will be clear by the end of this story.)

(704) *sə́nbu kʰɯ́-ɐu vɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tsenɛ́ dʑɛsɛ́ ɣɛ pʰɛ́ ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ mənɨ́*
demon NONS-possess do D.M D.M 3PL.REFL+POSS realm POSS rim POSS D.M person
tósə tsaŋátsə́ tʰuʑɛ́ ɛ́-ndzə tʰo-dí sə nyi
many almost ? DS-eat AS-finish PFV EGO:AP

' "He is possessed by a demon and almost all people at the frontier have been eaten," they said.'

(705) *tsəkɯ́ tʰo-dí pi kɯ ngɯló=nə ɛ́-ndzə pi nyi*
D.M AS-finish IMPF OBL middle=PL DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP

' "After that the people in the middle (of the kingdom) will be eaten." '

(706) *tsénə tsɔ́pu mətsʰé ɛ́-ndzə tɸɛ́-pi*
3PL.REFL end certainly DS-eat NEG-IMPF

' "We will be eaten last." '

(707) *tsəkɯ́ tsénə tɕʰíhə tʰó tʰo-tʰó ró rə́ tɕɛ́-ndə*
D.M 3PL.REFL run if AS-run go and NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘ “And there is no place where we can flee to.” ’

(708) *tsəkɯ́ tsénə tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí tólo dému ndʑɯ́ ró kɯ tsəkɯ́ é-ndzə rí*
D.M 3PL.REFL D.M together health COP:ANIMATE time OBL D.M DS-eat NMLZ
tsə́ é-ndzə, tə́-ngə rí tə́-ngə pe nyi tə́ sə
FOC DS-eat UP-wear NMLZ UP-wear IMPF/1/2NONSG EGO:AP say PFV

‘ “Therefore we are eating what we have and wearing what we have while we are all still healthy.” ’

(709) *tsəkɯ́ tɕɛ́-ngɛ, tsé i tsəkɯ́ otsə́ sénbu ní-ndü tʰó ŋo, nɛ́nə*
D.M NEG-matter REFL/3SG ERG D.M DEM demon DOWN-demolish can/1SG EGO:SAP 2PL
nó-nbe
DOWN-separate.1/2NONSG

‘ “Don’t worry, I can demolish that demon, you all go back.” ’

(710) *kɛhó ɛzə́ é-ndzə ndʐő, kɛhó ɛzə́ lɛ́kɛ́ vɯ́ ndʐő, kɛhó ɛzə́ tə́-ngə ndʐő,*
before what DS-eat used.to before what work do used.to before what UP-wear used.to
ótsə no-vé
3SG DOWN-do.1/2NONSG

‘ “Eat what you used to eat, do what you used to do, and wear what you used to wear.” ’

(711) *méme nó-nbo tɕʰi tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ónə tɕʰiníndʐu tʰó-ngɯ sə nyi*
everyone DOWN-separate make D.M D.M 3PL extremely AS-be.happy PFV EGO:AP

‘People were asked to go back and were very happy.’

(712) *tsəkɯ́ tʰə́-rɑ sə nyi*
D.M AS-go PFV EGO:AP

‘Then he left.’

(713) *tʰə́-rɑ tsəkɯ́ tɛ́-kʰɛ ró tʰɛ-tʂɛ́ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ tópi lerə́ dʐɛ́ kərɛ́*
AS-go D.M one-CLF:PLACE place AS-arrive IMPF OBL D.M someone and sound a.little
ɛ-ró pi=mənə
DS-come IMPF=SIM.PL

‘He left and went to a place, where some people were so weak that they could hardly voice any sound.’

(714) *tópi=ni dʐɛ́ ɛ-ró nyɯ́-tʰɑ=mɛ́nə*
someone=PL+ERG sound DS-come NEG-can=SIM.PL

'And some people simply couldn't make a sound.'

(715) *tópi rə́ tʰátɕʰɑ kʰɛ́ tú-do tʰɛ́-tʰɑ pi=mɛ́nə*
someone and weakly words UP-say AS-can IMPF=SIM.PL

'Still some people could barely talk.'

(716) *tsəkɯ́ nɛnɛ́ ɛ-tʰə-vá pi nyi tə́ sə, ontólö?*
D.M 2PL+EXP INTRG-AS-come.out IMPF EGO:AP say PFV like.that

' "What happened to you? " he asked.'

(717) *tópi rə́ nɑ́-ngə-ngɑ mí tósə tʰó-ndʑɯ sə*
someone and DOWN-PLUR-cry NMLZ many AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

'There were also many people who were crying.'

(718) *tsəkɯ́ tsénɛ teté mɛ́ndʑɯ tsə́ ndʐɛ́ndʐɛ, tsénɛ dʑópu ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ sə́nbu*
D.M 3PL.REFL+EXP just just.now FOC same 3PL.REFL+POSS king EXP D.M demon
túdʐi kʰɯ́-ɕu vɯ́ sə nyi
snake NONS-possess do PFV EGO:AP

' "We are in the same situation as you have seen just now: our king is possessed by a snake demon." '

(719) *tsəkɯ́ tsénə tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ngɯ́lo ɛ́-ndzə pi nyi*
D.M 3PL.REFL D.M middle DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP

' "We will be eaten second." '

(720) *dʑɛsɛ́ ɣɛ pʰɛ́ ɣɛ=nə tʰúʑɛ ɛ́-ndzə tʰo-dí sə nyi*
realm POSS rim POSS=PL almost DS-eat AS-finish PFV EGO:AP

' "Those at the frontier have almost all been eaten up." '

(721) *onə́ ɛ́-ndzə tʰo-dí pi kɯ tsénə pú kʰɯ-ʈsɛ́ pi nyi*
3PL DS-eat AS-finish IMPF OBL 3PL.REFL on NONS-arrive IMPF EGO:AP

' "After they are eaten up it will be our turn." '

(722) *tsəkɯ́ tsénɛ tsəkɯ́ oməné tɕʰiníndʐu káro kʰɯ́-ɕo tsəkɯ́ tópi létʰopo*
D.M 3PL.REFL D.M like.that very terror NONS-come.out D.M someone soul

‘ “We are all so terrified that some even lost their souls.” ’

(723) *ómənə tʰə-vá sə nyi té tsəkɯ́ ómənə té-tə sə nyi*
DEM AS-become PFV EGO:AP say DEM like.that UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “That’s how things have become,” they said.’

(724) *tsəkɯ́ ónə ndʐé é-ro nyɯ́-tʰa mí=nə le kʰú-tʂə-tʂo, nyú-ngɛ té-tə*
D.M DEM sound DS-come NEG-can NMLZ=PL DAT NONS-PLUR-console NEG-matter UP-say

‘ He consoled those who couldn’t make any sound and said: “Don’t be afraid”.’

(725) *tsəkɯ́ méme tʰó-ngə tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ótsə tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí okʰó nbí tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́*
D.M everyone AS-be.happy D.M 3SG D.M DEM stay D.M D.M
yú ra sə nyi
again go PFV EGO:AP

‘Then everybody became happy and he stayed there for a while and left again.’

(726) *ra tsəkɯ́ otsé dʑɛsɛ́ ɣɛ pʰɛ tʰé-tʂɛ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ tópi tʰuʑé tólö tsé é-ndzə*
go D.M 3SG realm POSS rim AS-arrive IMPF OBL D.M someone almost ADV FOC DS-eat
tʰo-dí sə nyi
AS-finish PFV EGO:AP

‘He left and arrived at the frontier, where the people there had almost all been eaten up.’

(727) *tsəkɯ́ ókʰo tópi tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí ti ɕɛɣá ré kʰɯ́ mí, dʐé ré ɔ-lé*
D.M DEM someone D.M D.M breath and COP:CONTAIN NMLZ sound and DS-make
nyɯ́-tʰa mí, ómənə tósə tʰó-ndʐɯ sə
NEG-can NMLZ DEM many AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

‘Some were drawing their last breath, some couldn’t make any sound. There were lots of people like that.’

(728) *tsəkɯ́ tópi tʰátɕʰa ti kʰɛ́ tu-dó tʰa sə*
D.M someone weakly D.M words UP-talk can PFV

‘And some could barely talk.’

(729) *tsəkɯ́ nɛnɛ́ omənə́ ɛ-tʰá pi nyi?*
D.M 2PL+EXP DEM INTRG-occur IMPF EGO:AP

‘ “ What happened to you? ” ’

(730) *tsəkɯ́ tsénɛ dʑópu ɣɛ tsəkɯ́ sénbu i tsəkɯ́ tudʐí le tʂópɛ*
D.M 3PL.REFL+POSS king EXP D.M demon ERG D.M snake DAT transformation
nó-vɯ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ótsə kʰɯ́-ɕu vɯ́ tsəkɯ́
DOWN-make D.M D.M 3SG NONS-possess do D.M

‘ “Our king, a demon transformed into a snake and possessed him.” ’

(731) *tsəkɯ́ méme tsə́ ɛ́-ndzə pi nyi*
D.M everyone FOC DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP

‘ “And he is eating everyone.” ’

(732) *tsəkɯ́ tʰuʑɛ́ tólö tsə́ ɛ́-ndzə tʰo-dí sə nyi tɕʰú tsénə pú tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí*
D.M almost ADV D.M DS-eat AS-finish PFV EGO:AP then 3PL.REFL on D.M
kʰɯ-tʰú pi nyi tə́ sə nyi
NONS-turn IMPF EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “The people over here are almost all eaten and soon it will be our turn.” ’

(733) *tsəkɯ́ ɛ́-ndzə rí ɣɛ lɛtɔ́ ɛmənə́ nó-vɯ pi nyi tə́ sə nyi*
D.M DS-eat NMLZ REL method like.what DOWN-make IMPF EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “ What is his way of eating ? ” he asked.’

(734) *ɛ́-ndzə rí ɣɛ lɛtɔ́ kɯ metə́ na-ɣɤ pi tsəkɯ́ ɛ́-ndzə sə tólö pú kɯ*
DS-eat NMLZ REL method OBL noon DOWN-be.late IMPF D.M DS-eat PFV from on OBL
sɛ́sə nóno mətsʰé ɛ́-ndzə pi nyi tə́ sə
next.day morning to DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP say PFV

‘ “Speaking of his way of eating, he starts eating in the afternoon and finishes the next morning.” ’

(735) *sɛ́sə nóno tsəkɯ́ dʑópu ɣɛ pʰúra tómu tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí kʰí pi nyi tə́*
next.day morning D.M king POSS palace top D.M sleep IMPF EGO:AP say
sə
PFV

‘ “In the morning of the next day he sleeps on the top of the king’s palace.” ’

(736) *kʰí tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ otsə́ túdʐi tsə́ kʰɯ́-ɕu vɯ́ sə nə́ tʰótɕe məní dʑódʑo tsəkɯ́*
sleep D.M D.M DEM snake FOC NONS-possess do PFV ? ? people many D.M
tí-vi vɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ tɕɯ́ tɕʰɯ́ ró nó-tʰü nyi tə́ sə
UP-get.thirsty do D.M D.M water drink go DOWN-go EGO:AP say PFV

‘ “After sleeping, the snake possessor, having eaten so many people, gets thirsty and will come down to drink water,” they said.’

(737) *tɕɯ́ tɕʰɯ́ ró nó-ro tsəkɯ́ ɣálö tɕúwɛ né-ʈʂʰɛ nə́ mɯ́ mətsə́ ɣɛ tsəkɯ́*
water drink go DOWN-go D.M head bank DOWN-arrive also tail daughter POSS D.M
səkʰú ná-ʑo tɕɛ́-pi, ómənə tə́ sə
nostril DOWN-finish NEG-IMPF DEM say IMPF

‘ “As he goes down to drink water, even as his head has reached the bank of a river, his tail still remains in the nostril of the daughter, ” they said.’

(738) *tsəkɯ́ ónovɯ tsəkɯ́ tsəkɯ́ ŋá i rətɕé tsə́ tə́-dzö tsəkɯ́ sɛ́sə nóno tsə́ pu*
D.M DEM D.M D.M gold LK knife FOC UP-take D.M next.day morning FOC on
kɯ okʰó tə́-rɑ sə nyi
OBL DEM UP-go PFV EGO:AP

‘After knowing that, he took his gold knife and went up the next morning.’

(739) *tə́-rɑ tsəkɯ́ kʰí-li sə nyi*
UP-go D.M NONS-wait PFV EGO:AP

‘He went up and waited.’

(740) *kʰí-li pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ ʈʂʰítsəkʰɛ metə́ na-ɣɤ́ pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ otsí ɛ́-ndzə*
DOWN-wait IMPF OBL D.M right noon DOWN-be.late IMPF OBL D.M 3SG+ERG time
ré pi kɯ tsəkɯ́ ótsə túdʐi nó-ro tsəkɯ́
DS-eat IMPF OBL D.M DEM snake DOWN-go D.M

‘He waited and right in the afternoon, at the time of eating, the snake came down.’

(741) *tsəkɯ́ tɕɯ́ tɕʰɯ́ ró nó-ro yú tə́-hə yú mətsə́ ɣɛ səkʰú tə́-ndü tʰoŋósə*
D.M water drink go DOWN-go again UP-go again daughter POSS nostril UP-go MIR
nyi
EGO:AP

‘After coming down and drinking water, it is going back to the nostril of the daughter.’

(742) *tsəkɯ́ pʰúke tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí túdʐi kʰí-li tsəkɯ́ ŋá i rətɕé tɛ́-dzö tsəkɯ́ okʰó*
D.M oh D.M snake NONS-wait D.M gold LK knife UP-take D.M there
kʰí-li sə
NONS-wait PFV

'And he waited, he took that gold knife and waited there.'

(743) *no-tʰɯ́ tsɛ́ pu kɯ tsəkɯ́ nó-ki-kɛ*
DOWN-come NMLZ on OBL D.M DOWN-chop-PLUR

'As it came down he started chopping at it.'

(744) *pʰúke nyí nó-kikɛ tsəkɯ́ tɛ́-rɑ sə tólö pu kɯ tsəkɯ́ tʰótsa gu pu tsəkɯ́*
oh EGO:AP DOWN-chop D.M UP-go PFV from on OBL D.M storey nine on D.M
túdʐi tʂɛ́li nú-vɯ tsəkɯ́
snake chunk DOWN-make D.M

'He went up as he chopped at the snake until he reached the ninth storey of the palace, and he chopped it into chunks.'

(745) *pʰútʂɑ ɣɛ nbotó tɛ́-tʂɛ pi kɯ mətsá ɣɛ kʰí ró tɛ́-tʂɛ pi kɯ*
palace POSS top.floor UP-arrive IMPF OBL daughter POSS sleep place UP-arrive IMPF OBL
túdʐi ɣɛ mɯ́ nɑ́-ʑo pi tʰoŋósə
snake POSS tail DOWN-end IMPF MIR

'After reaching the top floor of the palace and getting to the bedroom of the daughter, the tail of the snake ended there.'

(746) *nɑ-ʑó pi kɯ mətsá ngɯ-tɑ́ tsəkɯ́ kɛhó ɣɛ mətsá tʰə-vá kʰɯ́-tsʰotsʰo*
DOWN-end IMPF OBL daughter TS-wake D.M before POSS daughter AS-come.out NONS-?
pi tʰoŋósə pu
IMPF MIR CFP

'As the tail fell out, the daughter regained consciousness and slowly recovered.'

(747) *tsəkɯ́ nɑ́-ngɑ sə, ɛ-tʰɑ́ pi, tsé ɣɛ ɛ-tʰɑ́ pi nyi*
D.M DOWN-cry PFV INTRG-happen IMPF REFL/3SG EXP INTRG-happen IMPF EGO:AP

'She cried and asked what happened to her.'

(748) *tsəkɯ́ ótsi mətsá le tə́-tə tsəkɯ́ nɛ́ ɣɛ ɛ-tʰə-vá rü?*
D.M 3SG+ERG daughter DAT UP-say D.M 2SG EXP INTRG-AS-come.out ?

'Then he said to the daughter: "You want to know what happened to you?" '

(749) *tɕʰú kʰɯ-tɕɛ́rɛ kɯ*
then NONS-look/2SG D.M

' "Take a look." '

(750) *nɛ́ i tsəkɯ́ nɛnɛ́ dʑɛsɛ́ ɣɛ pʰɛ́ ɣɛ məní tósə tʰuʑɛ́ ɛ́-ndzə tʰo-dí*
2SG ERG D.M 2PL+POSS realm POSS rim POSS person many almost DS-eat AS-finish
sü
PFV/2SG

' "You have almost eaten up the people in the frontier." '

(751) *tsəkɯ́ tsé kʰɯ-mó-ʈʂö tʰó tsəkɯ́ nɛ́ i tsəkɯ́ dʑonkʰó tó-lö tsə́*
D.M REFL/3SG NONS-NEG-arrive/1SG if D.M 2SG ERG D.M country one-CLF:GENR FOC
ɛ́-ndzə tʰo-dí pɛ nyi, omənə́ tə́-tə sə nyi
DS-eat AS-finish IMPF/2SG EGO:AP DEM UP-say PFV EGO:AP

' "If I had not come, you would eat all the people in the entire country," he said.'

(752) *tsəkɯ́ ngɯ-tá tsəkɯ́ okʰó tsəkɯ́.ŋotʰónyí okʰó ɣɛ dʑópu tú-vɯ tsəkɯ́*
D.M TS-wake D.M DEM D.M DEM POSS king UP-do D.M

'So the daughter recovered and he became the king of that country.'

(753) *otsə́ dúdzʲi tə́-ɕu vɯ́ ra sə tsə́ otsɛ́ tsə́mu tʰə-vá*
DEM snake UP-possess do go IMPF NMLZ 3SG+POSS queen AS-become

'The daughter, who used to be possessed by the snake, became his queen.'

(754) *okʰó tɕípu kʰɯ-ɕó*
DEM happiness NONS-come.out

'They lived a happy life over there.'

(755) *dʑópu=nɛ tɕe rə́ okʰó sə́nbu vɛ́ndɛ məɣə́ ɣɛ putsʰí onɛ́ dʑópu tʰə-vá*
king=COLL.PL son and DEM demon old.man bull POSS child 3PL+POSS king AS-become

'The son of the king's family became the king of the country where there used to be an old man demon bull.'

(This sentence is unintelligible. In literal, it means ‘The son of the king’s family, together with the child of the old man demon bull, they became the king’, which is in apparent contradiction to the plot of the story. The translation did not follow the literal meaning.)

(756) *pʰə̋pɛ=nɛ* *tɕe* *rə́* *tsénɛ* *pʰoyə́́* *ɣɛ* *dʑópu* *tʰə-vá*
rich.man=COLL.PL son and 3PL.REFL+POSS hometown POSS king AS-become

‘And the son of the rich man’s family became the king of their own hometown.’

(757) *ómənə* *dʑópu* *sɔ́-lö* *kʰɯ́-tɕɔ* *tsəkɯ́* *tsəkɯ́* *ómənə* *tʰə-vá* *sə* *nyi*
like.that king three-CLF:GENR NONS-dawn D.M D.M DEM AS-come.out PFV EGO:AP
tə̀pi
EVID:REP

‘It was said that that was how the three kings came about, and how things turned out like that.’

Appendix B

Vocabulary

Conventions

This preliminary vocabulary contains around 2,800 entries. Most entries belong to open classes like nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, but I have also included closed classes and many grammatical elements, such as pronouns, demonstratives and classifiers.

An entry minimally consists of a head word (in phonemic transcription), its part of speech and its meaning. The head words for verbs are all in third person form. If a word has more than one unrelated senses, those senses will be numbered separately. For many entries, additional information is provided after head words. These include the source forms of loan words, the components of compounds, and, if the word is a verb with a directional prefix, the root of that verb.

A few words need to be said about how I arrange verbs and identify loan words. In this vocabulary, if a verb root can take more than one directional prefix that root is set up as an entry, irrespective of whether it is free or bound, with all its prefixed forms listed after the meaning(s) of that root. However, for some verbs, such as *á-dzo* 'to end', it is hard to determine whether the first syllable is a directional prefix or not. While it looks like a directional prefix for 'downstream' when compared with other verbs, it is not interchangeable with other directional prefixes, nor does it denote any sense of direction. I have treated words like these as unanalyzable wholes and not listed the root separately. Identifying whether a word is borrowed is straightforward in most cases. Chinese loans were borrowed very recently and are easy to identify. If a Munya word is pronounced sufficiently similar to a Tibetan word, or there is a systematic sound correspondence between the two, and the meanings of the two words are close, then that Munya word is recognized as a Tibetan loan. If the similarity in sound is restricted to certain phonemes but the two words have similar meanings, I indicate that the word could be a Tibetan loan with cf. Sometimes native speakers would tell me that a word is borrowed from Tibetan but for which I can not find the source word. In that case I note that the word is a loan from Tibetan but the source form is unknown.

Abbreviations:

*	the morpheme is bound
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
aux	auxiliary
clf	classifier
Cn	Chinese
interrog	interrogative word
n	noun
num	number word
Va	ambitransitive verb
Vc	copula verb
Vd	ditransitive verb
Vi	intransitive verb
Vt	transitive verb
Vn	non-volitional verb
Tib	Tibetan
pfx	prefix
post	postposition
pro	pronoun
prt	particle
qtf	quantifier

a

aɣá *Vi* to straighten up one's back
ahɤ́ Free Variant of **ɛhɤ́**
ákəra Free Variant of **ɛ́kəra**
akɔ́ Dialectal Variant of **nboyű**
alá *Vt* to take off (clothes)
ángugu *n* a kind of edible plant
ára$_1$ (***kəra**) *Vi* to bark
ára$_2$ *n* younger sister
árɤ (***rɤ**$_2$) *Vi* to face downstream direction
atő (***tö**) *Vt* to go and get something
ávəla (***vəla**) *Vi* to roll downstream
ázo *n* **1)** adult **2)** senior person

ɑ

ɑdɔ́ Free Variant of **ɣɑdɔ́**
ádzo *Vi* to become overdue, to end, to finish, to expire
ádʑɔ (**dʑɔ́**) *Vt* to hit something by throwing a stone downstream
ɑkʰɔ́ *Vt* to untie, to take off clothes
ɑkɔ́ (***kɔ**) *Vt* to dig
álɑ (***lɑ**) *Vi* to remain
ánbɑ (***nbɑ**) *Vi* (woods, etc.) to crack
ánipɛ Free Variant of **nípɛ**
ápʰɛdʑɑ (***pʰɛdʑɑ**) *Vt* to follow someone downstream
ɑpɔ́ (***pɔ**) *Vi* to relocate to a place downstream
ɑrá (**rɑ́**$_1$) *Vi* to go downstream
árɤ (***rɤ**$_1$) *Vi* to turn around
ásəsɑ (***səsɑ**) *Vt* to swipe, to mop (floor)
ásɔnpɛ Free Variant of **sɔ́npɛ**
átɛɔtɛɔ (***tɛɔtɛɔ**) *Vt* to chase downstream
ɑtó (***to**) *Vt* to remove (cattle dung, etc.) with shovel
ɑtsokəla *Vi* to kick and trample
ɑtʂá (***tʂɑ**) *Vt* to cut (hair)
ávɑ Free Variant of **tə**$_2$

b

bɑtɛɔ́ (Compound of **tɛɔ́**) *n* a scoop made of metal
be Dialectal Variant of **té**
bé *n* red panda
bə (from Tib bu བུ) *n* man, boy, lad
bənbɑ *n* frog Compound **ɛɑnibənbɑ**, **tɛɯ́bənpɑ**
bɛ́ (from Tib bal བལ) *n* wool
bí *n* urine
***bo** *Vi* to appear, to become visible Prefixed form **ɛ́bo**, **ɣɤ́bo**, **ngɯ́bo**, **nóbo**, **təbo**
bobó *adj* proud, arrogant, conceited
bótɛʰɛ (from Tib bar chad བར་ཆད) *n* danger, hindrance, interference
burí *n* incense
bɯ́ *n* lamb's quarters (a kind of plant)
***bɯ** *clf* classifier for pile

ɕ

ɐa$_1$ (from Cn xiang 乡) *n* township
ɐa$_2$ Free Variant of **ɐápu**
ɐá$_1$ (Dialectal Variant **ʂá**, Free Variant **ɐaní**$_1$) *n* barley
ɐá$_2$ *n* eagle
***ɐa** *clf* classifier for mouthful
ɐakɔ́ Tibetan loan of **ŋətsʊ́**
ɐandɔ́$_2$ (Tibetan loan variant **dʑoɐɛ́**) *n* a knife used to chop firewood
ɐandɔ́$_1$ *n* telescope
ɐaní$_1$ Free Variant of **ɐá**$_1$ Compound **ɐanikʊ́mi**
ɐaní$_2$ *n* barley Compound **ɐanibánba**
ɐanibánba (Compound of **ɐaní**$_2$, **bánba**) *n* toad
ɐanikʊ́mi (Compound of **ɐaní**$_1$) *n* a kind of mushroom, called qingkejun (青稞菌) in Chinese
ɐápu (Free Variant **ɐa**$_2$) *n* friend
ɐetʂʊ́ (from Tib bshad tshul བཤད་ཚུལ) *n* doctrine, belief
ɐévɯ *n* lock
ɐéwö (from Tib shog bu ཤོག་བུ) *n* paper
ɐewú (Compound of **ɐɛ**) *n* red hot iron
ɐɛ *n* iron Compound **ɐewú**, **ɐéndʐə**, **ɐɛtɐélɛ**
ɐé Tibetan loan of **ndɔ́**
ɐɛɣá *n* breath
ɐéndɔ *n* beef
ɐéndzə *n* coat
ɐéndʐə (Compound of **ɐɛ**, **ndʐə́**) *n* iron chain
ɐénpɛ (from Tib shan pa ཤན་པ) *n* butcher, hunter
ɐɛ́pɛ tədʑó (Phrasal Verb of **tədʑó**) *Vt* to praise
ɐɛ́ra *n* plastic rope
ɐɛtɐélɛ (Tibetan loan variant **tɐakó**) (Compound of **ɐɛ**) *n* iron plate
ɐɤ́ (Dialectal Variant **ʂɤ́**) *n* feces
ɐí *Vt* (container, car, etc.) to be able to hold, to have a capacity of
ɐi téro (Compound of **téro**) Dialectal Variant of **nítsʰü**
ɐíɐɔ (Free Variant **ɐɔ́**) *adv* **1)** only **2)** all the time
ɐídzʊ́ (from Tib shing bzo ཞིང་བཟོ) *n* carpenter
ɐídʐó (from Tib sgrig bzo སྒྲིག་བཟོ) *n* interior decoration
ɐihú (from Cn shihui 石灰) *n* limestone
ɐíle *adv* rarely, occasionally
ɐíngu *n* wooden plate
ɐípɛ (Dialectal Variant **tʰə́tsʰɛ**) (from Tib skyes pa སྐྱེས་པ) *n* husband
ɐíwu *n* a wooden ladle for ladling soup
ɐó (from Tib shel ཤེལ) *n* glass, crystal
***ɐo** *Vi* to appear Prefixed form **kʰɯɐó**$_1$, **ngɯɐó**, **noɐó**
ɐó- *num pfx* eight
ɐoɐí (from Cn xuexi 学习) *Vi* to have a village conference
ɐogʊ́ (from Tib shes sgo ཤེས་སྒོ) *n* mirror
ɐomú (from Tib sha mo ཤ་མོ) *n* a cover term for mushroom
ɐópa Tibetan loan of **wupʰɛ́**
ɐórome *adv* insistently
ɐótɐʰɯ (from Tib sha khyi ཤ་ཁྱི) *n* hound, hunting dog
ɐɔ́ Free Variant of **ɐíɐɔ**
ɐɔ́kʰɛ Free Variant of **tɐʰɔ́kʰɛ**
ɐú$_1$ (from Tib shugs ཤུགས) *n* strength, power
ɐú$_2$ *n* plowshare
***ɐu** *Va* to sneak into somewhere, to make one's way into Prefixed form **ɛ́ɐu**, **ɣɤ́ɐu**, **kʰɯ́ɐu**, **ngɯ́ɐu**, **nóɐu**, **téɐu**, **tʰóɐu**
ɐʊ́ɐü$_2$ *n* situation
ɐʊ́ɐü$_1$ *adj* hypocritical, artificial, pretentious
ɐɯ́ (Dialectal Variant **hɤ́**, Tibetan loan variant **tsʰʊ́**, mtsho མཚོ) *n* lake Compound **lɛɐɯ́**

d

***da** *Vt* to hit, to beat, to slap Prefixed form **ɣɤ́da**, **nóda**, **tə́da**
dápu (from Tib bdag po བདག་པོ) *n* host, owner, master
datɕʰí Free Variant of **ʂə́nbɯ**
dɑpá (from Tib 'dag pa འདག་པ) *n* mud
de Free Variant of **dʑonkʰó**
***de₂** *clf* a classifier for length which means two-arm's span
***de₁** *Vi* to float (in the air), to drift Prefixed form **tə́de**, **tʰéde**
dedé *adj* wide Prefixed form **kʰɯdé**
demə́ *n* the common people
déməros Free Variant of **ndéndesi**
demú (from Tib bde po བདེ་པོ) *Vi* to be safe and healthy
dendʑá (from Tib bde 'byams བདེ་འབྱམས) *n* infinite bliss
dénpʰu *n* a small cup made of bronze used for containing sacrificial water or wine
də́ *n* wolf Compound **dəməni**, **dəmɛ́ndɛ**, **dəpútsʰi**
dəməni (Free Variant **dəmɛ́ndɛ**; **dəpútsʰi**; **dəvɛ́ndɛ**; **kʰɑnánɛ**; **zəpʰánɛ**) (Compound of **məní**, **də́**) *n* swear word (lit. wolf person)
dəmɛ́ndɛ (Compound of **də́**, **mɛ́ndɛ**) Free Variant of **dəməni**
dəmú (from Tib bdud mo བདུད་མོ) *n* demoness
dəntɛó (from Tib dam bca' དམ་བཅའ) *n* thesis, promise, oath, vow, dedication
dəŋɑ *n* a kind of Buddhist scripture to be chanted prior to plowing
dəpútsʰi (Compound of **də́**) Free Variant of **dəməni**
dəro *Vt* to pick someone up
dəvɛ́ndɛ Free Variant of **dəməni**
dɛ́ *n* order, notice, message
***dɛ́** *Vt* **1)** to throw **2)** to drive (livestock, etc.) Prefixed form **ɛdɛ́**, **ɣɤdɛ́**, **kʰɯdɛ́**, **nɛdɛ́**, **ngɯdɛ́**, **tədɛ́**, **tʰɛdɛ́**
dɛvɛ́ (from Tib zla ba ཟླ་བ) *n* month
***dɛvɯ** *Vt* to blow off, to make something fall off Prefixed form **ɛdévɯ**, **ɣɤdévɯ**, **nɛdévɯ**, **tədévɯ**
di Free Variant of **kʰə́lö**
dipɛ́ (from Tib sdig pa སྡིག་པ) *n* sin, moral wrong-doing, evil deeds
dirű̃ge *n* name of a plant
dítɛe (Compound of **tɛe ₁**) *n* small-sized container for tsampa
dő̃ (from Tib bdun བདུན) *num* seven
dokú Free Variant of **gondzí**
domə́ (Cf. Tib sdong po སྡོང་པོ tree trunk) *n* lumber, tree trunk
dő̃mɛ (from Tib sder ma སྡེར་མ) *n* plate, saucer, dish
dő̃ndɑ (from Tib don dag དོན་དག) *n* things, affair, matter
dő̃pɛ (from Tib bdun ba བདུན་པ) **1)** *num* seventh **2)** *n* July
dótʂɛ *n* a kind of wall built with both long and narrow stones
dɔ́ *n* the mountain around a valley
dɔ́dɔ *adj* square
dɔmú *n* milk processor
dɔrí (from Tib rdo ring རྡོ་རིང) *n* stone pillar, obelisk
dú₁ (from Tib gdugs གདུགས) *n* umbrella, canopy
dú₂ *n* poison Prefixed form **nodú**
dudú *adj* bad, lousy, horrible
dúdʐi (Tib dug sbrul དུག་སྦྲུལ) *n* poisonous snake
duŋó *n* sadness, sorrowfullness
düró (from Tib dus rabs དུས་རབས) *n* century, times, age, epoch
duwɛ́ (from Tib du wa དུ་བ) *n* tobacco
dɯnbɯ́ (Tibetan loan variant **pékɛ**) *n* stick
dzɛ́ *n* purpose
dzɛkʰɛ́ *n* naturally grown meadow

dzɛmú (Free Variant **tsató**, Tibetan loan variant **tsató**, Archaic form **ngí₂**) *n* a valley of many boulders
dzí *n* pillar
***dzi** *Vt* **1)** to build up (a wall) **2)** to hit the target Prefixed form **kʰɯdzí₂**, **nodzí**
dzídzi *adj* (roads, etc.) winding and narrow
dzódzo *adj* spicy, hot Prefixed form **tédzo**
dzú (Cf. Tib rdzong རྫོང) *n* high fortress
dzurá *n* a dead tree that is totally dried up
***dzɑ** *Vt* to hand (responsibilities, etc.) over to Prefixed form **édzɑ**, **nédzɑ**, **tʰédzɑ**
dzɑ́go *n* **1)** pride, arrogance **2)** makeup Phrasal Verb **dzɑ́go núvɯ**
dzɑ́go núvɯ (Phrasal Verb of **dzɑ́go**) *Vi* to dress up, to put on make up
dzɛ́ (from Tib sgra སྒྲ) *n* voice, sound
dzɛ́dzi (Chinese loan variant **tʂúpe**) (from Tib gra sgrig ཀྲ་སྒྲིག) *n* preparations
***dzɛmɛ** (from Tib rgya ma རྒྱ་མ) **1)** *num* classifier for measuring weight, equivalent to half a kilo **2)** *n* steelyard
dzɛní *n* a kind of string instrument
dzí (from Tib sbrul སྦྲུལ) *n* snake (the sixth of twelve Zodiacs)
dzɵ́kɛ (Cf. Tib gros bsdur གྲོས་བསྡུར) *n* discussion, talk, conference
dzopú (Free Variant **gándzə**) (Cf. Tib 'bras bu འབྲས་བུ effect, result, fruit) *n* fruit kernel
dzɔ́ Tibetan loan of **tési**
dzulú *adj* normal
dʑá (from Tib rgyang རྒྱང) *n* distance, range
dʑakí *n* traditional food, eating habits
dʑé (from Tib brgyad བརྒྱད) *num* eight
dʑépɛ₁ (from Tib brgyad pa བརྒྱད་པ) **1)** *num* eighth **2)** *n* August
dʑépɛ₂ *adv* to a great extent, very
dʑə́nbə *n* toilet
dʑə́pə *n* saliva
dʑətá *n* quality
dʑɛ́ Free Variant of **dʑɛsɛ́**
dʑɛdɛ́ *n* solar calendar
dʑɛ́pɛ *adv* gradually
dʑɛsɛ́ (Free Variant **dʑɛ́**) (Cf. Tib chab srid ཆབ་སྲིད) *n* territory, kingdom
dʑɤ́ *n* otter
dʑɤ́dʑɤ *adv* fast
dʑi (Cf. Tib rjes རྗེས) *n* footprint, trace
dʑikɵ́ *n* correction, amendment
dʑitɕé (from Tib rgyu rkyen རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན) *n* causes and conditions, causal conditions
dʑó (from Tib rgyan རྒྱན) *n* bet, game, stake
***dʑo** *Vt* **1)** to build **2)** to spend money **3)** to make a wish **4)** to make a telephone call Prefixed form **ɛdʑó**, **ɣɤdʑó**, **kʰɯdʑó₂**, **nodʑó₂**, **tədʑó**, **tʰodʑó₂**
dʑoɕé Tibetan loan of **ɕandɔ́₂**
dʑódʑo *adj* many Prefixed form **kʰɯdʑó₁**, **nodʑó₁**, **tʰodʑó₁**
dʑógo (from Tib rgya gar རྒྱ་གར) *n* India
dʑólo (Dialectal Variant **tʂʰélo**, Free Variant **ró₂**) (from Tib 'gro lam འགྲོ་ལམ) *n* road
dʑonkʰó (Free Variant **de**) (from Tib rgyal khab རྒྱལ་ཁབ) *n* country, nation
dʑópu (from Tib rgyal po རྒྱལ་པོ) *n* king
dʑótsʰɯ̃́ (from Tib rkya mtso རྒྱ་མཚོ) *n* sea
dʑoyí *n* wooden rack
dʑoʐí *n* speed
dʑɔ́ **1)** *n* stone Compound **dʑɔrəwɛ́** **2)** *Vt* to hit something with a stone, to toss a stone Prefixed form **ádʑɔ**, **ɣɤ́dʑɔ**, **nádʑɔ**, **ngɯ́dʑɔ**, **tədʑɔ**, **tʰádʑɔ**
dʑɔrəwɛ́ (Compound of **dʑɔ́ ₁**) *n* stone plate
dʑɵ̃́ *n* corner
dʑukʰú (from Tib ljang khu ལྗང་ཁུ) *adj* grass green
dʑɯ́₂ *n* trousers
dʑɯ́₁ Free Variant of **dʑɯ́pəndʑu**

***dʑɯ** *Vt* to put something on someone's back Prefixed form **kʰɯdʑɯ́**, **nodʑɯ́**
dʑɯ́pəndʑu (Free Variant **dʑɯ́**$_1$; **dʑɯzázɔ**) *n* property, possession
dʑɯ́pɛ *n* member of a family
dʑɯ́tsɛ *n* properties, valuables, things in the house
dʑɯzázɔ Free Variant of **dʑɯ́pəndʑu**

ə

***ətɛɯ** Free Variant of ***utɛɯ**

ɛ

ɛ́bo (***bo**) *Vi* to appear from upstream
ɛ́ɛu (***ɛu**) *Vi* to sneak to somewhere downstream
ɛdɛ́ (***dɛ́**) *Vt* **1)** to throw something downstream **2)** to drive livestock downstream
ɛdɛ́vɯ (***dɛvɯ**) *Vt* to blow off, to make something fall off
ɛ́dʐɑ (***dʐɑ**) *Vt* to hand over to
ɛdʑó (***dʑo**) *Vt* **1)** to make a telephone call downstream **2)** to close the door **3)** to saddle up a horse
ɛgó *Vi* **1)** to lie down **2)** to lean against something
ɛɣí **1)** *Vi* to delay, to waste time **2)** *Vt* to leave something behind
ɛɣǒ *n* uncle, or male relatives on mother's side
ɛhə́ (**hə́**$_1$) *Vi* to go downstream
ɛhɤ́ (Free Variant **ahɤ́**) (**hɤhɤ́**) **1)** *Vt* to screw out **2)** *Vi* to release (one' hand); (policies, etc.) to become loose
ɛhí (**hí**$_2$) *Vi* come from upstream
ɛ́kəra (Free Variant **ákəra**) (***kəra**) *Vi* to yell
ɛkɛ́lɛlɛ *adj* dangling, hanging down
ɛkʰɛ́ təkʰɛ́ *adv* during, at the moment of
ɛkʰí$_1$ *Vt* to cushion, to pad
ɛkʰí$_2$ *n* younger cousin
ɛ́kʰi *Vt* to dry something up
ɛkʰɯɛíri (***kʰɯɛiri**) *Vt* to pull downstream
ɛkö- *num pfx* ten
ɛlé (***le**) *Vt* to pay (money)
ɛ́lə *Vt* to save
ɛlɛ́ *n* a particular kind of song, sung in Tibetan
ɛ́lɛ *n* aunt
ɛlína *n* a kind of plant
ɛ́lolö (***lolö**) *Vt* to carry downstream
ɛmí *n* cousin
ɛ́muri *prt* possibly, probably
ɛ́nbegɛ *n* horse saddle
ɛ́ndɛ (***indɛ**) *Vt* to turn something on
ɛ́ndü (**ndǘ**$_1$) *Vi* to go downstream
ɛndzá (**ndzandzá**) *Vi* to get cold
ɛ́ndzə (Free Variant **óndzə**) (**ndzə́**) *Vt* to eat
ɛndzú *Vi* to squat
ɛ́ndʑo (***ndʑo**) *Vi* to go downstream directly
ɛ́nə *interrog* who
ɛ́ngungu (***ngu**) *Vi* to incline one's body to one side
ɛní$_2$ *n* aunt, or female relative on father's side
ɛní$_1$ *Vt* to knead (dough, etc.)
ɛnikómu *n* nun
ɛ́nki tánpu (from Tib ang ki dang po ཨང་ཀི་དང་པོ) *adj* first, very, topmost
ɛntɕʰǒ *n* a person who chants Buddhist sutra for others
ɛ́ntʰetɛɛ (***ntʰetɛɛ**) *Vt* to pull something downstream

ɛnɯ́- *num pfx* twelve
ɛ́nyɛ *interj* wow, oh
ɛpé *n* newly made solid sour milk
ɛ́pətɐo (***pətɐo**) *Vi* to collapse, to break down
ɛpətű́tü *n* hoopoe, black baza
ɛ́pʰɑ (***pʰɑ**) *Vt* to hack (woods), to split
ɛ́pʰə (Free Variant **úpʰə**) (***pʰə**) *Vt* to lose something
ɛ́pʰo (***pʰo**$_1$) *Vt* to draw something out of something, to fish out
ɛ́po (***po**) *Vi* to abrade, to wear out
ɛpú *n* uncle, or male relative on father's side
ɛrə́ri (***rəri**) *Vt* to sweep (inside the house)
ɛ́rɤ (***rɤ**$_1$) *Vt* to turn something clockwise
ɛrí (Free Variant **ɛtʰəvá ɛrí**) *interrog* why
ɛ́ro (**ró**$_1$) *Vi* to come from downstream, to come up, to appear, to make sound
ɛsimíntɐʰá (Compound of **mintɐʰá**) *n* a kind of fungus
ɛtɐʰí *Vt* to comb (hair)
ɛ́tɐʰi (**tɐʰi**$_1$) *Vi* to escape downstream
ɛtɐʰɯ́ (**tɐʰɯ́**$_1$) *Vt* to drink
ɛ́tɐʰɯ (Free Variant **utɐʰɯ́**) (***tɐʰɯ**) *Vt* to take something downstream
ɛtɐí (Free Variant **ra**) *n* elder sister
ɛtɐípʰɔ *Vi* to gasp, to pant
ɛ́tɐori (***tɐori**) *Vt* to look downstream
ɛ́tʰə (***tʰə**) *Vt* **1)** to extract, to refine **2)** to remove (e.g., cattle dung with shovel)
ɛtʰə̨vá ɛrí Free Variant of **ɛrí**
ɛtʰü (***tʰü**) *Vi* to come downstream, (time, etc.) come
ɛtí$_1$ *Vt* to weave
ɛtí$_2$ (Free Variant **zəmə́**) *interrog* how many
ɛti- *num pfx* eleven
ɛtó *Vt* to make something roundish with hands
ɛ́toto *Vi* to shiver, to tremble
ɛtsə́tso (***tsətso**) *Vt* to wring (water out of clothes, etc.)
ɛtsʰítsʰo *n* housework, daily work
ɛ́tsi (***tsi**) *Vi* to lie (in bed)
ɛtsó *Vt* to cut (hair)
ɛ́tso (***tso**) *Vi* to run downstream
ɛ́tʂɑ (***tʂɑ**) *Vd* **1)** to assign a task to someone **2)** to hand something to someone
ɛtʂɛ́ (***tʂɛ**) *Vi* to arrive from downstream
ɛ́tʂʰa *Vt* to line something up
ɛ́tʂü (***tʂü**) *Vt* to make a fire for heating
ɛ́tü (**tü**) *Vt* to hit with elbow
ɛ́vi *Vt* to carry on one's shoulder
ɛ́vɯ (**vɯ́**$_1$) *Vt* to do
ɛ́wunətsi *n* parrot
ɛyó *Vi* to lose effectiveness, to volatilize, to change, to thin out
ɛzə́ *pro* what Compound **ɛzə́ ɐíɐi**
ɛzə́ ɐíɐi (Compound of **ɛzə́**) *n* all kinds of, whatever
ɛ́zəzo (***zəzo**) *Vt* to pile up
ɛzú *n* mustache, beard

f

fɑfí Chinese loan of **tʰikʰú**$_1$

g

gé₁ (from Tib dge དགེ) *n* a term used to address a lama who has acquired the degree of Geshe, can be followed by his name
gé₂ (from Tib sger སྐེར) *n* personal, private, selfishness, ego
gépe Tibetan loan of **tʰəpɛ́**
getó *n* wooden plates used for making tiles
gętő *n* individual work, work done for oneself
gə́ndʐə Free Variant of **dʐopú**
gɛ́ (Free Variant **gɛgɛ́**) (from Tib dga' དགའ) *Vt* to like, to be fond of Compound **gɛwɛ́**
***gɛ** *clf* general numeral classifier
gɛgɛ́ Free Variant of **gɛ́**
gɛlɯ́ *n* breeding ox, bull
gɛsí (from Tib gal srid གལ་སྲིད) *prt* if, if possible, if by chance
gɛwɛ́ (Compound of **gɛ́**) *n* lover, girlfriend or boyfriend
gimunándʐu *n* agaric
gitsʰí *n* back
gő́gö *adj* roundish, spherical
gő́la (**gö**) (Cf. Tib lkug pa རྐུག་པ) *n* idiot, dumb person
gónba kʰɯʐɯ́ (Cf. Tib dgongs pa dzu དགོངས་པ་ཟུ to take leave, to ask for a leave of absence) (Phrasal Verb of **kʰɯʐɯ́**) *Vt* to ask for a leave of absence
gondʐí (Free Variant **dokú**; **kə́lö**) *n* root
göpɛ́ (Cf. Tib dgos pa དགོས་པ need, want) *n* usefulness
***görɛ** Tibetan loan of ***kuwɛ**
gotɛ́ *n* horse tack
gozə́ *n* wisdom teeth
gɔ Free Variant of **gɔ́nbu**
gɔ́ *n* porcupine
gɔbudé *n* a kind of plant
gɔ́nbu (Free Variant **gɔ**) *n* big wooden box
gɔtɔ́ (from Tib go rtogs གོ་རྟོགས) *Vi* to get enlightened, to rise with force and spirit
gú₂ *n* yak Compound **gutsá**
gú₁ (from Tib dgu དགུ) *adj* nine Compound **gutʰú**
gúpɛ (from Tib dgu pa དགུ་པ) **1)** *num* ninth **2)** *n* September
gutʰú (Compound of **gú₁**) *n* a kind of porridge eaten during new year, made from nine kinds of cereals
gɯnbɛ́ (from Tib dgon pa དགོན་པ) *n* monastery

Ɣ

ɣa₁ *n* sheep Compound **roɣá**
ɣa₂ *n* shoulder
ɣaɣá₁ Dialectal Variant of **kólo**
ɣaɣá₂ *adj* annoying, noisy
ɣákə *n* chili
ɣalətɛe Free Variant of **nyatakɔ́rɔ**
ɣanbá *n* Chinese grouse
ɣɑ₃ *n* left side Compound **ɣángo**, **ɣáropʰo**
ɣɑ₁ *n* Han Chinese Compound **ɣásu**
ɣɑ₂ *n* needle
ɣá₁ Free Variant of **ɣápu**
ɣá₃ *Vt* to scold
ɣá₂ *aux* will
***ɣɑ₁** *clf* classifier for handful (with both hands)
***ɣɑ₂** *Vt* to lose mental control of oneself Prefixed form **təɣá**, **tʰɑɣá**, **tʰɛɣá**
ɣɑdɔ́ (Free Variant **ɑdɔ́**) *n* beetroot
ɣálö *n* head Compound **ɣámɔ**, **nbotó ɣálö**, **tɛɯ́ɣɑlö**
ɣámɔ (Compound of **ɣálö**, **mɔ́₂**) *n* hair
ɣángo (Compound of **ngó**, **ɣɑ₃**) *n* left leg

ɣapɔ́ (***pɔ**) *Vi* to relocate upstream
ɣápu (Free Variant **ɣá**$_1$) *n* left side
ɣáropʰo (Compound of **ɣɑ**$_3$) *n* left hand
ɣásu (Compound of **sú**, **ɣɑ**$_1$) *n* Chinese language
ɣeɣé Dialectal Variant of **reré**
ɣəɣɔ́ (Compound of **ɣɔ́**) *n* male river deer
ɣəmó (Compound of **mó**) *n* female river deer
ɣənbə́ Free Variant of **tɕʰɛ́**
ɣéndə *n* book
ɣétsa *n* neck
ɣətsʰí *n* musk deer
ɣélə *n* a festival which is held on September 15 of rural calendar and is celebrated with dancing and horse-racing
ɣénbɑ *n* wild duck
ɣérɤ (***rɤ**$_1$) *Vt* to turn something counterclockwise
ɣɤ$_1$ *n* fish
ɣɤ$_2$ *n* door
ɣɤ́bo (***bo**) *Vi* to appear from downstream
ɣɤ́ɛu (***ɛu**) *Vi* to sneak to somewhere upstream
ɣɤ́da (***da**) *Vt* to hit, to beat
ɣɤdé (***dé**) *Vt* **1)** to throw upstream, to throw into fire **2)** to drive livestock upstream
ɣɤdévɯ (***dɛvɯ**) *Vt* to blow off, to make something fall off
ɣɤdʑó (***dʑo**) *Vt* to make a telephone call upstream
ɣɤ́dʑɔ (**dʑɔ́**) *Vt* to hit something by throwing a stone towards upstream
ɣɤɣéɣɛ *adj* to be in a curving shape
ɣɤɣɤ́ *adj* heavy
ɣɤhə́ (**hə́**$_1$) *Vi* to go upstream
ɣɤhí (**hí**$_2$) *Vi* to come from downstream
ɣɤ́kəra (***kəra**) *Vi* to yell upstream
ɣɤkʰɯɛ́iri (***kʰɯɛiri**) *Vt* to pull upstream
ɣɤ́lolö (***lolö**) *Vt* to carry upstream
ɣɤ́ndü (**ndű**$_1$) *Vi* to go upstream
ɣɤ́ndʑo (***ndʑo**) *Vi* to go upstream directly
ɣɤ́ntʰetɕɛ (***ntʰetɕɛ**) *Vt* to pull upstream
ɣɤpə́ *n* wild ass
ɣɤ́pʰɛdʑɑ (***pʰɛdʑɑ**) *Vt* to follow someone towards upstream
ɣɤrá (**rá**$_1$) *Vi* to go upstream
ɣɤ́rɤ (***rɤ**$_2$) *Vi* to face upstream
ɣɤ́ro (**ró**$_1$) *Vi* to come from upstream
ɣɤtá *Vt* to shut something in the door
ɣɤ́tɕʰi (**tɕʰi**$_1$) *Vi* to escape upstream
ɣɤ́tɕʰɯ (Free Variant **ɣutɕʰɯ́**) (***tɕʰɯ**) *Vt* to take something upstream
ɣɤtɕo *Vt* to stick to
ɣɤ́tɕori (***tɕori**) *Vt* to look upstream
ɣɤ́tɕɔtɕɔ (***tɕɔtɕɔ**) *Vt* to chase by going upstream
ɣɤ́tə (***tə**) *Vt* to pour onto, to add something into
ɣɤtʰű (***tʰü**) *Vi* to come upstream Phrasal Verb **mɯ́ ɣɤtʰű**
ɣɤtɔ́ *n* window
ɣɤ́tsʰə (***tsʰə**) *Vt* to burn (woods)
ɣɤtsí Dialectal Variant of **ɣítsɛ**
ɣɤ́tso (***tso**) *Vi* to run upstream
ɣɤ́tsɔ *Vi* to kick
ɣɤtʂé (***tʂɛ**) *Vi* to arrive from upstream
ɣɤ́tʂʰi (***tʂʰi**) *Vt* to cut, to chop (meat, etc.)
ɣɤ́tü (**tü**) *Vt* to hit with fist
ɣɤ́va *n* courtyard
ɣɤ́vəla (***vəla**) *Vi* to roll upstream
ɣi$_4$ Dialectal Variant of **ri**$_1$ **ɣi**$_2$ Archaic form of **tʂɑ́**$_2$
ɣi$_3$ *Vt* to not grudge, to be willing to part with
ɣi$_1$ (Dialectal Variant **ɣui**; **wi**) *n* horse
ɣiɣé (***iɣe**) *Vi* to flow against the direction of the movement of the sun
ɣiɣí *adj* light Compound **tsʰəɣí**, Prefixed form **təɣí**
ɣíɣɔ *adj* easy

ɣíku (***iku**) *Vt* to circle something up from upstream
ɣíndü (***indü**) *Vt* to push (a cart, etc.) upstream
ɣindzú (***indzu**) *Va* to point in upstream direction
ɣindʑé (***indʑe**) *Vi* to fly upstream
ɣiró (***iro**) *Vt* to overtake by going upstream
ɣítsɛ (Dialectal Variant **ɣɤtsí**) *Vt* to cut trees, to log
ɣitsʰí (***itsʰi**) *Vi* to jump upstream
ɣítʂu (***itʂu**) *Vt* to stir, to mix, to turn something around
ɣívi (***ivi**) *Vt* to send someone off upstream
ɣő *n* stick
ɣőɣö *adj* round (two-dimensional)
ɣó *n* male Compound **ɣəɣɔ́**, **uɣíɣɔ**
***ɣɔ** *Vt* to wash Prefixed form **náɣɔ**, **təɣɔ**, **tʰáɣɔ**
ɣɔʁó- *num pfx* eighteen
ɣɔ́ɣɑ *n* railings, fence
ɣɔ́ɣɔ *adv* slow
ɣɔ́hu (Compound of **hú₂**) *n* the night after tomorrow night
ɣɔ́lɑ (***ɔlɑ**) *Vt* to sprinkle
ɣɔlə́ (***ɔlə**) *Vt* **1)** to drive upstream **2)** to release (cattle, etc.) upstream
ɣɔngɯ́- *num pfx* nineteen
ɣɔní- *num pfx* seventeen
ɣɔŋá- *num pfx* fifteen
ɣɔrə́- *num pfx* fourteen
ɣɔ́sə (Free Variant **ɣɔ́si**) (Compound of **sí**) *n* the day after tomorrow
ɣɔ́si Free Variant of **ɣɔ́sə**
ɣɔ́sɔ (***ɔsɔ**) *Vt* to rub or caress something with hands
ɣɔsɔ́- *num pfx* thirteen
ɣɔtʁʰí- *num pfx* sixteen
ɣɔ́tʁo (***ɔtʁo**) *Vt* to drive upstream
ɣɔ́və *n* the year after next year
ɣɔyí (Dialectal Variant **yitó**, Free Variant **yitó**) *n* face Compound **ɣɔyí páre**
ɣɔyí lɔ́ntʁʰi Free Variant of **ɣɔyí páre**
ɣɔyí páre (Free Variant **ɣɔyí lɔ́ntʁʰi**, Tibetan loan variant **kɛŋó lántʁʰɛ**) (Compound of **ɣɔyí**) *n* towel
ɣu₂ *n* grass Compound **ɣutʁé**
ɣu₁ (Tibetan loan variant **lötɛ́**, lo rtags, ལོ་རྟགས་) *n* animal cycle year, the twelve symbolic animals associated with a twelve year cycle
ɣudzőɣ (***udzö**) *Vt* to send someone upstream
ɣúdʑü *Vt* to hit upon, to run into
ɣúɣu *adj* narrow Prefixed form **noɣú**, **tʰoɣú**
ɣui Dialectal Variant of **ɣi₁**
ɣukú (***uku**) *Vt* to carry upstream
ɣurí₁ *n* right side
ɣurí₂ (Free Variant **koritʁʰó**) *n* upstream, somewhere to the upstream direction
ɣutʁé (Compound of **ɣu₂**) Free Variant of **pá₂**
ɣutʁʰɯ́ Free Variant of **ɣɤ́tʁʰɯ**
ɣútse *Vt* to heat something up
ɣutsɛ́ *Vt* to look for upstream
ɣuvə́₁ (Free Variant **kovütʁʰó**) *n* downstream, some place downstream
ɣuvə́₂ *n* left side
ɣuwɛ́ *n* farm cattle
ɣɯ́₁ (Free Variant **ŋoɣɯ́**) *n* a ladder made of a single log
ɣɯ́₂ *n* seed
ɣɯ́mɛ *n* solidified butter Compound **ɣɯ́mɛ pʰúlɑ**
ɣɯ́mɛ pʰúlɑ (Compound of **ɣɯ́mɛ**, **pʰúlɑ**) *n* a kind of fungus
ɣɯpə́ *n* donkey Compound **ɣɯpənyí**
ɣɯpənyí (Compound of **ɣɯpə́**, **nyɤkʰəsőrö**) *n* a kind of fungus
ɣúvɯ *n* a kind of fungus, called qingjun (青菌) in Chinese Compound **ɣúvɯnyi**, **ɣúvɯtʂʰö**
ɣúvɯnyi (Compound of **nyínyi**, **ɣúvɯ**) *n* a kind of fungus, called hongqingjun (红青菌) in Chinese

ɣúvɯtʂʰö (Compound of **tʂʰötʂʰö**, **ɣúvɯ**) *n* a kind of fungus, called baiqingjun (白青菌) in Chinese

h

haké ɛté *Vi* to laugh
hákʰukö (Free Variant **háköˈ**; **kʰúköˈ**; **kő**) *Vt* to know, to understand
hákö Free Variant of **hákʰukö**
haɭɛ́nɛ *n* lifespan, lifetime
hányɛkʰu *n* mountain pass
hápɛ tədʑó (Phrasal Verb of **tədʑó**) *Vt* to scold, to criticize
hé₂ *n* clarified butter
hə́₂ *n* tooth Compound **həgɔ́**, **həmó**, **həndʐɯ́**
hə́₁ 1) *Vi* to go **2)** *Vt* to receive (someone), to meet, to pick up Prefixed form **ɛhə́**, **ɣɤhə́**, **nohə́**, **təhə́**, **tʰohə́**
həgɔ́ (Compound of **hə́₂**) *n* molar
həmó (Compound of **hə́₂**) *n* front teeth
həndʐɯ́ (Compound of **hə́₂**) *n* fang
hɤ́ Dialectal Variant of **ɛɯ́**
hɤhɤ́ *adj* loose Prefixed form **ɛhɤ́**
hí₂ *Vi* to come Prefixed form **ɛhí**, **ɣɤhí**, **ngɯhí**, **nohí**, **təhí**, **tʰohí**
hí₁ *aux* will, want
hihé *Vt* to mix up Prefixed form **təhíhə**
hótɛʰo (Free Variant **hóti**) *interrog* where
hóti Free Variant of **hótɛʰo**
hɔhɔ́₂ (from Cn hehe 盒盒) *n* box
hɔhɔ́₁ *adj* fast
hú₂ *n* night Compound **ɣɔ́hu**, **húgi**, **húndzə**, **méhu**, **ndéhu**, **ndéndehu**, **péhu**, **réhu**, **rəɲírəhu**, **sɛ́hu**, **tsəhu**
huɑyú Chinese loan of **ʑítsa**
húgi (Compound of **hú₂**) Dialectal Variant of **húndzə**, Archaic form of **húndzə**
húndzə (Dialectal Variant **húgi**, Archaic form **húgi**) (Compound of **hú₂**) *n* dinner

i

i *post* **1)** ergative case **2)** instrumental case
idzó *Vt* to wear (gloves)
iɣé (***iɣe**) *Vi* to flow in the direction of the movement of the sun
***iɣe** *Vi* to flow Prefixed form **ɣiɣé**, **iɣé**, **ngiɣé**, **niɣé**, **tʰiɣé**, **tiɣé**
iɣú *Vt* to guard, to look after
***ihɛ** *Va* to open, to turn on Prefixed form **kʰíhɛ**, **tíhɛ**
íku (***iku**) *Vt* to round something up from downstream
***iku** *Vt* to enclose, to circle around Prefixed form **ɣíku**, **íku**, **níku₁**, **tíku**
imí *Vi* (grain, etc.) to become stale
***indɛ** *Vt* to turn on (water lights, etc.) Prefixed form **ɛ́ndɛ**, **kʰíndɛ**
índü (***indü**) *Vt* to push (a cart) towards downstream
***indü** *Vt* to push (a cart) Prefixed form **ɣíndü**, **índü**, **ngíndü**, **níndü**, **tʰíndü**, **tíndü**
indzú (***indzu**) *Va* to point in the downstream direction
***indzu** *Va* to point in a certain direction, to point with something Prefixed form **ɣindzú**, **indzú**, **kʰindzú**, **ngindzú**, **nindzú**, **tʰindzú**, **tindzú**
indʐə́ (***indʐə**) *Vt* to heap up (grains, etc.), to pile something up
***indʐə** *Vt* to pour (water) Prefixed form **indʐə́**, **nindʐə́**
indʑé (***indʑe**) *Vi* to fly downstream
***indʑe** *Vi* to fly Prefixed form **ɣindʑé**, **indʑé**, **ngindʑé**, **nindʑé**, **tʰindʑé**, **tindʑé**
indʑɛ́lɛ *Vt* to lick
indʑű *Va* to give birth to, to be born
***ingə** (Free Variant ***ɔngə**) *Vt* to pick (firewood, etc.) Prefixed form **níngə**, **tʰíngə**
íni *Vi* to take a rest

***intsʰo** *Vd* to return Prefixed form **ngintsʰó**, **tʰintsʰó**
ínyo *Vt* to chant, to recite (a Buddhist scripture)
írə (***irə**) **1)** *Vt* to separate into shares and distribute, to share with **2)** *Vd* to assign a task to someone
***irə** *Vt* to separate, to share Prefixed form **írə**, **nírə**
iró (***iro**) *Vt* to overtake by going downstream
***iro** *Vt* to overtake Prefixed form **ɣiró**, **iró**, **kʰiró**, **ngiró**, **niró**, **tʰiró**, **tiró**
irú (***iru**) *Vt* to warm up from (the sun)
***iru** *Vt* to warm up from (the sun, fire, etc.) Prefixed form **irú**, **kʰirú**
isí (***si**$_1$) *Vt* to pick from
***iʂu** *Vt* **1)** to harvest **2)** to confiscate Prefixed form **ngíʂu**, **tíʂu**
itɛ́ú *Vi* to sweat
itɛ́ɯ́ro *adv* sometimes
itsʰí (***itsʰi**) *Vi* to jump
***itsʰi** *Vi* to jump Prefixed form **ɣitsʰí**, **itsʰí**, **ngitsʰí**, **nitsʰí**, **tʰitsʰí**, **titsʰí**
***itsi** *Vd* to borrow, to lend Prefixed form **kʰitsí**$_2$, **tʰitsí**
itʂʰə́ *Vt* to teach
ítʂü (***tʂü**) *Vi* to warm up by fire
***itʂu** *Vt* to mix together, to stir, to shake Prefixed form **ɣítʂu**, **títʂu**
ívi (***ivi**) *Vt* to send someone downstream
***ivi** *Vt* to send off Prefixed form **ɣívi**, **ívi**, **ngívi**, **nívi**, **tʰívi**, **tívi**

k

ká (Free Variant **vá**$_1$) *n* the lower side of someone
káɛi (from Cn guanxi 关系) *n* backdoor connection, illicit personal relation
káka Free Variant of **kuákuɑ**
kalə́ (Free Variant **kaləpu**) *n* chest
kaləpu Free Variant of **kalə́**
kamə́ *n* middle-aged person
kará *n* crow
katɛʰá *adj* bad, awful
katítɛe (Dialectal Variant **kʰɯtʰótɛe**; **kʰɯtítɛe**) (Compound of **tɛe** $_1$) *n* puppy
***kɑ** *clf* classifier for kind
kɑkɑ́ Free Variant of **káro**
kálɛ (Dialectal Variant **kɔ́ntʰɔ**) *n* the top side of a mountain
kánlu (from Cn ganglu 钢炉) *n* a major piece of furniture, used for cooking, boiling water and warming
káro (Free Variant **kɑkɑ́**) *adj* near Prefixed form **kʰɯkɑ́**
kárɔ 1) *adj* great, excellent, awesome, severe **2)** *Vn* to be afraid of
kɑtɑ́ Dialectal Variant of **kɛmú**
ké (Cf. Tib khyigs ཁྱིག་ས) *n* family
ké tótɛɑ (Phrasal Verb of **keké**) *Vi* to delay, to hold up, to waste time
kegɛ́ *n* pack harness
keké *adj* to be free, to have time Phrasal Verb **ké tótɛɑ**, **níkə níke**
***kerɤ** *Vt* to climb (mountains, trees, etc.) Prefixed form **nákerɤ**, **tákerɤ**
kélə̨ *n* floor
kəlö (Chinese loan variant **petó**) *n* a basket carried on the back
kélö Free Variant of **gondzí**
kəmɛ (from Tib rku ma རྐུ་མ) *n* thief
kəmítá (from Cn guomindang 国民党) *n* Kuomindang, Chinese Nationalist Party
***kəra** *Vt* to yell, to shout, to call out aloud Prefixed form **ára**$_1$, **ɛ́kəra**, **ɣɤ́kəra**, **ngɛ́kəra**, **nókəra**, **tákəra**, **tʰókəra**
kərɛ́ *adv* a little
kətɛ́ (from Tib bga chal བགའ་ཆལ) *n* toasted wheaten food, including pancakes and dumplings
kətú Dialectal Variant of **tɛgɛ́**
kɛ́ (from Tib bka' བཀའ) *n* command, order
kɛ́pɛ *adj* for a long time

kɛ́ɛ (from Tib ka ba ཀ་བ) *n* column, pillar, pillar space (the space between the pillars in a room, used as a unit to measure room size)
kɛ́ɣɤ *n* a stone wall for protecting cattle from going into farmland, with stairs on both sides, now out of use
kɛhó Free Variant of **kɛmú**
kɛ́mɛ (Dialectal Variant **ndʐívə**, Archaic form **tʂuwú**) (from Tib skar ma སྐར་མ) *n* **1)** star **2)** workpoint, as a measure of work done
kɛmú (Dialectal Variant **kɑtá**, Free Variant **kɛhó**) **1)** *n* the front part of something, long before **2)** *adv* first
kɛŋó lántɕʰɛ Tibetan loan of **ɣɔyí páre**
kétɐi kéŋa *adj* very good
kéyi *qtf* many, much
kɤ́lö *n* a kind of medicinal herb
kɤ́tsʰö *adj* broken, non-intact
kʰakʰá *adj* (wine, dish, color, etc.) concentrated, dense, salty Prefixed form **təkʰá**
***kʰɑ** *Vi* to rain, to become cloudy Prefixed form **nɑkʰá**, **ngɯkʰá**
kʰɑɣá *n* rim, brink (of death, etc.)
kʰakʰá *adj* **1)** skinny **2)** bad-tempered, fierce Prefixed form **nákʰɑ**
kʰálɑ *n* hot steam from cooked food
kʰɑmé *adv* have to, must (predicate needs to be negated)
kʰɑnánɛ Free Variant of **dəméni**
kʰápu kʰɔ́le (from Tib unknown) *n* to compare unrealistically, to keep up with the Joneses
kʰátɛ (Tib kha btags ཁ་བཏགས) *n* a piece of silk used as a greeting gift among the Tibetan and Mongol people
kʰatʂɔ́ *adv* more than, over
kʰé (Cf. Tib khebs ཁེབས) *n* quilt, bedding
kʰekʰé *adj* cheap
kʰesé *n* winning
kʰélənba *n* owl
kʰélö (Free Variant **di**, Tibetan loan variant **pɔrə́**) *n* a round container, typically made of aluminum, for storing barley powder
kʰərə́nbo Free Variant of **tsʰérənbo**
kʰɛ́$_2$ (Free Variant **vɛ́**) *n* side, rim (of a lake, road, etc.)
kʰɛ́$_3$ Dialectal Variant of **kʰɛpʰɛ́**
kʰɛ́$_1$ *n* words, conversation, talk, chat Compound **kʰɛ́ kʰápɛ**
***kʰɛ** *clf* classifier for group
kʰɛ́ kʰápɛ (Compound of **kʰɛ́**$_1$) *Vi* to boast
kʰɛɣá *Vt* to boil
kʰɛ́kʰəte *Vt* to surpass, to come to the age of
kʰɛ́kʰɛ́ (Archaic form **lɔ́kɛ**) **1)** *adj* different, other, two **2)** *Vi* to divorce
kʰɛ́la *Vi* to do something ceremonially (such as plowing) on a specific day because that day is suitable for doing that
kʰɛló (Archaic form **ngukó**) (Cf. Tib kha leb ཁ་ལེབ) *n* cover, lid Compound **tánpí kʰɛló**
kʰɛŋɛ́ (from Tib 'khar rnga འཁར་རྔ) *n* gong
kʰɛpá (**pɑpá**) *Vt* to make wet
kʰɛpʰɛ́ (Dialectal Variant of **kʰɛ́**$_3$) Free Variant of **tətɑ**$_2$
kʰétɕʰɑ *Vt* to deduct (the amount of money, etc.)
kʰétʰɑ *Vt* to clip
kʰɛtʰú *Vt* to meet, to encounter
kʰɛtɔ́ *Vd* to share with
kʰɛtsə́ (Archaic form **tʰűme**) (from Cn kuaizi 筷子) *n* chopsticks
kʰétʂö (from Tib kha dro ཁ་སྐྱོ) *n* good fortune, auspicious, of good omen or appearance
kʰɤ́seŋa (***seŋa**) *Vt* to listen
kʰɤtá *Vt* to carry on a bike
kʰɤ́tɤ *Vt* to buy
kʰɤ́tʂɤ (**tʂɤ́**) *Vi* to be useful, to be helpful
kʰɤ́vɤ (Free Variant **kʰűvɑ**) *Vi* to hide away
kʰɤ́zɤ (***zɤ**) *Vt* to hide away something
kʰí$_1$ *Vi* to go to sleep
kʰí$_2$ *n* brother

kʰíhɛ (***ihɛ**) *Vt* to open (door)
kʰikɛ́ *Vt* to carry
kʰikʰɛ́ *Vt* **1)** to steam **2)** to put something away
kʰikú (***ku**$_1$) *Vt* to cool down something
kʰíli *Vi* to wait
kʰímə *Vt* to ask
kʰími (**mí**$_2$) *Vt* to name
kʰíndə *Vt* to burn something
kʰíndɛ (***indɛ**) *Vt* to turn on lights
kʰíndɯ (**ndɯndɯ́**) *Vi* to become granular
kʰindzú (***indzu**) *Va* to point at
kʰindʑɯ́ *Va* to be smeared with, to get smeared
kʰíŋɯ *Vi* to itch
kʰipó (**popó**) *Vt* to make damp
kʰiró (***iro**) *Vt* to overtake
kʰirú (***iru**) *Vt* to warm up by a fire
kʰítɐo *Vt* to frighten, to browbeat
kʰitsə *Vt* to cook
kʰitsʰé (**tsʰétsʰe**) *Vt* to make thin, to begrudge
kʰitsí$_1$ *Vt* **1)** to learn **2)** to teach
kʰitsí$_2$ (***itsi**) *Vd* to borrow something from someone
kʰiyɛ́ (Dialectal Variant **ngiyɛ́**) *Vt* to embrace, to hug, to encircle something with two arms
kʰomóli Tibetan loan of **lí** **kʰónpɑ** Tibetan loan of **tɐé**
kʰonpə́ (from Tib kham bu ཁམ་བུ) *n* peach
kʰɔ́ *adj* deceased, dead
kʰɔ́ɐo *n* wooden case
kʰɔɣɔ́ Free Variant of **kʰɯɣɔ́**
kʰɔlé (from Tib unknown) *n* house-building
kʰɔlə́ (***ɔlə**) **1)** *Vt* to drive (cars) **2)** *Vt* to release livestock into the field after harvest **3)** *Vd* to present something to someone
kʰɔ́ntsʰɑ *Vt* to marry
kʰɔ́pɑ *n* stature, figure
kʰɔ́rə *Vt* to start doing something
kʰɔsɑ́ (Phrasal Verb of **kʰɯsɑ́**) Free Variant of **kʰɯsɑ́** *Vi* to do bad things, do sinful things
kʰɔ́sɔsɔ *Vt* to stroke, to feel with the hand
kʰɔ́sü *Vt* **1)** to light up (a fire, cigarette, etc.) **2)** to provide something
kʰɔyű *Vt* to ladle up and pour back
kʰɔ́ʑɑ *Vi* to stop work for the day, to knock off
kʰú **1)** *post* in Compound **səkʰú** **2)** *n* inside **3)** *n* valley, used in place name
kʰuɐ́ (Free Variant **kʰúpʰu**) *Vt* to offer something to a god
kʰuɐɯ́ (***uɐɯ**) *Vt* to preserve, to look after
kʰudzű *Vt* to make
kʰúdʐɛ *Vt* to commit, to do sinful things
kʰúdʐi (***udʐi**) *Vt* to get, to come by, to line up
kʰukə́mi (Compound of ***mi**) *n* thief
kʰúkö Free Variant of **hákʰukö**
kʰúlə *Vt* to sing out (as in a story or opera)
kʰundzó *Vt* to become, to do (honorific form)
kʰuntɐʰű *Vt* to worship, to pay homage to
kʰunyű (**nyű**) *Vt* can (speak a certain language, drive a car, etc.)
kʰúŋu *Vt* to stir fry
kʰúpʰu Free Variant of **kʰuɐ́**
kʰutɐʰɛ́ *Vt* to laugh at
kʰútɐɯ (Free Variant **kʰɯ́tɐɯ**) (***utɐɯ**) *Vt* to wear (a flower, fake teeth, etc.)
kʰútsʰu (Free Variant **kʰɯ́tsʰu**) *Vt* to catch
kʰutsú *Vt* to set up a home, to settle down Phrasal Verb **tʂő kʰutsú**
kʰutʂə́ *Vt* to obey (an order), to do
kʰútʂö *Vt* to trace
kʰúwo (Dialectal Variant **kʰúyo**) (**wó**) *Vt* to tie

kʰuwú *Vt* to burn (food for eating)
kʰuyɛ́ *Vt* to watch (TV, etc.)
kʰúyo Dialectal Variant of **kʰúwo** *Vt* to tie
kʰɯ₂ (from Tib khab ཁབ) *n* injection
kʰɯ₁ *Vc* **1)** to exist **2)** to have Prefixed Form **nokʰɯ́**
kʰɯ́ *n* dog
***kʰɯɐiri** *Vt* to pull (cart, etc.) Prefixed Form **ɛkʰɯɐíri**, **ɣɤkʰɯɐíri**, **ngɯkʰɯɐíri**, **nokʰɯɐíri**, **təkʰɯɐíri**, **tʰokʰɯɐíri**
kʰɯɐ́₁ (***ɛo**) *Vi* to come out Phrasal Verb **nínтsʰü kʰɯɐ́**
kʰɯɐ́₂ Dialectal Variant of **yáro**
kʰɯ́ɐu (***ɛu**) *Vt* **1)** to possess, to control **2)** to sleep together with
kʰɯdé (**dedé**) *Vi* to become wide
kʰɯdɛ́ (***dɛ́**) *Vd* to feed (dogs, pigs, etc.) by throwing something to them
kʰɯdzí₁ *Vt* to dampen, to make wet
kʰɯdzí₂ (***dzi**) *Vi* to hit the target
kʰɯʤó₁ (**dʤódʤo**) *Vi* to excess
kʰɯdʤó₂ (***dʤo**) *Vt* **1)** to type in a computer **2)** to inject **3)** to play (cards, mahjong, etc.) **4)** to brush **5)** to build
kʰɯdʤɯ́ (***dʤɯ**) *Vd* to put something on someone's back
kʰɯɣɔ́ (Free Variant **kʰɔɣɔ́**) *Vt* to help
kʰɯká (**káro**) *Vi* to get near, to come close
kʰɯkɔ́kɑ (***kɔ**) *Vt* to dig for (potatoes, etc.)
kʰɯkú (***ku₁**) *Vi* to freeze, to become cold
kʰɯlá *n* puppy
kʰɯ́mə *Vi* to fall into asleep
kʰɯ́mɛ *Vt* to smear something on something, to spread, to apply
kʰɯ́ndü (**ndű₁**) *Vi* to converge (e.g., two trees grow towards each other)
kʰɯ́ndza *Vt* to ride (a bike)
kʰɯ́ndzo (Archaic form **rətɔ́₁**) (***ndzo**) *Vi* **1)** (cars, etc.) to stop abruptly **2)** to gather up, to have a meeting
kʰɯ́ndʐendʐə *Vi* to peek
kʰɯndʤé *Vt* to stick (or glue, or paste) something onto something
kʰɯ́ngo *Vt* to consider, to think about
kʰɯnkʰé *Vi* to win
kʰɯnó (**nóno**) *Vi* to be early
kʰɯntɛʰéntɛʰe *Vi* to be reverent and respectful, to be extremely deferential
kʰɯ́ntsʰɑ 1) *Vi* (the appointed time) arrive **2)** *Vt* to purchase, to buy, to amass wealth in a greedy way **3)** *Vt* to be enough
kʰɯnű́ *Vt* to try, to taste
kʰɯpá (**papá**) *Vi* to get wet (from rain, etc.)
kʰɯpʰí *Vt* to beg
kʰɯ́po (***po**) *Vt* to immerse something in water
kʰɯrá *n* dust
kʰɯ́rə (**rə₂**) *Vt* to cultivate (land)
kʰɯrí *Vt* to write, to paint
kʰɯsá (Free Variant **kʰɔsá**) *Vt* to do (good things or bad things) Phrasal Verb **tsʰɔ́tə kʰɔ́sɑ**
kʰɯsű́ *Vi* (sun) rise
kʰɯsúne *Vt* to sniff at
kʰɯtá *Vt* **1)** to determine based on something **2)** to bury
kʰɯtápu *Vt* to acquire, to merger
kʰɯtɛʰá *Vt* (dirt, etc.) to stick onto something, to adhere onto
kʰɯ́tɛʰɑ *Vt* to move to a new place
kʰɯ́tɛʰɯ (***tɛʰɯ**) *Vt* to tie something to something
kʰɯtɛɔ́ (***tɛo**) *Vt* to verify
kʰɯ́tɛori (***tɛori**) *Vt* to look
kʰɯ́tɛɔ (***tɛɔ**) *Vi* (kings, etc.) to emerge, to arise
kʰɯ́tɛɔtɛɔ (***tɛɔtɛɔ**) *Vt* to urge someone to do something
kʰɯ́tɛɯ Free Variant of **kʰútɛɯ**
kʰɯtə́ (***tə**) *Vt* to spray
kʰɯtʰə́ (***tʰə**) *Vt* **1)** to be sick, to get infected with a disease, to infect someone with a disease **2)** to beg for (food, etc.)

kʰɯtʰótɛe Dialectal Variant of **katítɛe**
kʰɯtʰú *Vi* to be one's turn
kʰɯtítɛe Dialectal Variant of **katítɛe**
kʰɯtíṭi *Vt* to meet
kʰɯtö *Vt* to meet, to encounter
kʰɯtsáto *Vi* to be careful, to be cautious
kʰɯtsʰé (**tsʰétsʰe**) *Vi* to be thin
kʰɯtsʰótsʰo (***tsʰotsʰo**) *Vi* almost
kʰútsʰu Free Variant of **kʰútsʰu**
kʰɯtsí Dialectal Variant of **notsí**
kʰɯtsó (**tsótso**) *Vi* to feel hot
kʰɯʈʂé (***tʂe**$_2$) *Vt* to spray, to pour
kʰútʂətɛʰɛ *Vt* to prepare
kʰɯʈʂɛ́ (***tʂɛ**) *Vi* to arrive
kʰɯʈʂʰéna *Vi* to scratch
kʰɯʈʂó *Vt* to sew (cloth)
kʰútu *Vt* to infect
kʰútü (**tü**) *Vi* (cattle, etc.) to butt
kʰúva Free Variant of **kʰɣ́vɤ**
kʰúvɯ (**vú**$_1$) *Vt* to invite Phrasal Verb **tɛʰá kʰúvɯ**
kʰɯyű *n* a kind of butter tea made in the old days
kʰúzəzo (***zəzo**) *Vt* to pile up, to stack up
kʰɯzű *Vt* to catch, to capture
kʰɯʑú *Vt* to apply for, to request Phrasal Verb **gónba kʰɯʑú**
kí$_1$ (Dialectal Variant **kúi**, Tibetan loan variant **löŋő**, lo ngo, ལོ་ངོ) *n* year, age Compound **kítsʰo** Prefixed form **tʰokí**
kí$_2$ *n* key
kikí *adj* slow
kíko *adj* big, tall Prefixed form **tʰikó**, Superlative form **zíko**
kindzú *Vi* to kneel
kítsʰo (Compound of **kí**$_1$) *n* age limit
kǫ́ Dialectal Variant of **wó**
kö Free Variant of **hákʰukö**
koɣá *n* steamed wheaten food
kő̈kö *adj* insufficient, lacking
kokú *n* large hawk-cuckoo
kólo (Dialectal Variant **ɣaɣá**$_1$) *adj* **1)** difficult, hard, laborious **2)** exhausting, burdensome
konitɛʰó *n* the opposite side of a mountain
kóri *n* place
koritɛʰó Free Variant of **ɣurí**$_2$
kǫtɛé Free Variant of **tʰotɛé**
kötɛʰü *n* fighter
kotɛʰú *n* a cover term for all kinds of milk products
koté *n* horse harness
kóvo ɛüɛü *adj* arrogant, proud
kovó pʰúla (Compound of **pʰúla**) *n* cattle egret
kovütɛʰó Free Variant of **ɣuvé**$_1$
kɔ *post* in (sky, water, fire)
kɔ́$_1$ (Cf. Tib gong གོང) *n* price
kɔ́$_3$ *n* horse bridle
kɔ́$_4$ *n* raw flour Compound **kɔvó**
kɔ́$_2$ *n* vegetable garden
***kɔ** *Vt* to dig Prefixed form **ɑkɔ́**, Pluractional form **kʰɯkɔ́kɑ**
kɔkɔ́ *adj* unripe, raw, uncooked
kɔkɔ́tɛe (Free Variant **vərəkɔ́tsi**) (Compound of **tɛe** $_1$) *n* piglet
kɔ́li (from Cn gongli 公里) *n* kilometer
kɔ́mɑ *n* pickax
kɔ́ntʰɔ Dialectal Variant of **kálɛ**
kɔ́pɑ (from Tib sgog pa སྒོག་པ) *n* garlic Compound **yarəkɔ́pɑ**
kɔrélə *n* a kind of food
kɔ́rɔ *adj* crooked Compound **tsʰɤkɔ́rɔ**

kɔsə́ (from Cn gongsi 公司) *n* shop, store
kɔ́tsɛ *adv* really (used with negated predicate)
kɔtsʰɤ́ (Compound of **tsʰɤ́₂**) *n* small rat
kɔvó (Compound of **kɔ́₄**) *n* raw barley flour
kú₁ *aux* to be able to do, to have the ability to do
kú₂ *n* quiver
***ku₁** *Vi* to freeze, to become cold Prefixed form **kʰikú**, **kʰɯkú**
***ku₂** *Va* to bend Prefixed form **níku₂**, **nóku**
***ku₃** *clf* verbal action classifier for the number of time(s) an action is performed
kuákuɑ (Free Variant **káka**) (from Cn guagua 瓜瓜) *n* vegetable or fruit name that contains the morpheme gua 'melon' in Chinese
kúɛ (Cf. Tib khungs ཁུངས) *n* reason why, principle
kúi Dialectal Variant of **kí₁**
kúkɛ *n* zigzag path
kukupápɑ *n* turtle dove
kúntʂʰɛ (Cf. Tib sku 'dra སྐུ་འདྲ religious image) *n* reincarnated soul
kutɐə̋ *Vt* to castrate (pigs or cattle)
kúwɛ *n* collar
***kuwɛ** (Tibetan loan variant ***görɛ**) **1)** *Vt* to circle around something **2)** *n* circle Prefixed form **nokúwɛ**, **təkúwɛ**, **tʰokúwɛ**
kúʑo (Tibetan loan variant **tʂə́ku**, sprul sku, སྤྲུལ་སྐུ) *n* living Buddha, tulku
kɯ́kʰɯ *Vt* to steal
kɯtsʰɯ́ *n* hoof

l

lá *n* **1)** newly married woman **2)** bride **3)** fiancée
ladzə̋ (from Tib lag 'ju ལག་འཇུ) *n* door handle
lá (from Tib glang གླང) *n* ox (the second of twelve Zodiacs)
***lɑ** *Vi* (bottles, etc.) to fall Prefixed form **álɑ**, **nɛ́lɑ**, **tʰálɑ**, **tʰɛ́lɑ**
lápü (from Tib lag shubs ལག་ཤུབས) *n* glove
lɑɣɔ́ (Tibetan loan variant **tɐʰəkʰá**, mchod khang, མཆོད་ཁང) *n* **1)** shrine room, chapel **2)** used to vouch for that what was said is true
lákʰɛ *n* grasp, control, hand
lálɔ (Tibetan loan variant **lonpá**, lung pa, ལུང་པ) *n* valley
lɑlɔmé Dialectal Variant of **tɛnimé**
lámu *n* surplus, extra, excess
lɑnputɐʰé (from Tib glang chen གླང་ཆེན) *n* elephant
le₂ Free Variant of **sɔ́₁**
le₄ (from Tib las ལས) *n* **1)** karma, deed **2)** predestined relationships
le₁ *post* on
lé₁ Free Variant of **ríle**
lé₂ *n* outside
***le** *Vt* to pay (money) Prefixed form **ɛlé**, **ngɯlé**, **nolé**
leɐé (from Tib unknown) *n* partial labor, a term used during the agricultural cooperation movement
lédʑü (Tibetan loan variant **tɐʰuntsʰó**, byung tshul, བྱུང་ཚུལ) (from Tib lo rgyus ལོ་རྒྱུས) *n* history, records, back
lénɛ (from Tib unknown) *n* career, affair, business
lengə̋ (from Tib las 'gan ལས་འགན) *n* assignment, duty, task, responsibility
lengú (from Tib unknown) *n* grown-up, adult
lenpú (from Tib klan pu བློན་པ reply) *n* answer, reply
lénpu (from Tib unknown) *n* bodyguard
lenɯ́ *n* moon
lesópɛ (from Tib la sogs pa ལ་སོགས་པ) *prt* and so on
lesú (from Tib unknown) *n* full labor, a term used during the agricultural cooperation movement

lewɛ́ *n* sweater
lətɕə́ wúzə (Compound of **wúzə**) *n* white wagtail (a bird)
lɛ (from Tib lha ལྷ) *n* god Compound **lɛzɵ́**
lɛ́ (from Tib bla བླ) *n* wool
lɛɕɛ́ *n* thigh
lɛɕɯ́ (Tibetan loan variant **lɛtɕʰɯ̃́**, lha mtsho, ལྷ་མཚོ) (Compound of **lɛ**, **ɕɯ́**) *n* holy lake
lɛ́kɛ́ (from Tib las ka ལས་ཀ) *n* work, thing
lɛ́kʰɛ (from Tib la kha ལ་ཁ) *n* mountain pass
lɛ́mɛ (Dialectal Variant **nɯ́ngɤ**) (from Tib bla ma བླ་མ) *n* lama Compound **wúzəlɛmɛ**
lɛmú (from Tib unknown) *n* a particular genre of song, sung in Tibetan Phrasal Verb **lɛmú ɛ́ntʰe**
lɛmú ɛ́ntʰe (Phrasal Verb of **lɛmú**) *Vi* used to praise good singers
lɛ́pɛ (from Tib gla pa བླ་དྭ) *n* working for others, employee, wage-worker
lɛrí (Free Variant **lɛyú**) *n* traditional song
lɛtɕʰípɑ *n* dancing costume for male persons
lɛtɕʰɯ̃́ Tibetan loan of **lɛɕɯ́**
lɛtʰóbo *n* soul, spirit
lɛtó *n* method, way, manner
lɛ́tse (Cf. Tib gla cha བླ་ཆ) *n* salary, payment
lɛ́tsɛ *n* the top end of a valley
lɛyú Free Variant of **lɛrí**
lɛzɵ́ (from Tib lha bzo ལྷ་བཟོ) (Compound of **lɛ**) *n* painter
lɤ *n* milk Compound **lɤmí**, **lɤtɕítɕʰi**, **lɤ́tsʰə**
lɤ́ *n* badger
lɤmí (Compound of **lɤ**) *n* cowboy
lɤró Free Variant of **pɛ́ki**
lɤtɕítɕʰi (Compound of **lɤ**, **tɕítɕʰi**) *n* a machine used for processing milk
lɤ́təhi *Vi* to brag, to boast, to joke
lɤ́tsʰə (Compound of **lɤ**) *n* a kind of yogurt
lí (Tibetan loan variant **kʰomóli**) (from Tib li ལི) *n* bronze
***li** *clf* classifier for month Compound **lipʰó**
lipʰó (Compound of ***li**) *n* half a month
lɵ̃ Free Variant of **lötʰó**
***lö** *clf* general classifier
lödɛ́ (Cf. Tib lo ལོ་ year) *n* a certain year of one of the twelve zodiac signs
lödʐɛ́ (from Tib slob grwa སློབ་གྲྭ) *n* school
logɵ̃ (from Tib rlung sgo རླུང་སྒོ) *n* skylight, window
lɵ̃kö *n* the four season
***lolö** *Vt* to carry, to move Prefixed form **élolö**, **ɣɤ́lolö**, **ngɯ́lolö**, **nólolö**, **tə́lolö**, **tʰólolö**
lomɑ́ (from Tib lo ma ལོ་མ) *n* leaf
löndɛ́ *n* end of the year
lonyɛ́ *n* handle of a cup
löŋɵ̃ Tibetan loan of **kí**$_1$
losɵ̃ (from Tib slob gso སློབ་གསོ) *n* education Phrasal Verb **losɵ̃ kʰútso**
losɵ̃ kʰútso (Phrasal Verb of **losɵ̃**) *Vi* to receive education
lösú (Free Variant **lusú**) (from Tib lugs srol ལུགས་སྲོལ) *n* tradition, custom, rule
lötɛ́ Tibetan loan of **ɣu**$_1$
lötʰó (Free Variant **lɵ̃**) (from Tib blo thabs བློ་ཐབས) *n* idea, thought
***lɔ** *Vi* to change position Prefixed form **nálɔ**, **nɛ́lɔ**
lɔ́kɛ Archaic form of **kʰɛ́kʰɛ́**
lɔntʰú *n* earring of females
lɔtɛ́ (Cf. Tib dar དར) *n* flag
lu (from Tib lug ལུག) *n* goat (the eighth of twelve Zodiacs)
lɯ̃ (Tibetan loan variant **túnko**, dung dkar, དུང་དཀར) *n* conch shell
lúkɛ (from Cn lüguan 旅馆) *n* hotel

lüsó (from Tib lo gsar ལོ་གསར་) *n* new year, spring festival Compound **lüsótɛe**
lüsótɛe (Compound of **lüsó**, **tɛe**) *n* a spring festival celebrated according to the Tibetan calendar
lusú Free Variant of **lösú**
luwɛ́ (from Tib long ba ཨོང་བ) *n* blind person, blind, to be blind Compound **nɯgɯ́ lúwɛ**
lɯ́lo *Vi* to compare unrealistically
lɯ́tʰɔ (from Tib lo thog ལོ་ཐོག) *n* **1)** barley plant **2)** farm crop

m

má *n* white-eared pheasant
makʰátʂələ *n* ankle
mamí *n* a kind of fungus, called jidanjun (鸡蛋菌) in Chinese
mandzá *n* toenail
manɯ́ *n* toe
má (from Tib dmag དམག) *n* soldier, army
maɛipélə *adj* lukewarm, neither hot nor cold
mádʑɛkɛtɛa *n* Swinhoe's striped squirrel
mahé (from Tib ma he མ་ཧེ) *n* water buffalo
maná **1)** *Vt* to extract (oil), to press oil out of seeds **2)** *n* oil
mantɛʰá *n* weeds
mapó Tibetan loan of **pəntʰá**
mapɔ́ (from Tib dmag dpon དམག་དཔོན) *n* army commander, army officer
matɛá Chinese loan of **pá₁**
me *adj* not Compound **memí**
mé (from Tib sman སྨན) *n* medicine Compound **mekʰá**, **mepɛ́**
meɛ́ *n* afternoon (between five and six)
mekʰá (from Tib sman kang སྨན་ལང) (Compound of **mé**) *n* hospital
mekʰú Free Variant of **tɛekʰú**
mekʰú ngɯtʂé (Phrasal Verb of **ngɯtʂé**) *Vn* to be homesick
melɛ́kʰɛ *n* afternoon (after five o'clock)
méme *qtf* all Compound **méme ró**
méme ró (Compound of **méme**, **ró₃**) *n* everywhere
memí (Compound of **me**, ***mi**) *n* a person who has nothing
mepɛ́ (Free Variant **mepú**) (from Tib sman pa སྨན་པ) (Compound of **mé**) *n* doctor
mepú Free Variant of **mepɛ́**
métɛe *adj* pink
metə́ *n* noon
metɔ́ (from Tib me tog མེ་ཏོག) *n* flower Compound **metɔ́ tánpí**, **metɔ́ tóre**, **tʂamétɔ**
metɔ́ tánpí (Compound of **metɔ́**, **tánpí**) *n* flower vase
metɔ́ tóre (from Tib me tog ldum ra མེ་ཏོག་ལྡུམ་ར) (Compound of **metɔ́**) *n* garden
məgɛ́ (from Tib mi rgan མི་རྒན) Tibetan loan of **mənɛ́ndɛ**
məɣə́ (Free Variant **nbəlá**) *n* ox
méhu (Compound of **hú₂**) *n* last night
məkʰá *n* calf
mələ́ *n* a kind of animal that is similar to a weasel and preys on cats
məlɯ̋ Dialectal Variant of **pá₂**
məndɛ́ndɛ Free Variant of **mənɛ́ndɛ**
məndʑɯ́ *adv* just now, shortly before
mənɛ́ndɛ (Free Variant **məndɛ́ndɛ**, Tibetan loan variant **məgɛ́**) *n* old person
məní *n* human Compound **dəméni**
mərá ɣɤ́tsə Free Variant of **mərá tətsə**
mərá tətsə (Free Variant **mərá ɣɤ́tsə**) *Vi* to get angry
méro (Dialectal Variant **sɛvə́**) *n* **1)** next year **2)** generation
məsé *n* people
méte *n* siblings, brothers and sisters
mətí (from Tib mu tig མུ་ཏིག) *n* pearl

mətsá *n* **1)** young girl **2)** a woman who is the head of the family
mətsə́ *n* bad things
mətsʰé **1)** *adv* only **2)** *adv* certainly **3)** *prt* otherwise
mɛʁɛ́ *n* a kind of fungus, called shihuijun (石灰菌) in Chinese
mɛmɛ́ *n* grandmother
mɛ́ndɛ *n* old woman Compound **dəmɛ́ndɛ**, **yümɛ́ndɛ**
mɛ́tʁɛ (from Tib rma bya རྨ་བྱ) *n* peacock
mi (Free Variant **mípu**) *n* right side Compound **míngo**, **míropo**
mí₂ *n* name Compound **míkʰɛ**, Prefixed form **kʰímí**, **tʰómi**
mí₁ (Cf. Tib mig མིག) *n* eye Compound **mimɔ́**, **mirénbo**, **nomipɛ́**
mí₃ *n* wool
***mi** *n* person, agentive nominalizer Compound **kʰukémi**, **memí**, **pʰúmi**, **táyimi**, **tʁɯ́n-bərɛmi**
mibé (from Tib mig dpe མིག་དཔེ) *n* example, model
míkʰɛ (Compound of **mí₂**) *n* fame, reputation
mimɔ́ (Compound of **mí₁**, **mɔ́₂**) *n* eyebrow and eyelash
mindɛ́ (from Tib me mda' མེ་མདའ) *n* gun, rifle
míngo (Compound of **ngó**, **mi**) *n* right leg
mintʁʰá *n* mushroom Compound **ɛsimíntʁʰá** Compound **ndɤ́ míntʁʰa**
mípu Free Variant of **mi**
mirénbo (Compound of **mí₁**, **rənbó**) *n* eyelid
míro Free Variant of **míropo**
míropo (Free Variant **míro**) (Compound of **mi**) *n* right hand
mití *n* family, household
mitsáwɛ Free Variant of **mitsʰéŋɑ**
mitsʰé *n* the earring or adornment that is attached to the ear of cattle
mitsʰéŋɑ (Free Variant **mitsáwɛ**) (from Tib mi gtsang ba མི་གཙང་བ) *n* dirt, filth, the unclean
mítsʰi (Free Variant **tsʰí₁**) (from Tib mi tshe མི་ཚེ) *n* lifetime, lifespan, longevity
mo Tibetan loan of **vá₂**
mó *n* **1)** mother **2)** female Compound **ɣəmó**, **ŋémo**, **uɣímo**, **vomó**, **zəmó**
mo- *pfx* negative prefix
modʑí *n* instep
mokʰɛ́ Dialectal Variant of **ŋurə́**
mondévolö *n* shank
moní (from Tib ma ni མ་ནི) *n* jewel, prayer-wheel, things relating to Buddhism Compound **moní dónpʰo**, **moní kʰólö**, **moní tʁíɛ**, **moní tʁɯ́kʰö**, **moní tɔ́kʰö**
moní dónpʰo (from Tib ma ni rdo phung མ་ནི་རྡོ་ཕུང) (Compound of **moní**) *n* the mani mantra engraved on a rock
moní kʰólö (from Tib ma ni 'khor lo མ་ནི་འཁོར་ལོ) (Compound of **moní**) *n* hand-held prayer-wheel
moní tʁíɛ (Free Variant **moní tʂíɛ**) (from Tib ma ni phreng ba མ་ནི་ཕྲེང་བ) (Compound of **moní**) *n* rosary, Buddhist prayer beads
moní tʁɯ́kʰö (Compound of **moní**) *n* a prayer-wheel built on a small creek and is turned by a water wheel
moní tɔ́kʰö (Compound of **moní**) *n* a big prayer-wheel, spun around by people as they walk around it; also refers to a small building that contains a prayer wheel
moní tʂíɛ Free Variant of **moní tʁíɛ**
monkʰí (Free Variant **monkʰíva**) *n* chin
monkʰíva Free Variant of **monkʰí**
mópisə *aux* won't
mópu Tibetan loan of **nyínyi**
móse (from Tib dmar ser དམར་སེར) *adj* golden yellow
motʁó (Cf. Tib rma rjes རྨ་རྗེས) *n* scar
motʂú *n* a kind of fungus
mɔ́₁ *n* seed
mɔ́₂ *n* hair, body hair Compound **ɣámɔ**, **mimɔ́**, **rəntimɔ́**, **səmɔ́**
mɔmɔ́ (from Tib mo mo མོ་མོ) *n* steamed dumpling
mɔndé (from Tib rmongs dad རྨོངས་དད) *n* old tradition, superstition, blind faith
mɔ́ngɔ Dialectal Variant of **mɯ́₃**, Free Variant of **mɯ́₃**

mɔ́nyɔ *n* **1)** woman **2)** wife
mɔsɔ́ *n* heel
mú *Vc* to exist, to have Prefixed form **tʰomú**
mudé (Cf. Tib gdan གདན) *n* seat, cushion
mudɔ́ (Cf. Tib rdo རྡོ) *n* stone
múlo (from Tib smon lam སྨོན་ལམ) *n* benediction, wish, prayer Phrasal Verb **múlo tədʑó**
múlo tədʑó (Phrasal Verb of **múlo**) *Vi* to make a wish
mənyɛ́ *n* Munya Compound **mənyɛ́su**, **mənyɛ́wu**
mənyɛ́su (Compound of **mənyɛ́**, **sú**) *n* Munya language
mənyɛ́wu (Compound of **mənyɛ́**, **-u**$_1$) *n* Munya people
musó (Cf, Tib mo gzhon མོ་གཞོན) *n* adolescent female (between 17 and 18)
mɯ́$_2$ Free Variant of **mɯtəkɯ́rɯ**
mɯ́$_3$ (Dialectal Variant **mɔ́ngɔ**, Free Variant **mɔ́ngɔ**) *n* **1)** sky **2)** weather Compound **mɯndʑá**, **mɯ́ŋɯŋɯ**
mɯ́$_1$ (Cf. Tib me མེ) *n* fire Compound **mɯ́ɐətʰɛ**, **mɯdó**, **mɯkʰő**, **mɯ́kʰɯra**, **mɯ́nkʰɯ**
mɯ́ ɣɤtʰɯ́ (Phrasal Verb of **ɣɤtʰɯ́**) *Vi* to make a fire and cook
mɯ́ɐətʰɛ (Compound of **mɯ́**$_1$) *n* a stone to keep embers alive
mɯdó (from Tib me dong མེ་དོང) (Compound of **mɯ́**$_1$) *n* fire pit
mɯɣɤ́ *n* striped loach (a fresh water fish)
mɯkʰő (Compound of **mɯ́**$_1$) *n* chimney, a hole in the roof
mɯ́kʰɯra (Compound of **mɯ́**$_1$) *n* ash
mɯ́mɯ *n* wind
mɯndʑá (Compound of **mɯ́**$_3$) *n* rain
mɯ́ngö *n* person
mɯ́nkʰɯ (Compound of **mɯ́**$_1$) *n* smoke Compound **mɯ́nkʰɯ budö**
mɯ́nkʰɯ budö (Compound of **mɯ́nkʰɯ**) *n* chimney
mɯnɯkáka *adj* naked
mɯnɯ́nɯ *n* white-browed bush robin, black redstart
mɯ́ŋɯŋɯ (Compound of **mɯ́**$_3$) *adj* blue
mɯtəkɯ́rɯ (Free Variant **mɯ́**$_2$) *n* tail
mɯtsʰí *n* a kind of plant

n

náda$_1$ Free Variant of **nóda**
náda$_2$ *Vt* to sing
naɣɤ́ *Vi* to be late
nákəra Free Variant of **nókəra**
nána *adj* smooth, glossy
nántɕʰe *Vi* to arc one's back
napudɔ́ntʰi *n* white-bellied black woodpecker
natá *Vi* to get stuck, to have a stuffy nose
natő (***tö**) *Vt* to go and get something down
návəla (***vəla**) *Vi* to roll down
náyo *n* care
názɤ (***zɤ**) *Vt* to conceal something from someone
nádʑɔ (**dʑɔ́**) *Vt* to hit something by throwing a stone downward (downhill or downstairs)
náɣɔ (***ɣɔ**) *Vt* to wash (clothes)
nákerɤ (***kerɤ**) *Vi* to climb down
nakʰá (***kʰa**) *Vi* to rain, to snow
nákʰa (**kʰakʰá**) *Vi* to become thin
nálɔ (***lɔ**) *Vi* (lamas, nuns, etc.) to return to or resume secular life
námɔ dződzö *n* name of a kind of grass seed
nandő (***ndö**) *Vi* to make a mistake unintentionally
nándzo *Vt* to process (milk)
nándʑa *Vi* to rain, to snow
nándʑotɕite (from Tib unknown) *n* round shaped pagoda

nánga (**ngá**) *Vi* to cry Pluractional form **nángənga**
nángənga (**nánga**) *Vi* (many people) to cry
nántʰe *Vt* to arrange seats for a party
nántʂʰu *Vi* to lose one's way, to be wrong
nápamɛ (**pamɛ́**) *Vi* to be abundant, to be not scarce
nápʰa Free Variant of **nɛ́pʰa**
nápʰɛdʑa (***pʰɛdʑa**) *Vt* to follow someone downward
napɔ́ (***pɔ**) *Vi* to relocate downstream
nára (**rá**$_1$) *Vi* to go down
nasá *Vt* a religious action performed by a lama done by puffing at something while reciting Buddhist scripture
násəsa (***səsa**) *Vt* to wipe (desk, stove, etc.)
nasɔ́ *Vt* to say (honorific form)
nátɛɔtɛɔ (***tɛɔtɛɔ**) *Vt* to chase by going downward (downhill or downstairs)
náwu (Cf. Tib nags ནགས) *n* forest
náʑa *Vt* to harvest
náʑɔ *Va* to use up, to exhaust
nbá (Free Variant **tɛútɛu**) *n* male organ
nbapʰí *n* deaf person
***nba** *Va* (glasses, road, etc.) to break, to be ruined Prefixed form **ánba**, **nɛ́pʰa**, **nónba**
nbagő *n* female dancing costume
nbenbé *adj* many
nbetső (from Tib 'bad brtson འབད་བརྩོན) *n* effort, pains, try
nbə́$_1$ *Vi* to be comfortable, happy or cozy Prefixed form **tʰónbə**
nbə́$_2$ *n* stem (of wheat, barley, etc.)
nbəlá Free Variant of **məɣə́**
nbətʂá (Cf. Tib 'bu འབུ) *n* **1)** worm, insect, bug Compound **tɛɯ́nbərɛmi**, **tɛɯ́ro nbə́tʂa** **2)** caterpillar fungus, ophiocordyceps sinensis
nbɛpə́ *n* butterfly
nbí *Vi* **1)** to sit, to stay **2)** to live **3)** (horse, car, etc.) to stop
nbiyüza Free Variant of **nboyű**
nbó *adj* (house, clothes, etc.) old, worn out
nbő *n* candy, cookies, sweets
***nbo** *Vt* to dismiss, to dissolve Prefixed form **nonbó**, **tʰonbó**
nbolő *n* bee
nbonbó *adj* low
nbönbő *adj* wide (in diameter), thick Prefixed form **tʰonbő**, Superlative form **zə́nbö**
nbopó *n* a resting place for cattle on grazing land where there is no grass
norí Dialectal Variant of **nbú**
nbotó *n* the top floor of a house, used to store grains Compound **nbotó ɣálö**
nbotó ɣálö (Compound of **nbotó**, **ɣálö**) *n* roof
nbová Free Variant of **tɛodʑé**
nboyí Free Variant of **nboyű**
nboyű (Dialectal Variant **akɔ́**, Free Variant **nbiyüza**; **nboyí**) *n* young calf
nbú (Dialectal Variant **norí**, Tibetan loan variant **ri**$_2$, ri, རི) *n* mountain
nbutʂí *n* earring of males
ndáre *n* terraced fields
ndáva (Tibetan loan variant **ndʐúpu**, mgron po, མགྲོན་པོ) *n* guest, visitor
ndá$_1$ *aux* once, used to, to have the experience of doing something
ndá$_2$ *Vt* **1)** to play (a string instrument) **2)** to knock
ndéhu (Compound of **hú**$_2$) *n* two nights after tomorrow night
ndéndehu (Compound of **hú**$_2$) *n* three nights after tomorrow night
ndéndesi (Free Variant **déməresi**) (Compound of **sí**) *n* three days after tomorrow
ndéndevə *n* three years after next year
ndenpɛ́ *n* destruction, vandalism, damage
ndési (Compound of **sí**) *n* two days after tomorrow
ndévə *n* two years after next year
ndə́ *Vc* exist Prefixed form **tʰondə́**
ndəɣɔ́ *n* cattle keeper
ndəhə́ *n* pea, as plant Compound **ndəhəmó**

ndəhəmó (Compound of **ndəhə́**) *n* pea
ndəkʰá (Tibetan loan variant **ndʐɔpá**, 'brog pa, འབྲོག་པ) *n* **1)** herdsman **2)** highland pasture
ndəré *n* cloud
ndɛ (from Tib mda' མདའ) *n* arrow
ndɛndɛ́ *adj* old Prefixed form **tʰɛndɛ́**
ndɤ́ Free Variant of **ndɤ́pʰɔ** Compound **ndɤ́ míntɛʰa**
ndɤ́ míntɛʰa (Compound of **ndɤ́**, **mintɛʰá**) *n* a kind of fungus, called qinggangjun (青冈菌) in Chinese
ndɤ́pʰɔ (Free Variant **ndɤ́**) *n* beech tree
***ndö** *Vi* to make a mistake unintentionally Prefixed form **nɑndő**, **nɛndő**, **tʰɑndő**, **tʰɛndő**
ndɔ́ (Tibetan loan variant **ɕɛ́**, sha, ཤ) *n* meat Compound **ndɔ́mɔmɔ**, **ʑindɔ́**
ndɔ́mɔmɔ (Compound of **ndɔ́**, **mɔmɔ́**) *n* steamed dumpling with meat filling
ndű₁ *Vi* to go Prefixed form **ɛ́ndü**, **ɣɤ́ndü**, **kʰɯ́ndü**, **ngɯ́ndü**, **nóndü**, **tə́ndü**, **tʰóndü**
ndű₂ *n* Kangding (name of a city)
***ndu** *clf* classifier for drop
ndɯ́ *n* mold growing on milk
ndɯkʰá *n* the upper area of something
ndɯndɯ́ *adj* granular, powdery, sandy Prefixed form **kʰíndɯ**
ndzá *n* tree resin
ndzɑndzá *adj* cold Prefixed form **ɛndzá**, **tʰɑndzá**
ndzɑnbúli (from Tib 'dzam bu gling འཛམ་བུ་གླིང) *n* the world, Land of Jambu (from Buddhism)
ndzɑndzɑ́ *adj* (knife, etc.) sharp
ndzendzé (Cf. Tib mzes mtson མཛེས་མཚོན) *adj* shy, over-polite
ndzə́ 1) *Vt* to eat **2)** *n* food, meal Compound **ndzəɣɔ́**, Prefixed form **ɛ́ndzə**
ndzəɣɔ́ (Compound of **ndzə́**) *n* pot brush
ndzí₂ (Cf. Tib gzig གཟིག) *n* leopard
ndzí₁ Tibetan loan of **sə́so**
***ndzo** *Vi* **1)** to grow up **2)** to stop **3)** to gather up Prefixed form **kʰɯ́ndzo**, **tə́ndzo**
ndzɔ́ *n* bridge
ndzú *n* chisel
ndzű₂ *n* room
ndzuwɛ́₁ Free Variant of **nɯ́ ndzúwɛ** Compound **ndzuwɛ́ tɕɛ́**
ndzuwɛ́₂ *n* ration for a journey
ndzuwɛ́ tɕɛ́ (Compound of **ndzuwɛ́₁**, **tɕɛ́₁**) *n* afternoon tea
ndzɯ́ *n* fox
ndʐándʐa Dialectal Variant of **ndʑándʑa**
ndʐɑtɕʰɑ́ *n* figure, shape of body
ndʐé (from Tib 'bras འབྲས) *n* rice Compound **ndʐesí**, **ndʐetɕɛ́**, **ndʐetʰú**
ndʐesí (Compound of **ndʐé**) *n* cooked rice, with little water
ndʐetɕɛ́ (Compound of **ndʐé**, **tɕɛ́₁**) *n* thin porridge
ndʐetʰú (Compound of **ndʐé**) *n* sticky porridge
ndʐə́ *n* elastic rope Compound **ɕɛ́ndʐə**
ndʐətɕʰá *n* small-sized male yak
ndʐɛ́ məndʐɛ́ (Compound of **ndʐɛ́ndʐɛ**) *adj* various, all kinds of
ndʐɛnbɛ́ *n* gum
ndʐɛ́ndʐɛ *adj* same, identical Compound **ndʐɛ́ məndʐɛ́**, **nyɯ́ndʐɛ**
ndʐɤ́ *n* goose, swan, crane
ndʐipú (from Tib 'bras bu འབྲས་བུ) *n* fruit, result, effect
ndʐívə Dialectal Variant of **kɛ́mɛ**
ndʐö *aux* to be used to, to have the experience of doing something
ndʐő Tibetan loan of **rəká** Compound **ndʐökó**
ndʐökó (Compound of **ndʐő**) *n* a day that is suitable for going out
ndʐɔ́ *n* large-sized male yak
ndʐɔkʰɔ́ (from Tib 'gro khungs འགྲོ་ཁུངས) *n* usefulness
ndʐɔ́le (Compound of **ndʐɔpá**, **lɛ́kɛ́**) *n* pastoral work
ndʐɔ́ndʐə (Cf. Tib 'bru rigs འབྲུ་རིགས) *n* grain, such as barley and wheat

ndʐɔpá Tibetan loan of **ndəkʰá** Compound **ndʐɔ́le**
ndʐɔsɔ́ (from Tib 'gro song འགྲོ་སོང) *n* expense, cost, expenditure
ndʐu (from Tib 'brug འབྲུག) *n* dragon (the fifth of twelve Zodiacs) Compound **ndʐutə́nda**
ndʐű (Tibetan loan variant **tʰupɛ́**, thug pa, ཐུག་པ) *n* porridge
ndʐulú (Cf. Tib lugs ལུགས) *n* tradition, old custom
ndʐumó *n* wooden bucket
ndʐúpu Tibetan loan of **ndáva**
ndʐutə́nda (Compound of **ndʐu**) *n* thunder
ndʐuyí *n* dove
ndʑá *n* hoe
ndʑándʑa (Dialectal Variant **ndʐándʐa**) *adj* wet
ndʑándʑɑ *adj* to be good friends with each other, to snuggle
ndʑəŋá *n* breathlessness, euphemism for death
ndʑərɵ́ *n* hole Compound **zodə́ndʑərö**
ndʑɛ́$_1$ (from Tib 'ja' འཇའ) *n* **1)** rainbow **2)** solar halo; lunar halo
ndʑikú *n* ice
ndʑité (from Tib 'jig rten འཇིག་རྟེན) *n* world, universe
ndʑó$_2$ Free Variant of **ndʑorí**
***ndʑo** *Vi* to go directly to somewhere without visiting someone on the way Prefixed form **ɛ́ndʑo**, **ɣɤ́ndʑo**, **nóndʑo**, **tə́ndʑo**, **tʰóndʑo**
ndʑorí (Free Variant **ndʑó**$_2$) *n* wall
ndʑú *pro* **1)** other people **2)** someone
ndʑű$_1$ *Vt* to have
ndʑű$_2$ *n* friend
ndʑű́ndʑɯ *Vi* to have fun (by singing and dancing, etc.)
ndʑuwɛ́ (from Tib 'gyur ba འགྱུར་བ) *n* change
ndʑɯ́ *Vc* exist Prefixed form **tʰondʑɯ́**
ndʑɯndʑɯ́ *adj* thin
ndʑɯtʂá (from Tib 'jigs skrag འཇིགས་སྐྲག) *n* terror, fear, dread
né *pro* second person singular reflexive form
nengá *n* crime
nentsʰű́ (from Tib gnas tshul གནས་ཚུལ) *n* situation, condition, circumstance
nə *prt* **1)** concessive clause linker **2)** also
nəkɑ́ *n* the last day of a month
nə́le *n* harrier
nə́pu (from Tib nor bu ནོར་བུ) *n* precious thing, gem, jewel
nətá *n* gum
nétɕʰo *n* vicinity, around
nétɕɯ Free Variant of **nútɕɯ**
nətɛ́ *n* **1)** the right and appropriate time for doing something, red-letter day **2)** time
nətsé (Free Variant **retsʰɛ́**) *n* cloth
nətʂɵ́tʂɛ (**tʂɵ́**$_2$) *Vt* to slice, to cut
né **1)** *pro* second person singular pronoun **2)** *prt* associative plural marker **3)** *prt* genitive form of the plural marker
nɛdɛ́ (Free Variant **nudɛ́**$_1$) (***dɛ́**) *Vt* **1)** to make something fall, to smash **2)** to throw something down **3)** to drive livestock downhill
nɛdɛ́vɯ (***dɛvɯ**) *Vt* to blow off
nɛ́dʐɑ (***dʐɑ**) *Vd* to hand over to
nɛdʑɑ́ *Vt* to soak
nɛ́dʑɑ *n* elephant trunk
nɛɣɔ́ *Vd* to return something to someone
nɛ́kɤ (***ngɤ**) *Vt* to break, to snap
nɛ́lɑ (***lɑ**) *Vt* to knock over
nɛ́lɔ (***lɔ**) *Va* to remove, (an official, etc.) to be removed from a position
nɛndɵ́ (***ndö**) *Vt* to mistake something for something else, to make a mistake intentionally
nɛ́ndʐɯ *Vi* to become sore (because of toil)
nɛ́ngɑ (**ngɑ́**) *Vt* to make someone cry

nɛ́ngɤ (***ngɤ**) *Vi* (branches, sticks, etc.) to break
nɛní *pro* second person plural ergative form
nɛníne *pro* second person dual
nɛnkʰɛ́ (from Tib) *adj* all kinds of, different kinds of
nɛ́npɛ (from Tib snon pa སྣོན་པ) *n* increase, augment
nɛ́npɛ nɑntsʰó *adj* messy
nɛpɑ́ (**pɑpɑ́**) *Vt* to soak something
nɛpɛ́ (from Tib gnod pa གནོད་པ) *n* something that causes harm, damage, harm
nɛ́pʰɑ (Free Variant **nɑ́pʰɑ**) (***nbɑ**) *Vt* to break (glasses, bowls, stones, etc.), to ruin
nɛpʰé *Vt* to be close to one another
nɛ́rɑ (**rɑ́**$_1$) *Vt* to share with each other
nɛ́sə (**səsə́**) *Vt* to screw in
nɛtʰɛ́ *Vt* to press, to push down
nɛ́tsɛ (from Tib na tsha ན་ཚ) *n* illness, disease
nɛ́tʂɑ (***tʂɑ**) *Vd* **1)** to assign a task to someone **2)** to hand something to someone
nɛtʂɛ́ (***tʂɛ**) *Vi* to arrive from somewhere downward
nɤ́tɛɤ (Compound of **nɯ́**$_1$) *n* shadow
ngangɑ́ *adj* **1)** (stones, etc.) hard **2)** prankish, playful
ngatɛɛ́kɛ *n* black-capped kingfisher
ngɑ́ *Vi* to cry Prefixed form **nɑ́ngɑ**, **nɛ́ngɑ**
ngɑ́wuzə (Compound of **wúzə**) *adj* purple
ngé (from Tib 'gan འགན་ responsibility) *n* responsibility
ngɯ́kəra (***kəra**) *Vi* to yell at the speaker
ngəló *post* middle Compound **ngəló ɣɛ ranə́**, **ngəlo ranə́mə ɣɛ tʂo tsə**, **rotó ngəló**
ngəló ɣɛ ranə́ (Compound of **ranəmó**, **ngəló**) *n* middle finger
ngəlo ranə́mə ɣɛ tʂo tsə (Compound of **ranəmó**, **ngəló**) *n* ring finger, lit. the one after the middle finger
ngɛ́$_2$ *pro* **1)** first person singular genitive form **2)** first person singular plus experiential form
ngɛ́$_1$ *n* clod of earth
ngɛdó (***to**) *Vt* to gather something up
ngɛ́rɛ (Cf. Tib mgar ba མགར་བ) *n* blacksmith
ngɛ́tʂɑ (***tʂɑ**) *Vd* to return something back
***ngɤ** *Vi* (branches, sticks, etc.) to break Prefixed form **nɛ́kɤ**, **nɛ́ngɤ**
ngɤ́tɛʰü (Free Variant **tɛʰű**$_2$; **vá**$_1$) *post* below, bottom
ngí$_1$ *n* front side, positive side
ngí$_2$ Archaic form of **dzɛmú**
ngidʑɯ́ *Vt* to translate
ngiɣé (***iɣe**) *Vi* to flow towards the speaker
ngíndü (***indü**) *Vt* to push (a cart, etc.) towards the speaker
ngindzú (***indzu**) *Va* to point to the speaker
ngindʑé (***indʑe**) *Vi* to fly towards the speaker
ngintsʰó (***intsʰo**) *Vd* to get something back from someone
ngío *Vt* to show, to point out, to tell, to manifest
ngiró (***iro**) *Vt* to overtake
ngíʂu (***iʂu**) *Vt* to harvest
ngitsʰí (***itsʰi**) *Vi* to jump here
ngívi (***ivi**) *Vi* to send someone off
ngiyɛ́ Dialectal Variant of **kʰiyɛ́**
ngó *n* leg, including foot Compound **ɣángo**, **míngo**, **ngová**
ngő$_2$ (Free Variant **pu**) *n* the higher side of somewhere
ngő$_1$ Free Variant of **tətɑ**$_2$
ngőndʑü *n* official position
ngőpɛ (Tibetan loan variant **ngötʂʰí**, 'go byed, འགོ་བྱེད) (from Tib 'go pa འགོ་པ) *n* chieftain, headman of a village
ngotő *adj* strong, mighty
ngötʂʰí Tibetan loan of **ngőpɛ**
ngová (Compound of **ngó**, **vá**$_1$) *n* sole of the foot

ngɔlə́ (***ɔlə**) *Vt* **1)** to drive (cars) towards the speaker **2)** to release (cattle, etc.) towards the speaker
ngɔpʰɔ́ *n* name of a plant
ngɔrɔ́ *n* rain cap made of cattle hair
ngɔ́tɛo (***ɔtɛo**) *Vt* to drive (cattle, etc.) towards the speaker
ngú *n* name of a kind of plant
ngű *n* latch
***ngu** *Vi* to incline, to stoop Prefixed form **éngungu**, **nóngu** Pluractional form **éngungu**
ngudzə̋ (***udzö**) *Vt* to send someone back
ngukó Archaic form of **kʰɛló**
ngukú (***uku**) *Vt* to carry towards the speaker
ngutɛʰɯ́ Free Variant of **ngɯ́tɛʰɯ**
ngutsɛ́ *Vt* to look for by going towards the speaker
ngɯ́ *n* iron wok; big round pot for boiling water Compound **ngɯ́ séle**, **ngɯmí** Compound **zangɯ́tɛe**
ngɯ-$_2$ *num pfx* eight
ngɯ́ séle (Compound of **ngɯ́**) *n* a wok for cooking stir fry
ngɯ́bo (***bo**) *Vi* to appear
ngɯɛ́ (***ɛo**) *Vi* to retrospect
ngɯ́ɛu (***ɛu**) *Vt* to sneak into somewhere towards the speaker
ngɯdɛ́ (***dɛ́**) *Vt* **1)** to throw towards the speaker **2)** to drive livestock towards the speaker
ngɯ́dʑɔ (**dʑɔ́**) *Vt* to toss towards the speaker
ngɯhí (**hí**$_2$) *Vi* to come towards the speaker
ngɯkʰá (***kʰɑ**) *Vi* to become cloudy
ngɯkʰɯɛíri (***kʰɯɛiri**) *Vt* to pull towards the speaker
ngɯkɔ́ (Free Variant **pʰɛɛű**) *n* a coat made from cow hide
ngɯlé (***le**) *Vt* to get payment, to be paid
ngɯlő *n* the bottom edge of something
ngɯ́lolö (***lolö**) *Vt* to carry towards the speaker
ngɯmí (Compound of **ngɯ́**) *n* soot on the wok
ngɯ́ndü (**ndű**$_1$) *Vi* to go towards the speaker
ngɯ́ntʰetɛɛ (***ntʰetɛɛ**) *Vt* to pull towards the speaker
ngɯ́pʰɛdʑɑ (***pʰɛdʑɑ**) *Vt* to follow someone
ngɯpó (**popó**) *Vi* to become damp
ngɯpɔ́ (***pɔ**) *Vi* to relocate to a place towards the speaker
ngɯrá (**rɑ́**$_1$) *Vi* to come
ngɯ́ro (**ró**$_1$) *Vi* to come
ngɯ́tɑ (***tɑ**) *Vi* to come to oneself, to regain consciousness, (water) to become clear
ngɯ́tɛʰi (**tɛʰi**$_1$) *Vi* to escape toward the speaker
ngɯ́tɛʰɯ (Free Variant **ngutɛʰɯ́**) (***tɛʰɯ**) *Vt* to bring something towards the speaker
ngɯ́tɛori (***tɛori**) *Vt* to look towards the speaker
ngɯ́tɛɔ (***tɛɔ**) *Vi* to emerge, to arise
ngɯ́tɛɔtɛɔ (***tɛɔtɛɔ**) *Vt* to chase, to pursue
ngɯtɛɯ́ *n* red-billed chough, yellow-billed chough
ngɯtʰű (***tʰü**) *Vi* to come
ngɯ́tso (***tso**) *Vi* to run towards the speaker
ngɯtʂɛ́ *Vn* to retrospect, to think, to miss Phrasal Verb **mekʰú ngɯtʂɛ́**
ngɯ́vəla (***vəla**) *Vi* to roll towards the speaker
ní$_1$ (from Tib gnyis གཉིས) *num* two
ní$_2$ Free Variant of **nyɤkʰəsə̋rö**
nigɔ́ (Tibetan loan variant **nyɛtɛʰé**, nyal khri, ཉལ་ཁྲི) *n* bed
niɣé (***iɣe**) *Vi* to flow downward
níka *n* the side of the face (from the middle of the nose to the ear)
níkə níke (Phrasal Verb of **keké**) *Vi* to busy about
níku$_1$ (***iku**) *Vt* to enclose counterclockwise
níku$_2$ (***ku**$_2$) *Vt* to bend
nílo *n* marriage
nímɛ (from Tib nyi ma ཉི་མ) *n* day, time

níndü (***indü**) *Vt* **1)** push (a cart, etc.) downward **2)** to destroy, to annihilate
nindzú (***indzu**) *Va* to point downward
nindzə́ (***indzə**) *Vt* to pour (water), to rain heavily
nindʑé (***indʑe**) *Vi* to fly down
níndʑo *Vt* to pay back
níngə (***ingə**) *Vt* to pick (firewood, etc.)
ninkʰó *n* chest, position of the heart
ninkɔ́kɔ *adj* (space) dark
níno *n* the second plowing of the land after harvest is finished
nínpɛ (from Tib rnying pa རྙིང་པ) *adj* old Compound **rinɛ́ nínpɛ**
nínthɛnthɛ *adj* (objects) black
níntsʰü kʰɯɛ́ó (Phrasal Verb of **kʰɯɛ́ó**$_1$) *Vi* to feel homesick, to feel gloomy
nípətɛo (***pətɛo**) *Vt* to tear down (a house), to demolish
nípɛ (Free Variant **ánipɛ**) (from Tib gnyis pa གཉིས་པ) **1)** *num* second **2)** *n* February
nipʰí (***pi**) *Vt* **1)** to extinguish **2)** to turn off (lights, TV, machine, etc.)
nírə (***irə**) *Vt* to separate into two parts
níri *Vi* to smile
niró (***iro**) *Vt* to overtake by going downhill
nítɛo (Cf. Tib nyi shar ཉི་ཤར) *n* the time of sunrise
nítɛu *adj* lazy
nitɛ́rɛ (**tɛ́rɛ**) *Vt* to spill, to funnel down
nítʰɛ *Vt* to tread, to trample
nitsʰí (***itsʰi**) *Vi* to jump down
nítsʰü (Dialectal Variant **ɛi tərо**) *n* homesickness
nítsi *n* blanket
nívi (***ivi**) *Vt* to send someone off downward
níyi Free Variant of **níyo**
níyo (Free Variant **níyi**) *Vt* to hang something up
nóbo (***bo**) *Vi* to appear from above
noɛó (***ɛo**) *Vi* (rainbow) to appear
nóɛu (***ɛu**) *Vi* to sneak to somewhere below
nóda (Free Variant **náda**$_1$) (***da**) *Vt* to hit
nodú (**dú**$_2$) *Vi* to get poisoned
nodzí (***dzi**) *Vt* to build up (a wall), to pile up
nodʑó$_1$ (**dʑódʑo**) *Vt* to increase
nodʑó$_2$ (***dʑo**) **1)** *Vt* to make a telephone call **2)** *Vi* (water)to overflow **3)** *Vt* to bar the door **4)** *Vt* to turn off (a TV, computer, etc.) Phrasal Verb **pó nodʑó**
nodʑɯ́ (***dʑɯ**) *Vt* to notify, to inform
noɣí *Vt* to cut hair
noɣú (**ɣúɣu**) *Vi* to be narrow
nohə́ (**hə́**$_1$) *Vi* to go downward
nohí (**hí**$_2$) *Vi* to come down
nokə́ *Vt* to prevent, to stop
nókəra (Free Variant **nákəra**) (***kəra**) *Vi* to yell
nokʰɯ́ (**kʰɯ**$_1$) *Vt* to load in, to add to
nokʰɯɛíri (***kʰɯɛiri**) *Vt* to pull downward
nóki *Vt* to cut (woods), to hack Pluractional form **nókikɛ**
nókikɛ (**nóki**) *Vt* to chop
nóku (***ku**$_2$) *Vi* to bend
nokúwɛ (***kuwɛ**) *Vt* to circle around something
nolé (***le**) *Vt* to get
nólolö (***lolö**) *Vt* to carry downward
nómi *Va* to dream, to dream of
nomipɛ́ (Compound of **mí**$_1$) *n* ophryon
nónbɑ (Cf. Tib gnod pa གནོད་པ) (***nbɑ**) *Vi* (glasses, road, etc.) to break, to be ruined
nónbə *Vi* (meat, fruit, etc.) to rot, to go bad
nonbó (***nbo**) *Vt* to dismiss, to dissolve
nóndü (**ndű**$_1$) *Vi* to go down
nondzí *Vt* to turn prayer beads
nóndʑo (***ndʑo**) *Vi* **1)** (wind, etc.) to dwindle, to diminish **2)** (situation, etc.) to mitigate, to become less severe **3)** to go downward directly
nóngu (***ngu**) *Vi* to stoop Pluractional form **nóngungu**

nóngungu (**nóngu**) *Vi* (many people) to stoop (as in dancing)
nónkʰu *prt* within (a group)
nóno **1)** *n* morning Compound **nonotɛ́** **2)** *adj* early Prefixed form **kʰɯnó**
nönő *n* breast
nonotɛ́ (Compound of **nóno** $_1$, **tɛ́**$_1$) *n* breakfast
nónpʰo *Vi* to fail
nóntɛʰo (***ntɛʰó**) *Vi* to dance (by lamas)
nónthe *Vt* to sing
nónthetɛɛ (Free Variant **nónthithe**) (***nthetɛɛ**) *Vt* to pull something downward Pluractional form **nónthetɛɯtɛɛ**
nónthetɛɯtɛɛ (**nónthetɛɛ**) *Vi* to have a tug-of-war
nónthithe Free Variant of **nónthetɛɛ**
nonthű *Vi* (livestock, etc.) to spread out, to separate from each other
nóntsʰo *Vt* to add
nóntʂʰu *Vi* to become chaotic
nonyí (**nyinyí**) *Vi* to decrease, to dwindle
nópətɛo (***pətɛo**) *Vt* to collapse, to break down
nópʰo (Free Variant **núpʰo**) (***pʰo**$_1$) *Vt* to break into a house, to rob bird nests
nopí (***pi**) *Vi* (light, fire) go off
nópo *Vi* to go out (by walking) Compound **pómi**
norə́ri (***rəri**) *Vt* to sweep (outside the house)
nóri *Vi* (lake, etc.) to dry up
nóro (**ró**$_1$) **1)** *Vi* to come from upward **2)** *Vt* to broadcast on TV
nósɑ (Free Variant **nóse**) *Vt* to kill, to cremate
nóse Free Variant of **nósɑ**
nosəré *Vi* **1)** (vegetables, etc.) to dehydrate **2)** to become husky, to lose one's voice
nosű (***sü**) *Vt* to pay back one's debts
nótɛʰi (**tɛʰi**$_1$) *Vi* to escape downward
nótɛʰɯ (Free Variant **nutɛʰɯ́**) (***tɛʰɯ**) *Vt* to take something downward
notɛó (***tɛo**) *Vt* to answer
nótɛori (***tɛori**) *Vt* to look downward
nótə (***tə**) *Vt* to add in, to pour (liquid, etc.) from one container into another
notétu (**nótu**) *Vt* to fight with each other
notʰű (***tʰü**) *Vi* to come down
notsə́ *Vi* (the appropriate time) come
notsə́tso (***tsətso**) *Vt* to wring (water out of clothes, etc.)
notsʰé (**tsʰétsʰe**) *Vi* to be thin
nótsʰə (***tsʰə**) *Vt* **1)** to burn tsampa for sacrifice **2)** to decide on a date through fortune telling
notsʰó *Vt* to hang oneself
notsí (Dialectal Variant **kʰɯtsí**) (***tsi**) *Vt* to pile up
nótso (***tso**) *Vi* to run downward
notsű *Vt* to milk
notʂé (Free Variant **nútʂe**) (***tʂe**$_2$) *Vt* to spray, to pour
nótʂʰi (***tʂʰi**) *Vt* to cut, to chop
nótʂʰö *Vt* to plow
nótʂü (***tʂü**) *Vi* (fire) to burn up
nótu (***tu**) *Vt* to compete for, to fight for Pluractional form **notétu**
nótü (**tü**) *Vt* to hit with fist
nóvɯ (**vɯ́**$_1$) **1)** *Vt* to do **2)** *Vi* to make love (only in southern dialect)
nówɑ (Cf. Tib nus pa སྐུས་པ) *n* energy, vitality
nózi *Vi* to fall, to go down
nɔ́lɑ (***ɔlɑ**) *Vt* to spray, to cast
nɔlə́ (***ɔlə**) *Vt* **1)** to drive downward **2)** to release (cattle, water, etc.) downward **3)** to release (cattle, etc.) outside the home
nɔ́nɔ *adj* (porridge, etc.) watery, thin
nɔ́ntɛʰɛ *n* flying squirrel
nɔ́tɛo (***ɔtɛo**) *Vt* **1)** to drive downwards **2)** to inherit, to carry on (a tradition), to succeed
nɔtsɑ́ (***ɔtsɑ**) *Vt* to sieve (e.g., sand out of barley)
***ntɛʰó** *Vi* to have some fun (e.g., sitting together and chatting) Prefixed form **nóntɛʰo**, **tʰontɛʰó**

***ntʰetɛɛ** *Vt* to pull (a rope) Prefixed form **ént^hetɛɛ**, **ɣɤ́nt^hetɛɛ**, **ngɯ́nt^hetɛɛ**, **nón-t^hetɛɛ**, **tə́nt^hetɛɛ**, **t^hónt^hetɛɛ**
nuɛ́ó (***uɛo**) *Vt* to talk
nudɛ́₂ *Vt* to read aloud, to chant, to study for a degree
nudɛ́₁ Free Variant of **nɛdɛ́**
nudzɵ́ (***udzö**) *Vt* to send someone downward
núdʐi (***udʐi**) *Vt* to line up Phrasal Verb **pá núdʐi**, **tʂɔ́ núdʐi**
nukó *Vt* to put up (a wooden house), to tile a roof
nukú (***uku**) *Vt* to carry down
nünɵ́ *adj* (water) deep
nuŋó *Vt* to grind (with grindstone)
núp^ho Free Variant of **nóp^ho**
nup^hú *Vi* to be famous
nusɛ́npɛ (from Tib mno bsam མནོ་བསམ) *Vt* to think, to retrospect, to ponder
nutɕ^hɯ́ Free Variant of **nótɕ^hɯ**
nútɕɯ (Free Variant **nə́tɕɯ**) (***utɕɯ**) *Vt* **1)** to put down something at some place **2)** to close
nutsɛ́ *Vt* to look for something
nútʂe Free Variant of **notʂé**
nɯ́₂ *aux* to dare Prefixed form **t^honɯ́**
nɯ́₁ *n* sun Compound **nɤ́tɛɤ**
nɯ́ ndzúwɛ (Free Variant **ndzuwɛ́₁**) *n* afternoon (before four o'clock)
nɯgɯ́ lúwɛ (Compound of **luwɛ́**) *n* highland zokor (rodent)
nɯ́ngɤ Dialectal Variant of **lɛ́mɛ**
nɯ́nɯ *adj* yellow
nɯtɛ́ *n* the appropriate time for doing something
nɯ́yɛ *n* spring
nyatakɔ́rɔ (Free Variant **ɣalə́tɛe**) *n* back of the head
nyɛkɛ́mu *adj* happy
nyɛpek^hítɕ^hi *n* catfish
nyɛtɕ^hə́ Tibetan loan of **nigɔ́**
nyɤk^həsɵ́rö (Free Variant **ní₂**) *n* ear Compound **ɣɯpənyí**
nyíɛ (from Tib nye ba ཉེ་བ) *n* relative, kin
nyinyí *adj* little Prefixed form **nonyí**
nyínyi (Tibetan loan variant **mópu**, dmar po, དམར་པོ) *adj* red Compound **ɣɯ́vɯnyi**, **nyísɑsɑ**, **tʂanyí** Prefixed form **t^honyí**, Superlative form **zényi**
nyísɑsɑ (Free Variant **nyízəzə**) (Compound of **nyínyi**) *adj* red in a way that is pleasing to the eye
nyízəzə Free Variant of **nyísɑsɑ**
nyontɕ^hú Free Variant of **nyuntɕ^hə́**
nyosɔ́ *prt* probably
nycɛú (Cf. Tib nyung ཉུང) *adj* little, few
nyɵ́ *Vt* can (speak certain language, drive a car, etc.) Prefixed form **k^hunyɵ́**, **unyɵ́**
nyɵ́- *num pfx* seven
nyúlek^hɑ (from Tib mnyam las khang མཉམ་ལས་ཁང) *n* agricultural cooperative
nyuntɕ^hə́ (Free Variant **nyontɕ^hú**) *adj* **1)** poor **2)** honest, frank, simple minded
nyɯ́ndʐɛ (Compound of **ndʐɛ́ndʐɛ**) *adj* distinguished, outstanding, special
nyɯ́ŋo *adv* except for, other than

ŋ

ŋá **1)** *n* gold **2)** *adj* good, well
ŋɑ́ (from Tib lnga ལྔ) *num* five
ŋɑ́pɛ (from Tib lnga pa ལྔ་པ) **1)** *num* fifth **2)** *n* May
ŋɑtɔ́ *n* roundish turnip
ŋədʑó *n* cattle dung Compound **ŋədʑótɛrɛ**
ŋədʑótɛrɛ (Compound of **ŋədʑó**, **tɛ́rɛ**) *n* a kind of fungus

ŋə́mɛ (Cf. Tib ngo ma ངོ་མ) *adv* really, very
ŋə́mo (Compound of **mó**) *n* **1)** female cattle **2)** cattle
ŋərá *n* a dead tree before it is totally dried up
ŋətsə́rənbo (Compound of **rənbó**, **ŋətsə̋**) *n* lips
ŋətsɛ́ (Free Variant **yitsɛ́**) *prt* in a moment, after a while
ŋətsə̋ (Tibetan loan variant **ɛɑkɔ́**, zhal, ཞལ; **ɔɛá**) *n* mouth Compound **ŋətsə́rənbo**, Phrasal Verb **ŋətsə̋ tədʑó**
ŋətsə̋ tədʑó (Phrasal Verb of **ŋətsə̋**, **tədʑó**) *Vi* to spread rumor, to badmouth
ŋɛ́ (from Tib rnga རྔ) *n* drum
ŋiŋú *n* elbow
ŋo$_1$ *Vc* to be Prefixed form **tʰoŋó**
ŋoɣɯ́ Free Variant of **ɣɯ́**$_1$
ŋótɛo *n* intranquility, discontent
ŋɔlə́ *n* a bone inside the knee
ŋú (from Tib dngul དངུལ) Tibetan loan of **táyɛ́**, Archaic form of **táyɛ́** Compound **ŋúngo**
ŋúngo (from Tib dngul mgar དངུལ་མགར) (Compound of **ŋú**) *n* silversmith
ŋurə́ (Dialectal Variant **mokʰɛ́**) *n* the side or front of someone
ŋɯ́ *pro* I, me
ŋɯnə́ *pro* we, us, first person plural exclusive form
ŋɯpʰulá *n* knee

O

okʰó (Dialectal Variant **wokʰó**) *dem* here
ókʰo (Dialectal Variant **wókʰo**) *dem* there
olə́ *n* cattle shed
omənə́ (Dialectal Variant **womənə́**) *dem* in this way, like this
ómənə (Free Variant **wómənə**) *dem* in that way, like that
óndzə Free Variant of **ɛ́ndzə**
onə́ (Dialectal Variant **wonə́**) **1)** *pro* they, them **2)** *dem* these
ónə (Dialectal Variant **wónə**) **1)** *pro* they, them **2)** *dem* those
onínə *pro* they two, the two of them
ópo *n* the speaker's side of the river
otsə́ (Dialectal Variant **wotsə́**) **1)** *pro* he, she, it, third person singular pronoun **2)** *dem* this
ótsə (Dialectal Variant **wótsə**) **1)** *pro* he, she, it, third person singular pronoun **2)** *dem* that

Ɔ

ɔɛá Tibetan loan of **ŋətsə̋**
ɔdʑá *Vi* (hair etc.) to flutter
***ɔlɑ** *Vt* **1)** to braid (hair) **2)** to breeze, to cast away Prefixed form **ɣɔ́la**, **nɔ́lɑ**, **tʰɔ́la**, **tɔ́la**
ɔ́lə (***ɔlə**) *Vt* **1)** to drive downstream **2)** to release (cattle, etc.) downstream **3)** (person, animals) to be able to make sound **4)** to lay eggs
***ɔlə 1)** *Vt* to drive (cars) **2)** *Vt* to race **3)** *Vt* to release **4)** *Vd* to present to Prefixed form **ɣɔlə́**, **kʰɔlə́**, **ngɔlə́**, **nɔlə́**, **ɔ́lə**, **tɔlə́**
ɔmá *n* a kind of herb, can be used to make tea
***ɔngə** Free Variant of ***ingə**
***ɔsɔ** *Vt* to rub, to grind Prefixed form **ɣɔ́sɔ**, **tɔ́sɔ**
ɔ́tɛo (***ɔtɛo**) *Vt* to drive downstream
***ɔtɛo** *Vt* to drive (livestock), to order about Prefixed form **ɣɔ́tɛo**, **ngɔ́tɛo**, **nɔ́tɛo**, **ɔ́tɛo**, **tʰɔ́tɛo**, **tɔ́tɛo**
ɔtə̋ *Vt* to save (someone out)
ɔtsə́ (***ɔtsɑ**) *Vt* to filter (e.g. water out of milk products)
***ɔtsɑ** *Vt* to sieve Prefixed form **nɔtsə́**, **ɔtsə́**

ɔ́zə *Va* to give birth to, to be born

p

pá₂ (Dialectal Variant **məlű**, Free Variant **ɣutɛ́**) (from Tib spang སྤང) *n* grassland, meadow
pá₁ (Chinese loan variant **matɛ́á**) (from Tib sbag སྦག) *n* mahjong
pá núdʐi (Phrasal Verb of **núdʐi**) *Vi* to line up
palǒ (from Tib po lo ཕོ་ལ) *n* ball
pálɔ *n* clay pot
pamɛ́ *adj* many, abundant, not scarce Prefixed form **nápamɛ**
pánalɔ *n* air, sky
pándzö (from Tib bang mdzod བང་མཛོད) *n* storehouse, treasure-house
pántɛʰi (from Tib pang khri བང་ཁྲི) *n* cabinet
pantʰí *n* seat
papá *adj* moist Prefixed form **kʰɛpá**, **kʰɯpá**, **nɛpá**
páʂə Dialectal Variant of **ʂánbɯ**
péɛüɛü *adj* pretentious, do something in a pretending way
pékɛ Tibetan loan of **dɯnbɯ́**
penɛ́ (from Tib dper na དཔེར་ན) *n* example, instance
petó Chinese loan of **kəlő**
pə *n* pus
péhu (Compound of **hú₂**) *n* tonight
pəká Dialectal Variant of **zɔ́pu**
pélə *n* kidney
pəná Free Variant of **tɛaʑó**
péntɛʰe (from Tib pan chen བན་ཆེན) *n* great pandita, Panchen
pəntʰá (Tibetan loan variant **mapó**, mag pa, མག་པ) *n* a man who marries into and lives with his bride's family
pésə (Compound of **sí**) *n* today
***pətɛo** *Vi* (buildings) to collapse, to break down Prefixed form **épətɛo**, **nípətɛo**, **nópətɛo**
pəvə *n* this year
pɛ₁ *post* till, by the time
péki (Free Variant **lɤrró**) *n* halfway up to a mountain
pémɛ (Cf. Tib dbu ma དབུ་མ) *n* center, middle
pépu (from Tib phal pa ཕལ་པ) *adj* common, not unusual
pɛtɛí *adv* in a short while, after a short time
pɤ́su (Compound of **sú**, **pő₂**) *n* Tibetan language
pʰá (fromTib phag ཕག) *n* pig (the twelfth of twelve Zodiacs)
***pʰa** *Vt* to cut (wood), to split Prefixed form **épʰa**, **tépʰa**
pʰagő (from Tib phag rgod ཕག་རྒོད) *n* wild pig
pʰá *n* felt blanket made of yak fur
***pʰə 1)** *Vt* to lose something **2)** *Vi* to give up **3)** *Vt* to leave something behind Prefixed form **épʰə**, **tʰópʰə**
pʰərɔ́ (from Tib pho rog ཕོ་རོག) *n* crow, raven
pʰɛ́₁ *n* the side or rim of something
pʰɛ́₂ (from Tib phan ཕན) *n* benefit, usefulness
pʰɛɛ̋ Free Variant of **ngɯkɔ́**
***pʰɛdʑa** *Vt* to follow Prefixed form **ápʰɛdʑa**, **ɣɤ́pʰɛdʑa**, **nápʰɛdʑa**, **ngɯ́pʰɛdʑa**, **təpʰɛdʑa**, **tʰápʰɛdʑa**
pʰémɛ Tibetan loan of **vomó**
pʰihé (from Cn pixie 皮鞋) *n* leather shoes
***pʰo₃** *clf* classifier for measuring odd objects
***pʰo₁** *Vt* to look for something, to search for something Prefixed form **épʰo**, **nópʰo**, Pluractional form **tʰopʰő́pʰo**
pʰóndzu *Vi* to sit with one shin under the hip

pʰónzə (from Cn pengzi 棚子) *n* shack
pʰőpɛ (from Tib unknown) *n* rich family
pʰoyű (from Tib pha yul ཕ་ཡུལ) *n* hometown
pʰɔ́ *n* beam
pʰɔhɔ́ *n* butter dumpling
pʰú *Va* to puff (at), to blow (at)
pʰúɛɛ *n* force
pʰúla *n* bowl Compound **ɣɯ́mɛ pʰúla**, **kovó pʰúla**, **pʰúla kö**
pʰúla kö (Compound of **pʰúla**) *n* foot ring of a bowl
pʰúmi (Compound of ***mi**) *n* beggar
pʰunbú Free Variant of **pő₁**
pʰúra (Tibetan loan variant **pʰútʂa**, pho brang, ཕོ་བྲང) *n* palace
pʰusó (Cf. Tib bu gzhon བུ་གཞོན) *n* adolescent male (between 17 and 18)
pʰútʂa Tibetan loan of **pʰúra**
pi *aux* third person imperfective aspect marker
***pi** *Vi* to die out, to go out Prefixed form **nipʰí**, **nopí**
pikʰű (from Tib dpe khug དཔེ་ཁུག) *n* bag
pipílala *Vi* to fail, to make trouble out of nothing
pítɔ *n* production
pítse *adv* first (before others)
pítsɔ *adj* superb, extremely good
pó₁ (Cf. Tib phag mda' ཕག་མདའ) *n* gun
pó₂ *n* Himalayan marmot
pó₃ (from Tib par ཕར) *n* picture, photography
pő₂ *n* of or relating to Tibetan Compound **pɤ́su**, **pőpɛ**, **pőtɕʰa**
pő₁ (Free Variant **pʰunbú**) (Cf. Tib bom བམ) *n* corpse, carcass
***po** *Vt* to dip into, to print Prefixed form **épo**, **kʰɯ́po**
pó nodʑó (Phrasal Verb of **nodʑó₂**) *Vt* to take a picture
pómi (Compound of **nópo**) *n* hiker
pőpɛ (Compound of **pő₂**) *n* Tibetan people
popó *adj* damp Prefixed form **kʰipó**, **ngɯpó**
pőtɕʰa (Cf. Tib chang ཆང) (Compound of **pő₂**) *n* Tibetan wine
***pɔ** *Vt* to relocate, to move house Prefixed form **apɔ́**, **ɣapɔ́**, **napɔ́**, **ngɯpɔ́**, **təpɔ́**, **tʰapɔ́**
pɔrə́ Tibetan loan of **kʰə́lö**
pu Free Variant of **ngő₂**
pukú *n* burden, things to carry on one's back
púpʰɛ *n* goshawk
puʂú tɕʰípa *n* dancing costume of male
putɛ́ *n* a kind of soup made of potatoes, dough, and some milk products
putsʰí *n* child

q

qőr Dialectal Variant of **rá**

r

ra Free Variant of **ɛtɕí**
rá (Dialectal Variant **qőr**, Free Variant **ramó**, Tibetan loan variant **tʂő₁**, gro, རྒྱ) *n* wheat Compound **rakömi**
rákɐta *n* hand
rakömi (Compound of **rá**) *n* a kind of fungus, called xiaomaijun (小麦菌) in Chinese
ramó Free Variant of **rá**
randzá *n* finger nail

ranə́ *n* finger
ranə́mə tɛe (Compound of **ranəmó**) *n* little finger
ranəmó *n* index finger Compound **ngəló ɣɛ ranə́**, **ngəlo ranə́mə ɣɛ tʂo tsə**, **ranə́mə tɛe**
rára *adj* dry Prefixed form **təra**, **tɛrá**
rátsʰo (Cf. Tib rang 'dod རང་འདོད) *n* selfishness, desire
rá$_1$ *Vi* to go Prefixed form **ará**, **ɣɤrá**, **nára**, **néra**, **ngɯrá**, **tərá**, **tʰará**
rá$_2$ (Tibetan loan variant **sétɛʰɛ**) *n* place, land, soil, territory
ramő (from Tib rang mos རང་མོས) *n* freedom
ránipɛ *n* a period of time after harvest
rásə Free Variant of **rəvásə**
re (from Tib re རེ) *prt* each
renbútɛʰe (from Tib rin pho che རིན་པོ་ཆེ) *n* **1)** precious, jewel **2)** title for someone identified as the rebirth of an earlier distinguished Dharma practitioner; lama; living Buddha
reré (Dialectal Variant **ɣeɣé**) *adj* delicious Prefixed form **tʰoré**
reté renbɛ́ (from Tib unknown) *adj* all sorts of, all kinds of
retsʰɛ́ Free Variant of **nətsé**
rə$_2$ *aux* time for doing something
rə$_1$ *prt* and
ró$_1$ *n* soup Compound **rəmóni**
ró$_2$ *n* farmland Prefixed form **kʰɯ́rə**
rədɔ *n* wild cat
rədʑɯ́ *Vt* to put something somewhere, to seat someone somewhere
rəgəzí *n* Tung river skink
rəɣí *n* name of a plant
rəhu (Compound of **hú**$_2$) *n* the night before last
rəká (Tibetan loan variant **ndʐő**, 'gro, འགྲོ) *Vi* to walk, (cars, etc.) to run
rəkʰə́ *Vt* to fill up
rəlí (from Cn rili 日历) *n* calendar book
rəmá *n* female yak
rəmóni (Compound of **ró**$_1$) *n* land that has been cultivated for a long time
rəmú *Vi* to get dark
rənbó *n* skin Compound **miránbo**, **ŋətsərənbo**, **tsʰərənbo**
***rəngə** *clf* mensural classifier for hug
rənpápʰa *n* a kind of plant
rəntimɔ́ (Cf. Cn rendemao 人的毛) (Compound of **mɔ́**$_2$) *n* body hair
rəŋírəhu (Compound of **hú**$_2$) *n* two nights before last
rəŋírəsi *n* two days before yesterday
rəŋírɔzɑ *n* two years before last year
rərə́ *adj* long Superlative form **zə́rə**
***rəri** *Vt* to sweep Prefixed form **ɛrə́ri**, **norə́ri**
rə́si *n* the day before yesterday
rətá *n* wild animal
rətɛɯ Free Variant of **rútɛɯ**
rəto *Vt* to plant seeds
rətɔ́$_1$ Archaic form of **kʰɯ́ndzo**
rətɔ́$_2$ *n* lynx
rətsɛ́ (Free Variant **rikə́**) *n* thread
rətsʰí *n* flea
rəvásə (Free Variant **rásə**) *prt* probably
rɛ́gu *n* goral (a kind of goat-like animal)
rɛyɛ́ Free Variant of **ruɛ́**
***rɤ**$_1$ *Vi* to turn around Prefixed form **árɤ**, **érɤ**, **ɣérɤ**
***rɤ**$_2$ *Vi* to face towards Prefixed form **árɤ**, **ɣɤ́rɤ**
rɤ- *num pfx* four
ri$_1$ (Dialectal Variant **ɣi**$_4$) *n* arm including the hand, upper limb
ri$_2$ Tibetan loan of **nbú**
rí$_3$ *prt* nominalizer
rí$_2$ (Free Variant **rű**) *aux* will
riɛántsʰə *n* wadded jacket
rikə́ Free Variant of **rətsɛ́**

ríle (Free Variant **lé**$_1$) *n* era, period, decade
riné nínpɛ (Compound of **nínpɛ**) *n* antique, outdated objects
rirí *adj* thick
rivő (from Tib ri bong རི་བོང) *n* hare
ró$_4$ (Free Variant **rɔ́**$_2$; **rúɔ**) *n* tongue
ró$_2$ Free Variant of **dʑólo**
ró$_1$ *Vi* to come Prefixed form **éro**, **ɣɤ́ro**, **ngɯ́ro**, **nóro**, **téro**
ró$_3$ *n* **1)** place **2)** time Compound **méme ró**
roɣá (Compound of **ɣa**$_1$) *n* argali (mountain sheep)
rólap^{h}ɛ *n* a pony that is between three to four years old
ronpá Tibetan loan of **yüpé**
rotó ngəló (Compound of **ngəló**) *n* palm
rots^{h}ə́ *n* red birch
rótü *Vt* to go back (home)
rovɯ́ *n* horse manure Compound **rovɯkő̃mi**
rovɯkő̃mi (Compound of **rovɯ́**) *n* a kind of fungus, called mafenjun (马粪菌) in Chinese
rɔ́$_3$ *n* snake
rɔ́$_1$ *aux* to do something because it is justified or beneficial to others
rɔ́$_2$ Free Variant of **ró**$_4$
rɔp^{h}é *n* laughing thrush
rɔpú *n* hot spring
rɔsé *adv* immediately, right away, just
rɔtɛɯ́ *n* blowfly
rɔ́zɑ *n* the year before last year
rű Free Variant of **rí**$_2$
rudʑɯ́ *Vt* to set up a house, to settle someone down
ruɛ́ (Free Variant **rɛyɛ́**, Tibetan loan variant **ruwɛ́**) *n* **1)** bear **2)** panda
rumə́ *n* **1)** weasel **2)** beech marten
rúɔ Free Variant of **ró**$_4$
rurú *n* upper arm
rútɛɯ (Free Variant **rətɛɯ**) (***utɛɯ**) *Vt* **1)** to put something down **2)** to use as
ruwé *n* front yard
ruwɛ́ Tibetan loan of **ruɛ́**
rɯrɯ́ *n* tray

S

sá *n* blood
sasá *adj* bright Prefixed form **tósa**
sá$_2$ (from Tib bsangs བསངས) *n* a kind of ritual involving burning juniper branches for deities Compound **sɑɐ́**, **sáko**, **sántɕ^{h}ɯ**
sá$_1$ Free Variant of **sára**
sɑɐ́ (Compound of **sá**$_2$) *n* shrubby pine tree, whose branches will produce smoke when burned and are offered as a kind of sacrifice
sáko (Compound of **sá**$_2$) *n* the day for performing the smoke-offering ceremony
salí *n* a flute made of a piece of bone from the wings of eagle
sántɕ^{h}ɯ (Compound of **sá**$_2$) *n* a special water which contains milk and barley, used for some rituals
sára (Free Variant **sá**$_1$) *prt* although
sasá *adj* **1)** clever **2)** (sound, etc.) clear
sásɑk^{h}ɛ Free Variant of **tʂ^{h}ĩtʂ^{h}ĩ́k^{h}ɛ**
sé (from Tib sras སྲས) *n* prince
sédʑü (from Tib srid jus སྲིད་ཇུས) *n* policy
***seŋa** *Vt* to listen Prefixed form **k^{h}ɤ́seŋa**, **t^{h}áseŋa**
sesɔ́ (Cf. Tib srab སྲབ) *n* horse bit
sétɛe *n* silver
setɐi rápɛ (Cf. Tib rus sbal རུས་སྦལ) *n* turtle
sə́$_1$ Free Variant of **sí**

sə́₂ *n* nose Compound **səkʰú**, **səmɔ́**
***sə** *clf* **1)** classifier for objects in a container **2)** classifier for group
səhí *n* blood pheasant
səkʰú (Compound of **sə́₂**, **kʰú ₁**) *n* nostril
səmɔ́ (Compound of **sə́₂**, **mɔ́₂**) *n* hair in the nostril
sə́nbu *n* cannibalistic demon
sə́ntɕe (from Tib sems can སེམས་ཅན) *n* livestock, domesticated animals
sə́pətɕərə *n* pus and blood
***səsɑ** *Vt* wipe, mop Prefixed form **ásəsɑ**, **násəsɑ**, **tʰásəsɑ**
səsə́ *adj* tight, compact, crowded Prefixed form **nɛ́sə**
sə́so (Tibetan loan variant **ndzí₁**, 'dzing, འཛིངཔ) *n* fight, quarrel Prefixed form **tə́səso**
səsú (Free Variant **səsű**) (from Tib so so སོ་སོ) *n* individual, each, respective
səsű Free Variant of **səsú**
sɛ́ *interj* so, such
sɛ́hu (Compound of **hú₂**) *n* tomorrow night
sɛ́npɛ (from Tib sems pa སེམས་པ) *n* intention, thought, heart
sɛ́pɛ (from Tib gsar pa གསར་པ) *adj* new
sɛ́sə (Compound of **sí**) *n* tomorrow, the next day Compound **sɛ́sə ɣɔ́sə**
sɛ́sə ɣɔ́sə (Compound of **sɛ́sə**) *n* several days later
sɛ́tɕʰɛ (from Tib sa cha ས་ཆ) Tibetan loan of **rə́₂** Compound **sɛ́tɕü**
sɛ́tɕʰüwutɕʰü *adj* faraway down, faraway downstream
sɛ́tɕü (from Tib sa dpyad ས་དཔྱད) (Compound of **sɛ́tɕʰɛ**) *n* geomantic sign, geomancy, Fengshui
sɛvə́ Dialectal Variant of **mə́ro**
sɛ́yi (from Tib sa ས) *n* land
sɛ́yuwuyu *adj* faraway above, faraway upstream
sí (Free Variant **sə́₁**, Archaic form **ʑɑpú**) *n* day Compound **ɣɔ́sə**, **ndéndesi**, **ndési**, **pə́sə**, **sɛ́sə**, **síɣɔ**, **tosí**, **tsə́si**, **yísi**, **yísi rəsi**
***si₁** *Vt* to choose, to elect Prefixed form **isí**, **tisí**
síɣɔ (Tibetan loan variant **tűdʑɯ**, gdugs re, གདུགས་རེ) (Compound of **sí**) *adv* everyday
sindɛ́ *n* light
sisí *adj* to be fond of
sítʂotʂo *n* a tiny bird that feeds on meat
sívɯ *adj* good
síyi (Free Variant **yi₁**) *adv* even if
sólo (from Tib sug las སུག་ལས) *n* work, action, deed, karma
sőno sődə (from Tib bsod nams bsod bde བསོད་ནམས་བསོད་བདེ) *n* blessing, happiness
sónpʰɑ (from Tib so phag སོ་ཕག) *n* brick
sonyʉ́sö *adj* loud, annoying
sosó *adj* to be clearly visible or audible
sosősö *adj* quiet
soʑɛ́ *n* the hat of a traditional costume
sɔ́₁ (Free Variant **le₂**; **sɔ́ngö**) (fromTib srog སྲོག) *n* life
sɔ́₂ (fromTib bsam བསམ) *Vt* **1)** to think, to contemplate **2)** to plan Compound **sɔ́lö**
sɔ́₃ (from Tib gsum གསུམ) *num* three
sɔ́lö (from Tib bsam blo བསམ་བློ) (Compound of **sɔ́₂**) *n* mindset, thought, heart
sɔ́ngö Free Variant of **sɔ́₁**
sɔ́npɛ (Free Variant **ásɔnpɛ**) (from Tib gsum pa གསུམ་པ) **1)** *num* third **2)** *n* March
sɔ́pu (from Tib sog po སོག་པོ) *n* Mongol
sɔ́rɔ *n* sharpening stone
sɔ́tʂɛ *n* braid
sɔ́və *n* saw dust
sú *n* language Compound **ɣásu**, **mənyɛ́su**, **pɤ́su**
sű₂ *n* sacrifice to deity Compound **sű kʰɯlö**, **sűvo**
***sü** *Vt* to finish, to do something well Prefixed form **nosű**, **tʰosű**
sű kʰɯlö (Compound of **sű₂**) *n* a sacrificial utensil for burning tsampa
sűvo (Compound of **sű₂**, **vó₁**) *n* fried barley flour to be burnt for sacrifice

sώvɯ *n* a kind of sausage made of blood

ʂ

ʂá Dialectal Variant of **ɕá₁**
ʂé (from Cn she 社) *n* commune, village
ʂénbɯ (Dialectal Variant **páʂə**, Free Variant **datɕʰí**) *n* pimple
ʂəpémɛ *n* slit
ʂɤ́ Dialectal Variant of **ɕɤ́**
ʂiʂí *n* smooth, roundish log (only in Southern Dialect)
ʂótɕi (from Cn shouji 手机) *n* cellphone
ʂʊ́ɑ (from Tib srung ba སྲུང་བ) *n* protective amulet
ʂútɕɛ (from Cn shuji 书记) *n* secretary (a position of the Communist Party)

t

tá₂ (Tibetan loan variant **yɛ**, zhwa, ཞྭ) *n* hat Compound **táyimi**, Prefixed form **tətɑ**
tá₁ (from Tib lta ལྟ) *Vt* to see
talə́ *qtf* half
tantsʰə́ *n* name of a plant
tatsʰɤ́ *Vi* to ripen
táyimi (Compound of **tá₂**, ***mi**) *n* sileifenzi (lit. people of the hat) (a label for four classes of low people during the cultural revolution)
tʊ́ (from Tib stag སྟག) *n* tiger (the third of twelve of Zodiacs)
***tɑ** *Vi* to come to oneself, to regain consciousness Prefixed form **ngώtɑ**, **tətɑ₁**
tɑɣóɣɑ Free Variant of **təɣóɣɑ**
tɑhá (Dialectal Variant **tɑŋá**, Free Variant **tɕəhá**) *qtf* a little
tɑká (Cf. Tib stod gos སྟོད་གོས) *n* a kind of big coat, upper garment
támɑ *n* thumb
támɛ *adj* **1)** real, authentic **2)** normal, not unusual
tánɑ (from Tib unkown) *n* black horse
tándö *n* disinfection
tandzɻ́ *n* a quarter
tánpí (from Tib dam bi དམ་དི) *n* bottle Compound **metɔ́ tánpí**, **tánpí kʰɛlɔ́**, **tɕώtso tánpí**
tánpí kʰɛlɔ́ (Compound of **tánpí**, **kʰɛlɔ́**) *n* bottle top
tánpu (from Tib dang po དང་པོ) *n* **1)** first **2)** January
tɑntɕɔ́ (from Tib dam bca' དམ་བཅའ) *n* pledge, oath, promise
tɑŋá Dialectal Variant of **tɑhá**
tɑrá *adv* for now, for the moment, first
tátɑ (fromTib tag tag ཏག་ཏག) *adj* exact, just, opportune
táyɛ́ (Tibetan loan variant **ŋú**, Archaic form **ŋú**) *n* money
táyɛ́ tʰokʰɛ́ (Phrasal Verb of **tʰokʰɛ́**) *Vi* to pay money
tɕakó Tibetan loan of **ɕɛtɕɛ́lɛ**
tɕantɕʰə́ tɕʰíte (from Tib byang chub mchod rten བྱང་ཆུབ་མཆོད་རྟེན) (Compound of **tɕʰíte**) *n* pagoda in square shape, Stupa of Enlightenment
tɕátɕɑ *adv* (atmosphere, etc.) lively
tɕatɕatʂʰɛ́ (from Cn jiajiache) *n* trolley
tɕátʰɑ (Free Variant **tɕɛkʰώ**) *n* dry tea
***tɕɑ** *Vt* to carry with both hands Prefixed form **tətɕɑ**, **tətɕátɕɑ**
tɕɑhɔ́ *n* quail
tɕákɯ (from Tib lcags skud ལྕགས་སྐུད) *n* barbed wire, iron wire
tɕálɑ₂ (from Tib ca lag ཅ་ལག) *n* thing, appliance
tɕálɑ₁ *adj* naughty, mischievous

tɛándo *n* a kind of wooden container used for making tea, now out of use
tɛápɑ (from Tib jag pa རྐག་པ) *n* bandit, robber
tɛátɛɑ *adj* flat
tɛátɛɔ *n* financial loss
tɛátɛ (from Tib lcags rta ལྕགས་རྟ) *n* bike
tɛɑʑó (Free Variant **pənɑ́**; **zɔ́pu**) *n* the end part of something
tɛe *n* **1)** son Compound **dítɛe**, **katítɛe**, **kɔkɔ́tɛe**, **tsɤ́lɤtɛe**, **uɣítɛe**, **zangɯ́tɛe** **2)** boy Compound **lüsótɛe**
tɛé (Tibetan loan variant **kʰónpɑ**, khang pa, ཁང་པ) *n* house, home
tɛekʰú (Free Variant **mekʰú**) *n* home
tɛétɛe *adv* heavily, seriously
tɛévə wúzə (Compound of **wúzə**) *n* sparrow
tɛəhá Free Variant of **tɑhá**
tɛándə *qtf* all
tɛəpú (Compound of **tɛú₂**) *n* pickled cabbage
tɛátsŏ *n* livestock
tɛɛ́₁ *n* tea Compound **ndzuwɛ́ tɛɛ́**, **ndʐetɛɛ́**, **nonotɛɛ́**, **tɛɛkʰótʂu**, **toyítɛɛ**
tɛɛ́₂ (Cf. Tib bya pho བྱ་ཕོ) *n* rooster (the tenth of twelve Zodiacs)
tɛɛ́ nándzosə Dialectal Variant of **tɛɛdʐúmɛ**
tɛɛdʐúmɛ (Dialectal Variant **tɛɛ́ nándzosə**, Tibetan loan variant **tɛɛsə́mɛ**, ja bsrubs ma, ཇ་བསྲུབ་མ) *n* butter tea
tɛɛgɛ́ (from Tib skya ga སྐྱ་ག) *n* magpie
tɛɛ́kʰɛ́ *n* thing
tɛɛkʰótʂu (Cf. Tib ja bga chung ཇ་བག་ཆུང) (Compound of **tɛɛ́₁**) *n* tea brick (In the old times tea used to be compressed into oblong shape for transportation, sale, and storage)
tɛɛkʰɯ́ Free Variant of **tɛátʰɑ**
tɛɛlə́kəwɑ *n* swallow
tɛɛ́ngɤ (Free Variant **yɛntɛʰɯ́**) *n* mosquito
tɛɛsə́mɛ Tibetan loan of **tɛɛdʐúmɛ**
tɛétʂʰɑ (from Tib brgya phrag བརྒྱ་ཕྲག) *num* one hundred Compound **tɛétʂʰɑ tóntʂʰɑ**
tɛétʂʰɑ tóntʂʰɑ (Compound of **tɛétʂʰɑ**) *adj* many, hundreds and thousands of
tɛʰá *n* kowtow Phrasal Verb **tɛʰá kʰɯ́vɯ**
tɛʰá kʰɯ́vɯ (Phrasal Verb of **tɛʰá**, **kʰɯ́vɯ**) *Vi* to kowtow
tɛʰámɑ *adj* dirty
tɛʰánbɛ Dialectal Variant of **tɛʰósu**
tɛʰápɑ *n* a handful of
tɛʰə́ (from Tib khyi ཁྱི) *n* dog
tɛʰəgé *n* ginger
tɛʰəkʰá Tibetan loan of **lɑɣɔ́**
tɛʰəmí (from Tib chu mig ཆུ་མིག) *n* fountain, spring (specifically refers to a holy spring in the field, believed to be the dwelling place of some spirits, that can bring fortune or misfortune to a family)
tɛʰənə́ *prt* still, moreover
tɛʰə́tsʰĭ Dialectal Variant of **tɛʰíntsʰü**
tɛʰə́ʐi *n* time limit
tɛʰɛ́ (Free Variant **ɣənbə́**; **tɛʰɛnbə́**) *n* cattle manure
***tɛʰɛ** *clf* classifier for pair
tɛʰɛlú *n* traditional costume
tɛʰɛnbə́ Free Variant of **tɛʰɛ́**
tɛʰɛtɛʰɛ́ (Cf. Tib gra sgrig ཀྲ་སྒྲིག) *n* preparation
tɛʰéva *n* shack
tɛʰi₁ *Vi* to escape Prefixed form **étɛʰi**, **ɣɤ́tɛʰi**, **ngɯ́tɛʰi**, **nótɛʰi**, **tátɛʰi**, **tʰotɛʰí**, **tʰótɛʰi**
tɛʰi₂ *post* with, together
tɛʰí Dialectal Variant of **tsʰí₃**
tɛʰídʐo (from Tib phyi rkyal ཕྱི་རྐྱལ) *n* foreign country, abroad
tɛʰíhə *Vt* to take something away
tɛʰíkʰɛ *n* the end of (a month, etc.)
tɛʰínbə Tibetan loan of **zodə́ndʐərö**
tɛʰiní *n* birthmark, mole

tɕʰiníndzu *adv* extremely, very
tɕʰíntsʰü (Dialectal Variant **tɕʰétsʰi**) (from Tib khyim mtshes ཁྱིམ་མཚེས) *n* neighbour
tɕʰintʂʰɛ́ (from Cn qiche 汽车) *n* car
tɕʰipá (from Tib phyu pa ཕྱུ་པ) *n* Tibetan long gown
tɕʰirá *Vt* to steal
tɕʰiré *n* bone
tɕʰísɛ (Cf. Tib gzhan sa གཞན་ས) *n* other place, non-local Compound **tɕʰísɛwu**
tɕʰísɛwu (Compound of **tɕʰísɛ**, **-u**$_1$) *n* outsider, non-local person
tɕʰitá *n* watermill
tɕʰítɕʰa *adv* very
tɕʰítɕʰi *prt* still, nevertheless
tɕʰíte (Free Variant **té**$_2$) (from Tib mchod rden མཆོད་རྟེན) *n* stupa Compound **tɕantɕʰé tɕʰíte**
tɕʰítsʰorilu (from Tib spyi tshogs ring lugs སྤྱི་ཚོགས་རིང་ལུགས) *n* socialism
tɕʰó$_2$ *aux* to have the heart to do something
tɕʰó$_1$ *post* in, among
tɕʰő (from Tib chos ཆོས) *n* Dharma, the teachings of Buddha Compound **tɕʰőpɛ**
tɕʰőɛe *n* a word uttered when making sacrifice with wine
tɕʰölú (from Tib chos lugs ཆོས་ལུགས) *n* religion
tɕʰőpɛ (Compound of **tɕʰő**) *n* a kind sacrifice made of tsampa that can be eaten
tɕʰósu (Dialectal Variant **tɕʰánbɛ**) *n* cold (as in 'catch a cold')
tɕʰɔ́ɛe (Cf. Tib chog pa ཆོག་པ) *n* satisfaction
tɕʰɔ́kʰɛ (Free Variant **ɛɔ́kʰɛ**; **tɕʰɔtsá**) (fromTib phyogs pa ཕྱོགས་པ) *n* direction
tɕʰɔtsá Free Variant of **tɕʰɔ́kʰɛ**
tɕʰú$_1$ (from Tib rgyu རྒྱུ) *n* cause, a non-static phenomenon able to bring about the production or arising of something
tɕʰú$_2$ *adv* already, now
tɕʰű$_2$ Free Variant of **ngɤ́tɕʰü**
tɕʰű- *num pfx* six
tɕʰuntsʰó Tibetan loan of **lédʑü**
tɕʰűpɛ Free Variant of **ʑintɕʰó**
tɕʰuwú *adv* this time
tɕʰɯ́$_1$ *Vt* to drink Prefixed form **ɛtɕʰɯ́**, **tʰitɕʰɯ́**
tɕʰɯ́$_2$ (Free Variant **tɕʰɯ́ tɛtɛ́**; **tɕʰɯ́ yoró**) *adv* now, soon
***tɕʰɯ** (Free Variant ***utɕʰɯ**) *Vt* to take Prefixed form **étɕʰɯ**, **ɣɤ́tɕʰɯ**, **kʰɯ́tɕʰɯ**, **ngɯ́tɕʰɯ**, **nótɕʰɯ**, **tətɕʰɯ**, **tʰótɕʰɯ**
tɕʰɯ́ tɛtɛ́ Free Variant of **tɕʰɯ́**$_2$
tɕʰɯ́ yoró Free Variant of **tɕʰɯ́**$_2$
tɕʰɯ́ŋo *qtf* all
tɕʰɯrí (Cf. Tib chu yur ཆུ་ཡུར) *n* canal, ditch, drain
tɕʰɯ́tsʰi Dialectal Variant of **tɕʰɯ́tsʰü**
tɕʰɯ́tsʰü (Dialectal Variant **tɕʰɯ́tsʰi**, Free Variant **tətsʰü**) (from Tib chu tshod ཆུ་ཚོད) *n* time, hour, clock
tɕí (from Tib gcig གཅིག) *num* one
tɕímə (Dialectal Variant **tʂémə**) *n* a kind of food made by adding tea or water to fried barley flour and eaten without mixing them fully together
tɕíndʐő (from Tib bcings 'grol བཅིངས་འགྲོལ) *n* liberation, especially referring to the overthrow of the Kuomintang rule in China in 1949
tɕintsʰé (fromTib rgyu mtshan རྒྱུ་མཚན) *n* reason, cause, causal factor
tɕíŋə *n* Elliot's laughing thrush
tɕípu (from Tib skyid po སྐྱིད་པོ) *adj* comfortable, cozy, happy
tɕítɕʰi (Tibetan loan variant **tʂʰénkʰö**, 'phrul 'khor, འཕྲུལ་འཁོར) (from Cn jiqi 机器) *n* machine Compound **lɤ́tɕítɕʰi**
tɕítɕi *adj* rough, crude
tɕitɕó Free Variant of **tɕótɕo**
tɕítsʰɔ (from Tib spyi tshogs སྤྱི་ཚོགས society) *n* society
tɕíwɛ (from Tib byi ba བྱི་བ) *n* rat (the first of twelve Zodiacs)

tɐő *Vi* to be broken, to be dilapidated, to be mutilated, to be disabled
***tɐo** *Vt* (water) rise, come up Prefixed form **kʰɯtɐó**, **notɐó**, **tətɐó**
tɐó nyɯ́tɐo (Free Variant **tɐótɐo nyɯ́tɐo**) (Compound of **tɐótɐo**) *adj* various, all kinds of
tɐodʑé (Free Variant **nbová**) *n* bottom floor
tɐóhɛ (from Cn jiaoxie 胶鞋) *n* rubber shoes
tɐóki (from Tib bya rgod བྱ་རྒོད་) *n* vulture
tɐokó (from Tib rgya skas རྒྱ་སྐས་) *n* staircase
tɐomú *adj* blood red
tɐonípɛ (from Tib bcu gnyis pa བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་) **1)** *num* twelfth **2)** *n* December
tɐorə (from Tib byu ru བྱུ་རུ་) *n* coral
tɐorí *n* god of a mountain
***tɐori** *Vt* to look Prefixed form **ɛ́tɐori**, **ɣɤ́tɐori**, **kʰɯ́tɐori**, **ngɯ́tɐori**, **nótɐori**, **tətɐori**, **tʰótɐori**
tɐotɐípɛ (from Tib bcu gcig pa བཅུ་གཅིག་པ་) **1)** *num* eleventh **2)** *n* November
tɐótɐo (Free Variant **tɐitɐó**) **1)** *adj* same, identical **2)** *adv* heavily, seriously Compound **tɐó nyɯ́tɐo**
tɐótɐo nyɯ́tɐo Free Variant of **tɐó nyɯ́tɐo**
tɐótsi (from Tib cog tse ཅོག་ཙེ་) *n* table, desk
tɐɔ́ *n* spoon Compound **bɑtɐɔ́**
***tɐɔ** *Vi* (kings, etc.) to emerge, to arise Prefixed form **kʰɯ́tɐɔ**, **ngɯ́tɐɔ**
tɐɔ-
***tɐɔtɐɔ** *Vt* to chase, to pursue Prefixed form **ɑ́tɐɔtɐɔ**, **ɣɤ́tɐɔtɐɔ**, **kʰɯ́tɐɔtɐɔ**, **nɑ́tɐɔtɐɔ**, **ngɯ́tɐɔtɐɔ**, **tətɐɔtɐɔ**, **tʰɑ́tɐɔtɐɔ**, Pluractional form **ɑ́tɐɔtɐɔ**
tɐú$_1$ *n* yogurt (made after butter is extracted) Compound **tɐukʰə́**, Prefixed form **tətɐú**
tɐú$_2$ (from Tib skyur སྐྱུར་) *adj* acid Compound **tɐəpú**
tɐudó *n* a kind of milk product
tɐúɛ Free Variant of **tɐuwɛ́**
tɐukʰə́ (Compound of **tɐú**$_1$) *n* sour water, the milk residue left after butter and whey are extracted
tɐúlo *n* blessings
tɐútɐu Free Variant of **nbá**
tɐuwɛ́ (Free Variant **tɐúɛ**) (from Tib byi ba བྱི་བ་) *n* mouse (the first of the twelve zodiacs)
tɐɯ́$_4$ *n* a cover term for horse saddle and pack Compound **tɐɯ́ɣɑlö**, **tɐɯ́ɣi**, **tɐɯpʰí**
tɐɯ́$_3$ **1)** *Vc* (inanimate thing) to exist **2)** *Vt* to bring something along Prefixed form **tʰitɐɯ́**, **tʰotɐɯ́**
tɐɯ́$_2$ (from Tib bcu བཅུ་) *num* ten
tɐɯ́$_1$ *n* water Compound **tɐɯ́bənpɑ**, **tɐɯ́nbərɛmi**, **tɐɯndzí**, **tɐɯ́tsʰɛtsʰɛ**, **tɐɯ́tso**, **tɐɯ́wuzə**
tɐɯ́bənpɑ (Compound of **bə́nbɑ**, **tɐɯ́**$_1$) *n* frog
tɐɯbú *n* beet
tɐɯ́ɣɑlö (Compound of **tɐɯ́**$_4$, **ɣálö**) *n* a part of horse saddle
tɐɯ́ɣi (Compound of **tɐɯ́**$_4$) *n* a part of horse saddle
tɐɯ́kɛ (from Tib spyi sgad སྤྱི་སྐད་) *n* Mandarin, common language
tɐɯkɯtsʰəmú *n* little ringed plover
tɐɯ́mɛ (from Tib bye ma བྱེ་མ་) *n* sand
tɐɯ́nbərɛmi (Compound of **nbətʂɑ́**$_1$, ***mi**, **tɐɯ́**$_1$) *n* little egret
tɐɯndzí (Free Variant **tɐɯ́pʰusi**) (Compound of **tɐɯ́**$_1$) *n* blister
tɐɯ́pɛ (from Tib bcu pa བཅུ་པ་) **1)** *num* tenth **2)** *n* October
tɐɯpʰí (Compound of **tɐɯ́**$_4$) *n* an item on horse saddle
tɐɯ́pʰusi Free Variant of **tɐɯndzí**
tɐɯrɑ́ *adv* simultaneously
tɐɯró méme (Free Variant **tɐɯ́ro nbɑ́tʂɑ**) *n* mountain salamander
tɐɯ́ro nbɑ́tʂɑ (Compound of **nbətʂɑ́**$_1$) Free Variant of **tɐɯró méme**
tɐɯ́tɐɯ *adj* (time) long
tɐɯ́tsʰɛtsʰɛ (Compound of **tsʰɛtsʰɛ́**, **tɐɯ́**$_1$) *n* a bronze mold in which stupas (typically 50-100) are inscribed, which are dipped in the river to dispel bad luck
tɐɯ́tso (Compound of **tɐɯ́**$_1$) *n* hot water Compound **tɐɯ́tso tɑ́npí**
tɐɯ́tso tɑ́npí (Compound of **tɐɯ́tso**, **tɑ́npí**) *n* thermos bottle

tɐɯtʂə́ *adj* shallow
tɐ́ɯwuzə (Compound of **wúzə**, **tɐ́ɯ**$_1$) *n* water bird
té (Dialectal Variant **be**) *adv* extremely, very, (not) at all
té$_3$ *n* the cushion under horse saddles
té$_2$ Free Variant of **tɐʰíte**
***té** *clf* classifier for group
témo *n* ear of cereal plants
tendzɻ́ *n* auspiciousness, luckiness Phrasal Verb **tendzɻ nóvɯ**
tendzɻ nóvɯ (Phrasal Verb of **tendzɻ́**) *n* to think auspiciously, to think on the positive side
tepɛ́ (from Tib stegs སྟེགས) *n* platform, support, stand, raised seat Phrasal Verb **tepɛ́ nuɐ̋**, **tepɛ́ tíndzu**
tepɛ́ nuɐ̋ (Phrasal Verb of **tepɛ́**) *Vi* to fail, to mess up, to squander, to vandalize
tepɛ́ tíndzu (Phrasal Verb of **tepɛ́**) *Vi* to succeed, to do something well
tési (Tibetan loan variant **dzɻ́**, sgrung, སྒྲུང) *n* story, tale, legend
tə́$_2$ (Free Variant **ávɑ**) *n* vagina
tə́$_1$ *Vt* to say, to speak Prefixed form **tətə**
***tə** *Vt* to add into Prefixed form **ɣɤ̋tə**, **kʰɯtə́**, **nótə**
tə́bo (***bo**) *Vi* to appear
tə́ɐu (***ɐu**) *Vi* to sneak to somewhere above
tə́da (***da**) *Vt* to hit, to beat up
tə́de (***de**$_1$) *Vi* to float
tədɛ́ (***dɛ́**) *Vt* **1)** to throw up in the air **2)** to drive livestock uphill
tədɛ́vɯ (***dɛvɯ**) *Vt* to blow off
tə́dzo (**dzódzo**) *Vi* to be spicy, to feel spicy, to sore
tədʑó (***dʑo**) *Vt* **1)** to build a house **2)** to make a telephone call Phrasal Verb **ɐɛ́pɛ tədʑó**, **háp**ɛ **tədʑó**, **ŋətsɵ́ tədʑó**, **tsítʂu tədʑó**
tə́dʑɔ (**dʑɔ́**) *Vt* to hit with a stone
təɣɑ́ (***ɣɑ**$_2$) *Vn* to go crazy
tə́ɣɑ *Vt* to turn over (a stone plate, etc.)
təɣí (**ɣiɣí**) *Vi* to be light
tə́ɣɔ (***ɣɔ**) *Vt* to wash (face) Pluractional form **təɣɔ́ɣɑ**
təɣɔ́ɣɑ (Free Variant **tɑɣɔ́ɣɑ**) (**tə́ɣɔ**) *Vt* (many people) to wash
təhə́ (**hə́**$_1$) *Vi* to go up
təhí (**hí**$_2$) *Vi* to come up, to float up
təhíhə (**hihə́**) *Vt* to mix up
tə́kerɤ (***kerɤ**) *Vi* to climb up
tə́kə *Vt* to spin (wool)
tə́kəra (***kəra**) *Vi* to yell upward
təkʰá (**kʰakʰá**) *Vi* (wine, soup, etc.) to be dense, to be salty
təkʰɯɐ́iri (***kʰɯɐiri**) *Vt* to pull upwards
təkú *Vn* to feel cold
təkúwɛ (***kuwɛ**) *Vt* to circle around something
tə́lolö (***lolö**) *Vt* to carry up
təmə́nì *Vi* to move
təmí *Vi* to become fully-cooked
tə́nbu *Vi* to get angry
tə́ndü (**ndɯ̋**$_1$) *Vi* **1)** to go up **2)** fire lights up by itself
tə́ndza *Vi* to make love
tə́ndzo (***ndzo**) *Vi* to grow up
tə́ndzotɑ *Vt* to shake
tə́ndʑo (***ndʑo**) *Vi* to go up directly
tənɛ́ *Vt* to have the smell or taste of
tə́ntʰetɛɛ (***ntʰetɛɛ**) *Vt* to pull upward
tə́ntʂʰɔ **1)** *Vi* to come out, to appear (honorific) **2)** *Va* to give birth to (honorific style)
təŋɛ́ *Vn* to get sick Phrasal Verb **tsʰɯ́ təŋɛ́**
tə́pʰɛdʑɑ (***pʰɛdʑɑ**) *Vt* to follow somebody upward
təpí *prt* **1)** reported evidential marker **2)** to be called, by the name of
təpɔ́ (***pɔ**) *Vi* to relocate upward
tə́ra (**rára**) *Vi* (clothes, etc.) to dry up
tərɑ́ (**rɑ́**$_1$) *Vi* to go up

tərɑ *Vt* to dig up something
tərə *Vi* to get up (from bed, seat, etc.)
tərərá *Vi* to shake
təri *Vi* to stand up, to come up
təro (**ró**$_1$) *Vi* to come from downward Compound **ɐi təro**
təsá *Vi* to be highly spirited
təsəso (**səso**) *Vt* to fight
təsó *Vt* to celebrate (new year, etc.)
təsú$_1$ *Vt* to sober up
təsú$_2$ *Vi* (person, animal, object) to make sound
təʂú *Vi* (cattle, cat, horse, etc.) to make a sound
tətɑ (**tɑ́**$_2$) *Vt* to put on (a hat)
tətɑ$_2$ (Free Variant **kʰɛpʰɛ́**; **ngő**$_1$) *n* an area up behind the house
tətɑ$_1$ (***tɑ**) *Vi* to wake up, to regain consciousness
tətɐɑ (***tɐɑ**) *Vt* to carry with both hands
tətɐátɐɑ (***tɐɑ**) *Vi* to snuggle up to, to lean close to
tətɐʰi (**tɐʰi**$_1$) *Vi* to escape uphill, etc.
tətɐʰɯ (Free Variant **tutɐʰɯ́**) (***tɐʰɯ**) *Vt* **1)** to raise, to bring up, to hold with one hand **2)** to measure by weighing
tətɐí *Vi* to be happy
tətɐó (***tɐo**) *Vi* (water) to rise, to come up
tətɐori (***tɐori**) *Vt* to look up
tətɐɔtɐɔ (***tɐɔtɐɔ**) *Vt* to chase by going upward
tətɐú (**tɐú**$_1$) *Vi* to be sour
tətɐɯ́ Free Variant of **tutɐɯ́**
tətɐɯ (***utɐɯ**) **1)** *Vi* to wake up **2)** *Vt* to build a house
tətə (Archaic form **tʰɑtɔ́to**) (**tə́**$_1$) *Vt* to say
tətʰə (***tʰə**) *Vt* **1)** to castrate **2)** to praise, to speak highly of
tətʰö *Vi* to grow up
tətʰű (***tʰü**) *Vi* to come up
tətő (***tö**) *Vt* **1)** to go and get something **2)** to pick up (light objects), to lift up legs
təto$_1$ *Vi* to become rich, to develop, to flourish
tətsə́ *Vt* to calculate
tətsʰü Free Variant of **tɐʰɯ́tsʰü**
tətso (***tso**) *Vi* to run upward
tətsütsü *Vi* (hot steam, etc.) to ooze up
tətʂé (***tʂe**$_2$) *Vt* to spray upward, to pour upward
tətʂɛ́ (***tʂɛ**) *Vi* to arrive from upward
tətʂü (***tʂü**) *Vi* (fire) to burn up
tətü (**tü**) *Vt* to hit with fist
təvəla (***vəla**) *Vi* (animals, etc.) to roll about
təvɯ (**vɯ́**$_1$) *Vt* to do
təzö *Vt* to go and get something, to bring
tɛ́$_2$ (from Tib rta རྟ) *n* horse (the seventh of twelve Zodiacs)
tɛgɛ́ (Dialectal Variant **kətú**) (from Tib star ka སྐར་ཀ) *n* walnut
tɛ́gɛ **1)** *prt* clause final particle denoting state **2)** *adj* a little
tɛnimé (Dialectal Variant **lɑlɔmé**) *adv* really
tɛ́pʰɑ (***pʰɑ**) *Vt* to hack (woods), to split (woods)
tɛrá (**rára**) *Vt* to make something dry
tɛ́rɛ *Vt* to spill a trail of Compound **ŋədʑótɛrɛ** Prefixed form **nitɛ́rɛ**
tɛtɐ́me *prt* probably
tɛ́tɛ *adv* soon, just now
tɛzə̋ *adv* not until, used when a situation occurs later than it should have
tɤrɤ *n* tsampa
tʰandzá (**ndzandzá**) *Vi* to be cold
tʰáseŋa (***seŋa**) *Vt* to ask about, to inquire about
tʰáta *Vt* to ride (a horse)
tʰatő (***tö**) *Vt* to get something away
tʰátsʰə *Vi* (crops) to become ripe
tʰávəla (***vəla**) *Vi* to roll about
tʰɑ́ *aux* can, to be able to Prefixed form **tʰɛtʰɑ́**

tʰáda *n* wave
tʰádʑɔ (**dʑɔ́**) *Vt* to hit something with a stone
tʰaɣá (***ɣa₂**) *Vi* to get drunk
tʰáɣɔ (***ɣɔ**) *Vt* to wash up (cups, bowls or woks)
tʰakʰá₂ *Vi* to change
tʰakʰá₁ *Vt* to be afraid of
tʰála (***la**) *Vi* to fall
tʰálala *Vt* to leave behind
tʰanbɔ́dzɔ *Vi* to crawl
tʰandǒ (***ndö**) *Vi* to make a mistake unintentionally
tʰápa *Vt* to uproot
tʰápʰɛdʑa (***pʰɛdʑa**) *Vt* to follow someone
tʰapɔ́ (***pɔ**) *Vi* to relocate
tʰará (**rá₁**) *Vi* to go
tʰásəsa (***səsa**) *Vt* to wipe (bowls, desks, etc.)
tʰáʂö (Cf. Tib thugs sun ཐུགས་སུན) *adj* troublesome
tʰátɕʰa *adj* weak, lack of strength
tʰátɕʰipɛ Tibetan loan of **tʰátʰutɕʰü**
tʰátɕɔtɕɔ (***tɕɔtɕɔ**) *Vt* to chase, to pursue
tʰátʰutɕʰü (Tibetan loan variant **tʰátɕʰipɛ**, thag gcod pa, ཐག་གཅོད་པ) *Vi* to decide from, to choose among
tʰatɔ́to Archaic form of **tətə**
tʰéde (***de₁**) *Vi* to float
***tʰə** *Vt* to extract, to refine Prefixed form **étʰə**, **kʰɯtʰə́**, **tətʰə**
tʰəkʰɯɛu *Vi* to meet one's karma
tʰələ́ (from Tib thar lam ཐར་ལམ) *n* path of liberation, path of release, way to freedom
tʰəpɛ́ (Tibetan loan variant **gépe**) *n* top of head Compound **tʰəpɛ́lɛ**
tʰəpɛ́lɛ (Compound of **tʰəpɛ́**) *n* forehead
tʰətsʰɛ Dialectal Variant of **ɛípɛ**
tʰəvá *Vn* to become, to come out
tʰɛdɛ́ (***dɛ́**) *Vt* **1)** to throw away **2)** to drive livestock away
tʰédʐa (***dʐa**) *Vt* to hand over to
tʰɛɣá (***ɣa₂**) *Vt* to get somebody drunk
tʰɛ́la (***la**) *Vt* to knock over
tʰɛ́lɛ (from Tib thab lha ཐབ་ལྷ) *n* the Kitchen God
tʰɛndɛ́ (**ndɛndɛ́**) *Vi* to become old
tʰɛndǒ (***ndö**) *Vt* to make a mistake intentionally
tʰɛnyɛ́rɛ *Vt* to preserve, to save, to keep
tʰɛró *adj* far
tʰɛtʰá (**tʰá**) *Vi* to manage to, to succeed after putting in great effort
tʰɛtsɛ́ (**tsətsɛ́**) *Vi* to be small
tʰɛ́tʂa (***tʂa**) *Vd* to return something (borrowed, found, etc.) to someone
tʰɛtʂɛ́ (***tʂɛ**) *Vi* to arrive
tʰɤ́npɛ *Vi* (people) to agree with each other, to be compatible with each other, to be able to get along with each other
tʰí₁ (Cf. Tib ti la དི་ལ) *n* sesame
tʰí₂ (Cf. Tib thel ཐེལ) *n* stamp
tʰiɣɛ́ (***iɣe**) *Vi* to flow away
tʰikʰú₁ (Chinese loan variant **fafí**) *n* soda (sodium bicarbonate)
tʰikʰú₂ *n* an ivory-made ring-shape object for tying hair
tʰikó (**kíko**) *Vi* to be too big
tʰíndü (***indü**) *Vt* to push (a cart, etc.) away
tʰindzú (***indzu**) *Va* to point with something, to point at
tʰindʑé (***indʑe**) *Vi* to fly
tʰíngə (Free Variant **tʰɔ́ngə**) (***ingə**) *Vt* to pick, to collect (firewood, etc.)
tʰintsʰó (***intsʰo**) *Vd* to return something to someone
tʰípʰo *n* **1)** the front part of something **2)** the opposite side of a river
tʰiró (***iro**) *Vt* to overtake
tʰitɕʰɯ́ (**tɕʰɯ́₁**) *Vt* to make someone drink, to give something drinkable to someone
tʰítɕu **1)** *Vi* to have a horse race **2)** *Vt* to take something somewhere
tʰitɕɯ́ (**tɕɯ́₃**) *Vt* to bring something along with someone

tʰitsʰí (***itsʰi**) *Vi* to jump away
tʰitsí (***itsi**) *Vd* to lend something to someone
tʰívi (***ivi**) *Vt* to send someone off
tʰiyí *n* rear side, back side
tʰó$_2$ *adj* (road, etc.) passable
tʰó$_1$ *prt* if
tʰó$_3$ *n* mule
tʰóɛɛ (from Tib thabs shes ཐབས་ཤེས) *n* strategy, method, means, way of doing
tʰóɛu (***ɛu**) *Vi* to sneak away
tʰoɛúmu *Vi* to put forth one's strength
tʰodí *Vt* to finish
tʰodödɛ *Vt* to carry
tʰodʒədʒu (**tʰódʒu**) *Vi* (many people) to run, to run here and there
tʰodʒó$_1$ (**dʒódʒo**) *Vi* to exceed
tʰodʒó$_2$ (***dʒo**) *Vt* **1)** to make a telephone call **2)** to use something **3)** to spend money **4)** to bar the door
tʰódʒu *Vi* to run Pluractional form **tʰodʒədʒu**
tʰoɣú (**ɣúɣu**) *Vi* to be too narrow
tʰohə́ (**hə́**$_1$) *Vi* to go away
tʰohí (**hí**$_2$) *Vi* to come
tʰókəra (***kəra**) *Vi* to yell
tʰökɛ́ (from Tib thab ka ཐབ་ཀ) *n* fireplace
tʰokʰɛ́ *Vd* **1)** to give someone something (neither edible nor drinkable) **2)** to pay Phrasal Verb **táyɛ́ tʰokʰɛ́**
tʰokʰɯɛíri (***kʰɯɛiri**) *Vt* to pull
tʰokí (**kí**$_1$) *Vi* (time) to pass
tʰóko (Free Variant **tʰúko**) *Vt* **1)** to cut (grass), to pick (mushrooms, fruits) **2)** to deduct
tʰokɔ́ *Vt* to lean against
tʰokúwɛ (***kuwɛ**) *Vt* to circle around something
tʰólolö (***lolö**) *Vt* to carry away
tʰomə́$_1$ (Free Variant **tʰumə́**) *Vd* to feed, to give someone something edible
tʰomə́$_2$ *Vt* to forget
tʰómi (**mí**$_2$) *Vt* to be called, by the name of
tʰomú (**mú**) *Vc* to exist
tʰónbə (**nbə́**$_1$) *Vi* to be comfortable, to be happy or cozy
tʰonbó (***nbo**) *Vi* **1)** to explode **2)** to overeat
tʰonbő (**nbönbő**) *Vi* thick
tʰondə́ (**ndə́**) *Vc* to exist
tʰóndü (**ndű**$_1$) *Vi* to leave
tʰóndʒo (***ndʒo**) *Vi* to go directly
tʰondʒű *Vi* to change
tʰondʒɯ́ (**ndʒɯ́**) *Vt* to exist
tʰóngə *Vi* to be happy
tʰónino *Vt* to fix up, to repair
tʰóntɛʰe *adj* all
tʰontɛʰó (***ntɛʰó**) *Vi* to have fun
tʰóntʰetɛɛ (***ntʰetɛɛ**) *Vt* to pull
tʰonɯ́ (**nɯ́**$_2$) *aux* to dare to do something
tʰonyí (**nyínyi**) *Vi* to be red
tʰoŋó (**ŋo**$_1$) *Vc* to be
tʰóŋosə *prt* marker of mirativity
tʰopʰélɛ *Vt* to cobble together, to patch up
tʰópʰə (***pʰə**) **1)** *Vt* to leave something behind **2)** *Vi* to give up
tʰopʰőpʰo (***pʰo**$_1$) *Vt* to look for something here and there
tʰoré (**reré**) *Vi* to be delicious
tʰósə *Vi* to die
tʰosű (***sü**) *Vt* to finish
tʰotɛé (Free Variant **kotɛé**) *adv* over, too
tʰotɛʰí (**tɛʰi**$_1$) *Vi* to escape
tʰótɛʰi (**tɛʰi**$_1$) *Vi* to break away from, to throw off one's shackles
tʰótɛʰɯ (Free Variant **tʰutɛʰɯ́**) (***tɛʰɯ**) *Vt* to take away Pluractional form **tʰótɛʰɯtɛʰɯ**
tʰótɛʰɯtɛʰɯ (**tʰótɛʰɯ**) *Vt* (many people) to carry

tʰotʁóri *n* daily essentials, articles for daily use
tʰótʁori (***tʁori**) *Vt* to look
tʰotʁɯ́ (**tʁɯ́**$_3$) *Vc* (inanimate thing) to exist
tʰotʰɛ́ (from Cn taotai 淘汰) *n* elimination
tʰotʰó *Vi* to run away
tʰótsa (Cf. Tib thog sa ཐོག་ས) *n* storey of house
tʰotsʰé (**tsʰétsʰe**) *Vi* to be too thin
tʰotsʰótsʰo (***tsʰotsʰo**) *Vi* to be undecided, to shilly shally
tʰótsʰu (**tsʰú**) *Vi* to be enough
tʰótsi (***tsi**) *Vi* to be used to
tʰotsó (**tsótso**) *Vi* to be hot
tʰótso (***tso**) *Vi* to run
tʰóvɯ (**vɯ́**$_1$) *Vt* to work
tʰoyé *Vt* to use up
tʰoyí (**yí**) *Vc* (upright things) to exist
tʰɔ́la (***ɔlɑ**) *Vt* to drive cattle onto the field after harvest
tʰɔlé 1) *Vi* to release, to have a holiday, to dismiss school **2)** *Vt* to hand out
tʰɔ́ngə Free Variant of **tʰíngə**
tʰɔ́tʁo (***ɔtʁo**) *Vt* to drive away
tʰɔ́tʂʰə *Vi* to get bored
tʰú *n* a kind of milk product
***tʰü** *Vi* to come Prefixed form **ɛtʰű**, **ɣɤtʰű**, **ngɯtʰű**, **notʰű**, **tətʰű**
tʰuʁű *Vi* to break away from chains, to run away form confinement Phrasal Verb **tsʰɯ́kʰɔ tʰuʁű**
tʰudzö́ (***udzö**) *Vt* to send someone off
tʰúko Free Variant of **tʰóko**
tʰukú (***uku**) *Vt* to carry away
tʰűme Archaic form of **kʰɛtsé**
tʰumé Free Variant of **tʰomé**$_1$
tʰupɛ́ Tibetan loan of **ndzű**
tʰutʁʰó *Vi* (water, electricity, etc.) to go off, to stop by itself
tʰutʁʰɯ́ Free Variant of **tʰótʁʰɯ**
tʰutʰű (**tʰũtʰű**) *Vi* to be too high
tʰũtʰű *adj* high Prefixed form **tʰutʰű**, Superlative form **zətʰũ**
tʰuyɛ́ (**yɛyɛ́**) *Vi* to look good, to be fun
tʰúyi Free Variant of **tʰúyü**
tʰúyü (Free Variant **tʰúyi**) *Vt* **1)** to sell, to exchange **2)** to change
tʰuzɛ́ *Vt* to look for
ti$_2$ *pro* indefinite pronoun
ti$_1$ *prt* stative aspect marker
***ti** *Vt* to weave (a blanket, etc.)
tié (from Cn dian 电) *n* electricity, power
tiésə (from Cn dianshi 电视) *n* television
tiɣé (***iɣe**) *Vi* to flow upward
tíɣɛ *Vt* to surround
tíhɛ (***ihɛ**) *Va* **1)** to open (door), to uncover **2)** to turn on (a TV, computer, etc.)
tíku (***iku**) *Vt* to enclose clockwise
tílə *n* lightning
tílo (Cf. Cn denglong 灯笼) *n* lantern
tíndü (***indü**) *Vt* to push (a cart, etc.) uphill
tindzú (***indzu**) **1)** *Va* to point upward **2)** *Vt* to set up a school
tindʑé (***indʑe**) *Vi* to fly up
tínə *pro* nothing, anything
tíntʁʰö *n* Parinirvana
tíŋo *Vi* (weather) to clear up
típo *Vt* to uproot
tirá 1) *Vt* to rub with hands **2)** *Va* to twist, to be in a twisted shape
tiró (***iro**) *Vt* to overtake by going uphill, etc.
tisí (***si**$_1$) *Vt* to choose from
tíʂu (Dialectal Variant **túʂu**) (***iʂu**) *Vt* **1)** to harvest **2)** to confiscate
titʁɛ́ Free Variant of **tsikɔ́**
títʁi *adv* all the time

títö Free Variant of **títu**
titsʰí (***itsʰi**) *Vi* to jump up
títʂu (***itʂu**) *Vt* to mix up, to stir
títʂü (***tʂü**) *Vt* to make a fire burn up
títu (Free Variant **títö**) **1)** *Vi* to face towards **2)** *Vt* to verify, to check
tiví *Vn* to get thirsty
tívi (***ivi**) *Vt* to send someone off upward
***to** *Vt* to remove Prefixed form **ɑtó**, **ngɛdó**
***tö** *Vt* to go and get Prefixed form **atő**, **natő**, **tətő**, **tʰatő**
to- *num pfx* one
tódzö *n* construction worker
todʑí *n* cabinet
tókʰú *n* laptop
tóla₂ Tibetan loan of **túɞi**
tóla₁ *Vt* to spray something around
tólə *Vt* to set a fire
tólo *adv* together
tólö *prt* clause final particle denoting state
tömé *pro* others
tőme *adj* rich
tomó *n* the top edge of something
tómu Free Variant of **tsímu**
tómutɞʰe (Cf. Tib dar cha དར་ཆ) *n* flag, banner
tonɑ́ (from Tib dom nag དོམ་ནག) *n* black bear
tóndö *n* nourishment
tónpɑ (from Tib stong pa སྟོང་པ) *adj* empty
tóntʂʰɑ (from Tib stong phrag སྟོང་ཕྲག) *num* one thousand
tópi (Dialectal Variant **tóte**) *pro* someone
torɛ́ *n* stone pestle
torí (from Tib rdo ring རྡོ་རིང) *n* stone pillar
tósa (**sasá**) *Vi* to become light, to light up
tósə **1)** *Vi* to be full **2)** *qtf* many
tosí (Compound of **sí**) *n* one day
tóte Dialectal Variant of **tópi**
tóto *adj* (rules, etc.) strict
totsə́ *n* boat
tǫvɛ́ *n* fence
tövɯ *Vt* to take something off, to make something fall onto the ground
towɛ́ *n* wooden plank
toyí (Free Variant **toyű**) *n* one night
toyítɞɛ (Dialectal Variant **tʂə́tʂe**) (Compound of **tɞɛ́₁**) *n* lunch
tóyo *n* fireplace
toyű Free Variant of **toyí**
tɔ́₂ *n* the top end of something
tɔ́₁ *n* plow Compound **tɔ́ ngɤtɞɛ́**
tɔ́ ngɤtɞɛ́ (Compound of **tɔ́₁**) *n* the shaft of a plough
tɔɣɔ́ *n* dish (meat, vegetables, etc.)
tɔ́lɑ (***ɔlɑ**) *Vt* to toss upward, to cast upward
tɔlə́ (***ɔlə**) *Vt* **1)** to drive upward **2)** to let (cattle, etc.) into their barn or shed **3)** to liberate **4)** to pump water upward Phrasal Verb **tsɛ́mé tɔlə́**
tɔrɔ́ *n* milk products eaten together with tsampa
tɔ́sɔ (***ɔsɔ**) *Vt* to grind (a knife, etc.)
tɔ́tɞo (***ɔtɞo**) *Vt* to drive upward
tɔtsɔ́ *Vn* to be hungry, to get hungry
tɔ́tʂʰɛ *n* sparrowhawk
tɔ́ʑɔ Free Variant of **tudzű**
***tsa** **1)** *clf* classifier for performance **2)** *n* storey
tsató Free Variant of **dzɛmú**, Tibetan loan of **dzɛmú tsɑ́** Free Variant of **tsó**
tsɑ́mɔ *n* a kind of yellow-colored earth that is used as dye, which turns red after it is heated up

tsé *pro* third person singular reflexive form
tsénɛ *n* light refreshments, articles of tribute
tsétse *adv* by oneself
tsetsé ŋóŋo *adv* at once, immediately
tsə *prt* noun marker
tsə́hu (Compound of **hú₂**) *adv* on that night
tsəkɯ́ *prt* **1)** discourse marker **2)** and, then, marker of temporal succession
tsəmə́ *interrog* how many
tsə́mu (from Tib btsun mo བཙུན་མོ) *n* queen
tsənbó *n* shoes, boots
tsə́ndə *n* monkey
tsə́ŋə tséŋe *adj* messy, untidy
tsə́si (Compound of **sí**) *adv* on that day
tsətsə́ rére *adj* messy
tsətsɛ́ (Free Variant **tsətsú**) *adj* small Prefixed form **tʰɛtsɛ́**
***tsətso** *Vt* to wring (water out of clothes, etc.) Prefixed form **ɛtsə́tso**, **notsə́tso**
tsətsú Free Variant of **tsətsɛ́**
tsə́wu (from Tib gtso bo གཙོ་བོ) *adv* firstly, most importantly
tsɛ́ *Vt* to fetch
tsɛ́kʰɛ *interj* oh
tsɛ́mé tɔlə́ (Phrasal Verb of **tɔlə́**) *Vi* to destroy, to annihilate
tsɛndɯ́ *n* soles of the feet
tsɛndʐə́ *n* grain
tsɛ́rɛ Tibetan loan of **wutɛé**
tsɛ́tɛ (from Tib rtsab to རྩབ་ཏུ) *n* fried dough twist
tsɤ́lɤ *n* cat Compound **tsɤ́lɤtɛe**
tsɤ́lɤtɛe (Compound of **tɛe ₁**, **tsɤ́lɤ**) *n* kitten
tsʰá Free Variant of **tsʰánbi**
tsʰakɔ́ *n* jackdaw
tsʰalá *n* dance
tsʰamá lɔ́ma *n* name of a plant
tsʰaná *n* **1)** wok holder **2)** tablecloth
tsʰánbi (Free Variant **tsʰá**) *n* a kind of plant seed
tsʰapə́ *n* red silk yarn, the traditional headdress for male Munya people
tsʰɑtʂɑ́ *adj* busy
***tsʰe** *clf* classifier for family
tsʰétsʰe *adj* (sticks, etc.) slim, thin Prefixed form **kʰitsʰé**, **kʰɯtsʰé**, **notsʰé**, **tʰotsʰé**, Superlative form **zétsʰe**
tsʰə́₁ (Dialectal Variant **tsʰətsʰá**) (Cf. Tib tshwa ཚྭ) *n* salt
tsʰə́₂ *n* goat Compound **tsʰéngəla**, **tsʰənɯ́**, **tsʰérənbo**, **tsʰətʰí**
***tsʰə** *Vt* to burn something Prefixed form **ɣɤ́tsʰə**, **nótsʰə**
tsʰəɣí (Compound of **tsʰərɵ́**, **ɣiɣí**) *n* kindling, fire-lighter
tsʰəmándʑo Free Variant of **tsʰɯpə́**
tsʰéngəla (Compound of **tsʰə́₂**) *n* young goat
tsʰənɯ́ (Compound of **tsʰə́₂**) *n* goat hair
tsʰəpʰá (Free Variant **tsʰətɵ́**) *n* lung
tsʰəpʰípʰadɔ *n* a kind of plant
tsʰəpʰɔ́ *n* tree
tsʰérənbo (Free Variant **kʰərénbo**) (Compound of **tsʰə́₂**, **rənbó**) *n* drum skin made of goat skin
tsʰərɵ́ *n* wood Compound **tsʰəɣí**
tsʰətʰí (Compound of **tsʰə́₂**) *n* baby goat
tsʰətɵ́ Free Variant of **tsʰəpʰá** **tsʰətsʰá** Dialectal Variant of **tsʰə́₁**
tsʰétsʰə *n* woodpecker
tsʰétʂʰö *n* the first plowing after autumn harvest
tsʰɛ́ *n* solid sour milk
tsʰɛ́lɛ (from Tib mtshan las མཚན་ལས) *n* night work, overtime work
tsʰɛ́npɛ (from Tib mtshams pa མཚམས་པ) *n* hermit, recluse
tsʰɛtsʰɛ́ *n* a bronze mold in which stupas (typically 50-100) are inscribed, which are dipped in the river to dispel bad luck Compound **tɛɯ́tsʰɛtsʰɛ**

tsʰétsʰɛ *Vi* to busy about, to do this and that
tsʰɤ́$_1$ Free Variant of **tsʰɤkɔ́rɔ**
tsʰɤ́$_2$ *n* mouse Compound **kɔtsʰɤ́**, **tsʰɤkɔ́rɔ**
tsʰɤkɔ́rɔ (Free Variant **tsʰɤ́**$_1$) (Compound of **tsʰɤ́**$_2$, **kɔ́rɔ**) *n* mouse
tsʰí$_1$ Free Variant of **mítsʰi**
tsʰí$_2$ *aux* to be able to (because of bodily conditions)
tsʰí$_3$ (Dialectal Variant **tɛʰí**) (Cf. Tib tshon ཚོན) *n* colored sand, paints, hue
***tsʰi** *clf* classifier for words or a stretch of discourse
tsʰíngö (fromTib tshes mgo ཚེས་མགོ) *n* beginning (of a month, etc.)
tsʰipɛtɛɯ́ (Cf. Tib ches bcu ཚེས་བཅུ) *n* the 10th day of a month
tsʰitɛí (from Tib tshes chu ཚེས་ཆུ) *n* the first day of a month
tsʰíwu (Dialectal Variant **vəkɔ́**) *n* a small wooden ladle, used for ladling milk products
***tsʰo** *clf* a classifier for measuring a set of Buddhist scripture wrapped in a silk
tsʰomó *n* louse
tsʰomú *n* niece
tsʰotɛű *Vt* to limit to (a certain amount of time)
tsʰőtsʰö *adj* short
***tsʰotsʰo** *Vi* to be undecided, to shilly shally Prefixed form **kʰɯtsʰótsʰo**, **tʰotsʰótsʰo**
tsʰovə́ *adj* ugly
tsʰowú *n* **1)** nephew **2)** grandson
tsʰɔ́$_2$ *n* a kind of tsampa made by lamas, from fried barley flour, butter and wine, used during religious ceremony and eaten afterwards
tsʰɔ́$_1$ *n* winter
tsʰɔ́ntsə (from Cn congzi 葱子) *n* leeks
tsʰɔ́tə kʰɔ́sɑ (Phrasal Verb of **kʰɯsá**) *Vi* to do good things
tsʰɔyɛ́ *n* snuff
tsʰú 1) *Vi* to be enough **2)** *aux* can, to be allowed to do something Prefixed form **tʰótsʰu**
tsʰű Tibetan loan of **ɛɯ́**
tsʰűkʰɛ *n* colour
tsʰútsʰuɛi *adv* gradually, slowly
tsʰuwɛ́ *n* corn soup
tsʰɯ́ təŋé (Phrasal Verb of **təŋé**) *Vn* to have a cough
tsʰɯ́kʰɔ tʰuɛű (Phrasal Verb of **tʰuɛű**) *Vi* to be choked (by smoke, water, etc.)
tsʰɯpə́ (Free Variant **tsʰəmándʑo**) *n* name of a plant
tsʰɯ́ye *n* autumn
***tsi** *Vi* to be used to Prefixed form **étsi**, **notsí**, **tʰótsi**
tsibú *adj* generous
tsikɔ́ (Free Variant **titɛɛ́**) *n* adze, carpenter plane in the form of an ax
tsímu (Free Variant **tómu**) *n* the top of something
tsíngə *n* clothes
tsinkʰó *n* tall building
tsítʂu tədʑó (Phrasal Verb of **tədʑó**) *Vi* to count
tsó (Free Variant **tsɑ́**) *n* deer
tső$_2$ (from Tib btson བཙོན) *n* prison
tső$_1$ (from Tib tsod pa རྩོད་པ) *n* dispute
***tso** *Vi* to run Prefixed form **étso**, **ɣɤ́tso**, **ngɯ́tso**, **nótso**, **tə́tso**, **tʰótso**
tsőkʰö *n* mortar
tsómi *n* a kind of fungus
tsóngo *n* soaked barley
tsópə *n* colourful wool yarn, the traditional headdress for female Munya people
tsőpʰo *n* a bucket used to feed cattle
tsótso *adj* hot Prefixed form **kʰɯtsó**, **tʰotsó**
tsɔ́mɑ (from Tib gtsang ma གཙང་མ) *adj* clean, pure Compound **tsɔ́mɑ yɑmá**
tsɔ́mɑ yɑmá (Compound of **tsɔ́mɑ**) *adj* very clean
tsɔ́tʂə *n* the disease or discomfort believed to be caused by some ghosts or spirits
tsű$_2$ (from Tib gtsod གཙོད) *n* antelope
tsű$_1$ *n* fontanelle, the soft spot on top of the head
tsüté *n* model, mode

tʂalű (Cf. Tib phred gli ཕྲེད་གླི) *n* a kind of flute played vertically

tʂanyí (Compound of **tʂá**$_1$, **nyínyi**) *n* red ant

tʂá$_1$ (Cf. Tib grog ma གྲོག་མ) *n* ant Compound **tʂanyí**

tʂá$_3$ *prt* over, more than (used after number words)

tʂá$_2$ (Archaic form **ɣi**$_2$) (from Tib brag བྲག) *n* steep, rocky and dangerous cliff

***tʂɑ** *Vd* to hand to Prefixed form **ɑtʂá**, **étʂɑ**, **nétʂɑ**, **ngétʂɑ**, **tʰétʂɑ**

tʂɑkʰá (Cf. Tib 'grags འགྲགས) *n* shout, yell

tʂɑmétɔ (Compound of **metɔ́**) *n* name of a plant

tʂándʑinpɛ (Cf. Tib zhabs 'degs pa ཞབས་འདེགས་པ) *n* servant, attendant

tʂé (from Tib sprel སྤྲེལ) *n* monkey (the ninth of twelve Zodiacs)

***tʂe**$_1$ (Cf. Cn zhen 阵) *clf* classifier for events that occurred in a short period

***tʂe**$_2$ *Vt* to spray, to pour Prefixed form **kʰɯtʂé**, **notʂé**, **tətʂé**

tʂə́$_1$ *n* stroke

tʂə́$_2$ *n* gall bladder

tʂə́ɣö (Cf. Tib dra ba can དྲ་བ་ཅན) *n* spider

tʂə́ku Tibetan loan of **kúʑo** **tʂə́mə** Dialectal Variant of **tɕímə**

tʂə́mi (Cf. Tib sgrim སྒྲིམ) *n* screw

tʂə́tʂe Dialectal Variant of **toyítɕɛ**

***tʂɛ** *Vi* arrive Prefixed form **ɛtʂɛ́**, **ɣɤtʂɛ́**, **kʰɯtʂɛ́**, **nɛtʂɛ́**, **tətʂɛ́**, **tʰɛtʂɛ́**

tʂɛ́pɛ (from Tib grwa pa གྲྭ་པ) *n* monk

tʂɤ́ *aux* **1)** to be useful, to be of available **2)** to be content, to be satisfied Prefixed form **kʰɤ́tʂɤ**

tʂʰɑ́ɕu (from Tib khrag shed ཁྲག་ཤེད) *n* blood pressure

tʂʰɑhú Chinese loan of **yazəɣɤ́ru**

tʂʰɑsɔ́ *Vi* to fall for, to be taken in, to be deceived

tʂʰátɔ (from Tib phrag dog ཕྲག་དོག) *n* jealousy

tʂʰɑtʂʰá *adj* in all apparent seriousness, in a way that pretends to be serious

tʂʰɑtʂú Dialectal Variant of **yɑtú**

tʂʰélo Dialectal Variant of **dʑólo**

tʂʰə́$_1$ (Cf. Tib gra sgrig ཀྲ་སྒྲིག) *n* arrangement, preparation Phrasal Verb **tʂʰə́ ɛ́tʰə**

tʂʰə́$_2$ (from Tib khri ཁྲི) *n* throne

***tʂʰə** *clf* classifier for objects in sets

tʂʰə́ ɛ́tʰə (Phrasal Verb of **tʂʰə́**$_1$) *Vi* to make arrangement

tʂʰə́li *n* chunk

tʂʰənbɯ́ *n* horn

tʂʰə́nkʰö Tibetan loan of **tɕítɕʰi**

tʂʰətʂʰə́pɛ *adv* mostly, most of the time

tʂʰə́npɛ (from Tib khram pa ཁྲམ་པ) *adj* crafty, sneaky

***tʂʰi** *Vt* to chop (meat, etc.), to cut (with knife) Prefixed form **ɣɤ́tʂʰi**, **nótʂʰi**

tʂʰimé lɔ́me (Cf. Tib las med ལས་མེད) *adj* free, unreined

tʂʰísə *adj* mediocre, ordinary, average, common

tʂʰísəkʰɛ *adv* rightly, just right, normally

tʂʰĩtʂʰĩ́kʰɛ (Free Variant **sásɑkʰɛ**) *adj* askew

tʂʰo *n* service, business

tʂʰő *n* health

tʂʰőtʂʰö *adj* white Superlative form **zətʂʰö**

tʂʰõtʂʰő *adj* **1)** well behaved, obedient **2)** hardworking, diligent Superlative form **zətʂʰõtʂʰö**

tʂʰɔ́ *n* gravel used for filling up the spaces between stones when building a wall

tʂʰɔlá *n* pity

tʂiɛ́ (Free Variant **tʂiwɛ́**) (from Tib phreng ba ཕྲེང་བ) *n* rosary, prayer beads

tʂilɔ́ (from Tib sgrig lam སྒྲིག་ལམ) *n* order, rule, custom, discipline

tʂiwɛ́ Free Variant of **tʂiɛ́**

tʂő$_1$ Tibetan loan of **rá**

tʂő$_2$ *Vt* to slice, to cut (meat, etc.) Prefixed form **nətʂőtʂɛ**, Pluractional form **nətʂőtʂɛ**

***tʂo** *clf* classifier for pile

tʂö kʰutsú (Phrasal Verb of **kʰutsú**) *Vi* to settle somewhere by building a house

tʂőmɛ *adj* fake, unreal

tʂónpɑ (from Tib grong pa གྲོང་པ) *n* village
tʂʊ̋pɛ (from Tib 'gyur ba འགྱུར་བ) *n* transformation, mutation
tʂoré *n* the circle formed during dancing
tʂɔ́ núdʐi (Phrasal Verb of **núdʐi**) *Vi* to line up for a feast according to seniority
tʂɔ́kʰɔ (from Tib ngrul khang འགྲུལ་ཁང) *n* room, cabin
tʂú (from Tib drug དྲུག) *adj* six
***tʂü** *Vi* fire burn up Prefixed form **étʂü**, **ítʂü**, **nótʂü**, **tətʂü**, **títʂü**
tʂúɛi (from Cn zhuxi 主席) *n* president
tʂúpe Chinese loan of **dzɛ́dʐi**
tʂúpɛ *n* **1)** sixth **2)** June
tʂúwɛ (from Tib bro ba སྤྲ་བ) *n* flavor, taste
tʂuwú Archaic form of **kɛ́mɛ**
tü *Vt* **1)** to hit with fist **2)** to break Prefixed form **étü**, **ɣɤ́tü**, **kʰɯ́tü**, **nótü**, **tətü**
***tu** *Vt* to fight against each other, to compete for Prefixed form **nótu**
túɛi (Tibetan loan variant **tóla$_2$**, gtor brlags, གཏོར་བརླགས) (from Tib gtor bshig གཏོར་བཤིག) *n* destruction, demolition, devastation
tuɛó (***uɛo**) *Vt* to talk, to tell (a story, etc.)
tuɛɯ́ *Vt* to pick out and remove
tudó *Vt* to talk, to chat, to speak
tudzʊ̋ (***udzö**) *Vt* to send someone upward
tudzʊ̋ (Free Variant **tɔ́ʑɔ**) (***udzü**) *Vt* to chip, to whittle
túdʐi *Vt* to make (dinner, milk product, tea, etc.), to cook
tudʑó *Vt* to make a wish
tʊ̋dʑɯ Tibetan loan of **síɣɔ**
túkö *Vt* to stipulate, to set
tukú (***uku**) *Vt* to carry up
túnko Tibetan loan of **lʊ̋**
tüntɛʰʊ̋ (from Tib gtam 'khyar གཏམ་འཁྱར rumor) *n* lie, rumor
turə́ *Vt* to play a wind instrument, to blow
türʊ̋ Free Variant of **yazəɣɤ́ru**
túʂu Dialectal Variant of **tiʂu**
tutɛé *Vi* to appear
útɛʰi *Vi* to float
tutɛʰó *Vt* to put up (a flag)
tutɛʰɯ́ Free Variant of **tətɛʰɯ**
tutɛɯ́ (Free Variant **tətɛɯ́**) **1)** *Vi* to be full **2)** *Vt* to build a house
útɛɯ (***utɛɯ**) *Vt* **1)** to put something onto something **2)** to suck (water from something)
tutsɛ́ *Vt* to look for by going upward
túwo (**wó**) *Vt* to tie
tuyʊ̋ (**yʊ̋**) *Vn* to desire to do something
túyü *Vt* to put on (shoes)

u

***uɛo** *Vt* to talk, to tell (a story, etc.) Prefixed form **nuɛó**, **tuɛó**
uɛɯ́ (***uɛɯ**) *Vi* (sun, etc.) to descend, to go down
***uɛɯ** *Vt* to preserve Prefixed form **kʰuɛɯ́**, **uɛɯ́**
udzʊ̋ (***udzö**) *Vt* to send someone downstream
***udzö** *Vt* to dispatch someone somewhere, to send someone off Prefixed form **ɣudzʊ̋**, **ngudzʊ̋**, **nudzʊ̋**, **tʰudzʊ̋**, **tudzʊ̋**, **udzʊ̋**
udzʊ̋ (***udzü**) *Vt* to chip
***udzü** *Vt* to chip Prefixed form **tudzʊ̋**, **udzʊ̋**
údʐi (***udʐi**) *Vi* to flutter, to fly
***udʐi** *Vt* to get, to make Prefixed form **kʰúdʐi**, **núdʐi**, **údʐi**
uɣíɣɔ (Compound of **ɣɔ́**) *n* rooster

uɣímo (Compound of **mó**) *n* hen
uɣítɛe (Compound of **uróɣo**, **tɛe** ₁) *n* chick
úkö *Vt* to measure
ukú (***uku**) *Vt* to carry downstream
***uku** *Vt* to carry on one's back Prefixed form **ɣukú**, **ngukú**, **nukú**, **tʰukú**, **tukú**, **ukú**
ulɛ́ *Vt* to request, to beg
unyű (**nyű**) *aux* can (speak a certain language, drive a car, etc.)
úpʰə Free Variant of **ɛ́pʰə**
uróɣo *n* chicken Compound **uɣítɛe**
utɛʰəwá *n* the right side of the fireplace, close to a cupboard, the place for the hostess
utɛʰú Free Variant of **ɛ́tɛʰɯ** ***utɛʰɯ** Free Variant of ***tɛʰɯ**
***utɛɯ** (Free Variant ***ətɛɯ**) *Vt* to put Prefixed form **kʰútɛɯ**, **nútɛɯ**, **rútɛɯ**, **tətɛɯ**, **tútɛɯ**
utəwá *n* the left side of a fireplace, reserved for guests
uzé *n* radiance

V

vá₁ Free Variant of **ká**, **ngɤ́tɛʰü**
vá₂ (Tibetan loan variant **mo**, mar, མར) *n* butter
vɑvɑ́ *n* egg
vəkʰɤnyɛ́dɛ *n* a kind of edible plant
vəkʰí *n* siblings
vəkɔ́ Dialectal Variant of **tsʰíwu**
***vəla** *Vi* to roll about Prefixed form **ávəla**, **ɣɤ́vəla**, **návəla**, **ngɯ́vəla**, **tévəla**, **tʰávəla**
vərəkɔ́tsi Free Variant of **kɔkɔ́tɛe**
vərətʰáli *n* piglet
vətó *n* stone grinder
vɛ́ Free Variant of **kʰɛ́₂**
***vɛ** *clf* **1)** classifier for thin object **2)** classifier volitant birds and insects
vɛ́ndɛ *n* old man
vɛtɛɛ́ *n* name of a plant
vɛ́və *n* grandfather
vitɛíkɛrɛ *n* squirrel
vo₁ *prt* a particle denoting request
vó₂ (Dialectal Variant **vóvo**) *n* father Compound **vomó**
vó₁ *n* **1)** the barley flour made from fried barley **2)** flour, powder Compound **sű́vo**
vomó (Tibetan loan variant **pʰɛ́mɛ**, pha ma, ཕ་མ) (Compound of **vó₂**, **mó**) *n* parents
vóvo Dialectal Variant of **vó₂**
vɔ́ *n* frost
vɔmá *n* hawthorn fruit, rose hip
vú (Cf. Cn wo 窝) *n* nest
vüvű *adj* (livestock, etc.) staying together, not spreading out
vɯ́₁ *Vt* to do something Prefixed form **ɛ́vɯ**, **kʰɯ́vɯ**, **nóvɯ**, **tɛ́vɯ**, **tʰóvɯ**
vɯ́₂ *n* snow
vɯlő *n* belly
vɯtɛí *n* bat
vɯvɯ́ *adj* soft

W

watsə́ (from Cn wazi 袜子) *n* sock
wɑ́ (from Cn wa 瓦) *n* tile
wi Dialectal Variant of **yi₂**, **ɣi₁**
wó (Dialectal Variant **kó**) *n* rope Prefixed form **kʰúwo**, **túwo**
wokʰó Dialectal Variant of **okʰó**
womənə́ Dialectal Variant of **omənə́**
wókʰo Dialectal Variant of **ókʰo**

wómənə Free Variant of **ómənə**
wonə́ Dialectal Variant of **onə́**
wónə Dialectal Variant of **ónə**
wotsə́ Dialectal Variant of **otsə́**
wótsə Dialectal Variant of **ótsə**
***wu** *clf* classifier for meal
-u$_2$ *adj sfx* very
-u$_1$ (from Tib pa ཟ) *n sfx* person from a certain place Compound **mənyéwu**, **tɕʰísɛwu**
wudzɛ́ *n* fly
wupʰɛ́ (Tibetan loan variant **ɞópɑ**, gshog pa, གཤོག་པ་) *n* wing
wutɞé (Tibetan loan variant **tsérɛ**, rtswa ra, རྩྭ་) *n* grazing land
wúzə *n* bird Compound **lətɞə́ wúzə**, **ngáwuzə**, **tɞévə wúzə**, **tɞɯ́wuzə**, **wuzə́ búgu**, **wuzə́ rásɑ**, **wúzəlɛmɛ**
wuzə́ búgu (Compound of **wúzə**) *n* pipit
wúzə mətʂʰɛ̀ *n* alpine accentor (a bird)
wuzə́ rásɑ (Compound of **wúzə**) *n* a fungus, called shuabajun (刷把菌) in Chinese
wúzəlɛmɛ (Compound of **wúzə**, **lɛ́mɛ**) *n* a bird
wúzərɔ *n* centipede

y

yarəkɔ́pɑ (Compound of **kɔ́pɑ**) *n* onion
yazəɣɤ́ru (Free Variant **türű**, Chinese loan variant **tʂʰɑhú**) *n* kettle
yɑdé *n* punishment
yɑmenɛ́ *prt* either
yɑrəkú *n* pup tent
yáro (Dialectal Variant **kʰɯɞó$_2$**) *adv* quickly, immediately
yɑtú (Dialectal Variant **tʂʰɑtʂú**) *n* mug
yɑyű (from Cn yangyu 洋芋) *n* potato
yáyüme *adv* besides
yɑzá *n* last year Compound **yɑzá róza**
yɑzá róza (Compound of **yɑzá**) *n* several years ago
yeyé *n* Lady Amherst's pheasant
yɛ Tibetan loan of **tá$_2$**
yɛgɛ́ (from Tib yal ga ཡལ་ག) *n* branch, bough
yɛlá *Vt* to leave something (for someone)
yɛntɞʰɯ́ Free Variant of **tɞéngɤ**
yɛyɛ́ *adj* good looking, nice Prefixed form **tʰuyɛ́**
yi$_3$ *post* a particle used after a nominal modifier
yi$_1$ Free Variant of **síyi**
yi$_2$ (Dialectal Variant **wi**) *n* wine
yí *Vc* (upright things) to exist Prefixed form **tʰoyí**
yímі (from Cn yumi 玉米) *n* maize
yíndzɛ *prt* so, therefore
yípʰosi (Dialectal Variant **yüpʰó**, Free Variant **yopʰó**) *n* last time, before
yíro *n* bed
yísə Free Variant of **yísi**
yísi (Free Variant **yísə**) (Compound of **sí**) *n* yesterday
yísi rəsi (Compound of **sí**) *n* several days ago
yitó Dialectal Variant of **ɣɔ̃yí**, Free Variant of **ɣɔyí**
yitsɛ́ Free Variant of **ŋətsɛ́**
yitsʰáatsʰi *n* name of a plant
yó$_2$ *n* a yogurt containing butter
yó$_1$ *Vi* to shout, to yell
yö (from Tib yos ཡོས) *n* rabbit (the fourth of twelve Zodiacs)
yoɣő *adj* only
yonbəkólö Free Variant of **yónbo**
yónbo (Free Variant **yonbəkólö**) *n* nerve
yonə́ *pro* first person plural inclusive

yoní *pro* first person plural inclusive ergative form
yonínə *pro* first person dual inclusive
yopʰó Free Variant of **yípʰosi**
yopugɔ́lö (Archaic form **yopusə́ɣö**) *n* heart
yopusə́ɣö Archaic form of **yopugɔ́lö**
yoró *adv* right at (a certain moment)
yovə́ *n* long long ago
yú *prt* again, then
yű *Vn* to desire to do something Prefixed form **tuyű**
yümə́ndɛ (Compound of **mə́ndɛ**) *n* ghost
yüŋá *n* scarecrow
yüpɛ́ (Tibetan loan variant **ronpá**, rong pa, རོང་པ།) *n* **1)** farmer **2)** canyon, deep valley **3)** rude person
yüpʰó Dialectal Variant of **yípʰosi**
yütɕá *n* intestine
yutʂí *n* a place for sitting during feast
yüwɛ́ *n* kettle handle

Z

za *n* the edible root from a plant, ginseng
zá$_2$ (Cf. Tib zangs ཟངས།) *n* copper, brass Compound **zamá**, **zanbí**
zá$_1$ *n* **1)** suckling baby animals **2)** young child Compound **zandzə́á**, **zangűtɕe**
zamá (Compound of **zá**$_2$) *n* a large milk container made of copper
zanbí (Compound of **zá**$_2$) *n* a container for holding milk during milking
zandzɛ́ *n* a small bucket for butter tea
zandzə́á (Compound of **zá**$_1$) *n* infant
zangűtɕe (Compound of **tɕe**$_1$, **zá**$_1$, **ngű**) *n* small bronze wok
zaŋá *adv* almost
zarə́ *n* shadow
zɑtó *n* summer
zenbərére *n* Yunnan japalure
***zə** *clf* classifier for human
zəmə́ Free Variant of **ɛtí**$_2$
zəmó (Free Variant **zimó**) (Compound of **mó**) *n* female dzo
zəmóho *interrog* when
zənbə́ (Cf. Tib mchin pa མཆིན་པ།) *n* liver
zénbö (**nbönbő**) *adj* widest
zényi (**nyínyi**) *adj* most red
zəpʰánɛ Free Variant of **dəmə́ni**
zəpó *n* Asian longhorned tick
zəpú (Cf. Tib zag phung ཟག་ཕུང་) *n* body
zərə́ *n* boundary
zérə (**rərə́**) *adj* longest
zətá *n* then, at that time
zétʰű (**tʰűtʰű**) *adj* highest
zétsʰe (**tsʰétsʰe**) *adj* slimmest
zétʂʰö (Free Variant **zétʂʰötʂʰö**) (**tʂʰőtʂʰö**) *adj* whitest
zőtʂʰö Free Variant of **zétʂʰőtʂʰö** **zétʂʰötʂʰö** Free Variant of **zétʂʰö**
zétʂʰőtʂʰö (Free Variant **zőtʂʰö**; **zűtʂʰö**) (**tʂʰőtʂʰő**) *adj* most diligent, most well-behaved
zəwá *n* bamboo rat
zézə *adj* alive
zəzéva *adv* stealthily, on the sly
***zəzo** *Vt* to pile up, to stack up Prefixed form **ézəzo**, **kʰűzəzo**
***zɛ** *clf* classifier for long objects
***zɤ** *Vt* to conceal something from someone Prefixed form **kʰɤ́zɤ**, **názɤ**
ziɣű *n* dzo (a hybrid of yak and domestic cattle)

zíko (**kíko**) *adj* biggest, tallest
zimó Free Variant of **zəmó**
zizítʂötʂö *n* red-winged shrike babbler, also a cover term for small-sized birds
zó *n* Sichuan pepper
zodéndʑərö (Free Variant **zontʰándʑərö**, Tibetan loan variant **tɕʰínbə**) (Compound of **ndʑərő**) *n* anus
zokʰá Free Variant of **zontʰá**
zontʰándʑərö Free Variant of **zodéndʑərö**
zontʰá (Free Variant **zokʰá**) *n* genitalia, private parts
zɔ́ *n* butt
zɔ́pu (Dialectal Variant of **pəká**) Free Variant of **tɕɑʑó**
zú *n* button
zűtʂʰö Free Variant of **zətʂʰőtʂʰö**

ʑ

ʑɑpú Archaic form of **sí**
ʑi (Dialectal Variant **ʑü**) *n* pig Compound **ʑindɔ́**, **ʑitɕʰə́**
ʑílɛ (Cf. Tib shing las ཞིང་ལས) *n* farm work
ʑimé *n* others
ʑimɛ́ (Cf. Tib ri ma རེ་མ) *n* land
ʑindɔ́ (Compound of **ʑi**, **ndɔ́**) Free Variant of **ʑitɕʰə́**
ʑintɕʰó (Free Variant **tɕʰűpɛ**) *n* liquid sacrificial offerings such as water and wine
ʑitɕʰə́ (Free Variant **ʑindɔ́**) (Compound of **ʑi**) *n* pork
ʑítsa (Chinese loan variant **huɑyú**) *n* lard
ʑő₂ *n* yogurt (made without extracting butter)
ʑő₁ *n* low area, the foot of a mountain
ʑotɕʰé *n* servant
ʑowú *n* crippled person
ʑoʑí *n* a dance move
ʑöʑő *adj* (age) young
ʑü Dialectal Variant of **ʑi**
ʑɯ́ (from Tib bzhi བཞི) *num* four
ʑɯdɛ́ (Cf. Tib gzhi bdag གཞི་བདག) *n* local deity, local guardian
ʑɯ́pɛ (from Tib bzhi pa བཞི་པ) **1)** *num* fourth **2)** *n* April